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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Cymmrodorion.

TRANSACTIONS

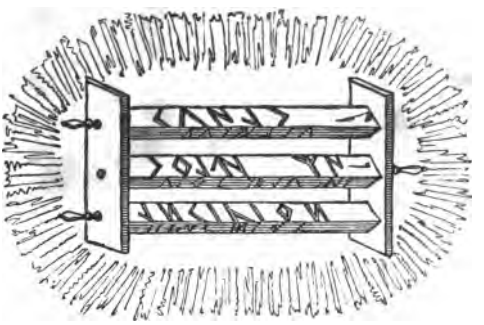
OF THE

Cymmrodorion,

OR

METROPOLITAN CAMBRIAN INSTITUTION.

VOL. II.



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REV^D. W^M. JENKINS REES, M.A.

Rector of Cascob Radnorshire, Prebendary of Brecknock, & Honorary Member of the Royal Cambrian Institution.

INTRODUCTION.

Pennill to the air of "Ar hyd y nos."—By Dr. Pughe.

Cadw cov am hen arverion
Ydyw gwledd y Cymmrodorion
Màn mae Telyn, màn mae canu,
A phob mwynder er dyddanu,
Ydym vàl àr vryniau Cymru.

A free translation of the above, by the late J. H. Parry.

Ancient customs still to treasure,
Cymmrodorion, is our pleasure,
While, with harp and song uniting,
Rapture is each heart exciting,
As on Cambria's hills delighting.

At a period when Literary Institutions are so popular, and a feeling so fervent and generous is manifested by almost every mind towards the cultivation of general literature, the cause of *one* which, it is hoped, may be allowed to hold a place among the *many* now existing in this metropolis, under the above appellation, cannot, it is conceived, be better advocated than by craving a dispassionate attention to the perusal of its Transactions.

It is not intended here to particularize the objects for the attainment of which the Cymmrodorion Institution has been founded, a detail of them having been already published in the

first volume of the Transactions.* It may, however, be satisfactory to recapitulate the proceedings of the Society at the six Eisteddvods already held. With this view, the following synopsis is inserted.

At the Eisteddvod, in 1822, a medal was presented, for a Poem (in the Welsh language), to the Rev. E. Hughes, of Bodfary, and another, for an Essay (in the English language), to the late John Humffreys Parry, Esq. In the same year, medals were offered by the Society for the two most approved Welsh Essays from the Grammar-schools in Wales, one medal for each division of the Principality, on "Coleddiad yr Iaith Gymraeg," (the Cultivation of the Welsh Language). The competitors were eleven in number; and, considering their compositions as the productions of juvenile minds, the talent evinced in them reflected the highest credit upon their respective authors. The prizes were awarded to Evan Williams and David Jones, of Bangor and Cardigan schools; and an extra medal was given to James Meredith, of Ystradmeirig school. To each of the other candidates was presented a copy of "Coll Gwynfa," a beautiful translation of "Paradise Lost," in the Welsh language, by Dr. Pughe.

In 1823, the Society's medal was awarded to the Rev. Walter Davies, for an Ode, in the Welsh language, on "*Caswallon*, and his resistance of the Romans, as Pendragon of the Britons;" a medal was, also, offered to the author of the best Essay, in English, on "Ancient Genealogies, as illustrative of the Laws and Customs of the Britons." Two were received, but the Committee appointed to judge of their merits did not consider that the subject had been treated so fully as it might have been. It was, therefore, left open for another year. Medals were, also, offered for the two best Welsh Essays from the Grammar-schools; subject, "*O Dduw y mae pob peth*," (From God proceed all things,) and several excellent compositions were received. The successful candidates were

* Published, (in two parts,) for the Institution, and sold by W. New, 11, Strand, and Mr. Hughes, bookseller, St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Samuel Roberts, of Newtown, and Griffith Griffiths, of Lampeter-school.

In 1824, a medal was awarded to the Rev. William Probert, of Walmsley, Lancashire, for an English Essay on Ancient Genealogies, (received by the Rev. W. J. Rees, of Casgob, as his proxy.) Another to William Owen Pughe, Esq. D C.L. F.A.S. &c. as a token of the high estimation in which his eminent talents are held by the Cymmrodorion, and an acknowledgement of the invaluable services rendered by him to the literature of his country. A third to the late eminent artist, J. Flaxman, Esq. R.A. in acknowledgement of the honour conferred by him upon the Institution, by presenting it with the beautiful design now exhibited upon its medals. A fourth, from the *Gwyneddigion Society*, to Mr. Richard Jones, of Caernarvon, for a Welsh Poem upon "*Lles Gwybodaeth*," the Advantage of Knowledge, (received by Griffith Jones, Esq. the then President of the Gwyneddigion, as the bard's proxy).

In 1825, the following medals and premiums were awarded and presented, viz.

1st. A medal and five guineas to the Rev. William Probert, for an English Essay, entitled, "An Inquiry as to the several Tribes comprehended under the general Appellation of *Ancient Britons*."

2d. A medal to Master William Davies, of the Lampeter Grammar-school, Cardiganshire, for an Essay, in Welsh, "On the Life and Character of Hywel Dda, or Howel the Good."

3d. A medal to Master Thomas Williams, of Caermarthen Grammar-school, for an Essay on the same subject.

4th. The medal of the Gwyneddigion Society to Mr. Robert Owen, late of Caernarvon, for a Poem, in Welsh, on "Y Mor," the Sea.

5th. The Society's medal, in pursuance of a resolution previously passed at a General Meeting, was presented to Mr. John Parry, as a tribute to his eminent services in preserving the national music of Wales, and rendering it attractive to the world;

and, also, as an acknowledgement of his constant zeal and unwearied exertions in the cause of the general literature of Cambria.

In 1826, a Grand Concert was given for the benefit of Mr. Parry, which was honoured with the presence of the President, Vice-Presidents, the Noble Ladies' Patronesses, and about eight hundred ladies and gentlemen; on which occasion the following medals and premiums were awarded:—

1st. To the Rev. William Probert, for an English Essay on "The several Invasions of Britain, and their Effects on the Character and Language of the Inhabitants."

2d. To John Vaughan Lloyd, Esq. of Jesus' College, Oxon, for a Poem, in English, on "Owen Glyndwr."

3d. A premium of £2 : 2 to Robert Davies, of Nantglyn, for a Welsh Poem on the same subject.

4th. A medal to Master Samuel Roberts, of the Newtown Grammar-school, for an Essay, in Welsh, on "Calondid," Courage.

5th. A medal to Master John Jones, of Lampeter Grammar-school, for a Welsh Essay on the same subject.

6th. A medal to Mr. Joseph Hughes, of Ystradmeirig Grammar-school, for a Welsh Essay on the same subject.

A medal was presented to Miss Angharad Llwyd, for her zeal in promoting Welsh literature in general.

And, also, medals to John Evans and Thomas Edwards, of Corwen, who attended expressly to sing Pennillion.

At the Eisteddvod, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, in 1827, under the Presidency of the Honourable G. Rice Trevor, M.P. and the Right Honourable C. W. W. Wynne, M.P. the Society's Medal was awarded to D. Lewis, Esq. for an Essay, in English, on the Mythology of the Ancient Britons.

The publication of the first part of the second volume of Trans-

actions having been completed, a Committee has been appointed to select matter for the contents of a second; and it is hoped that the Society will be enabled, from year to year, to offer similar publications, upon the basis of its collection of books and MSS. on British antiquities, and the compositions of the successful competitors for its annual prizes; and, by a continuation of the liberal patronage which it has hitherto received, to encourage, by subscription, such modern works as may be consistent with the character of the Institution, and tend to promote the objects of its establishment.

If, in any respect, the Society has failed to effect the object of its establishment, or, in any degree, digressed from the path originally intended to be pursued, this is to be solely attributed to the insufficiency of its funds, and hence, instead of promoting a defection among its friends, should stimulate them to greater and more zealous exertion.

Thus has the Institution been formed for the advancement of national literature, by enriching modern times with the treasures of antiquity, and by stimulating the genius of the present day to rival the splendid repute of the past.

And if we consider the rapid advancement of Welsh literature within the last few years, since the revival of the EISTEDDVODAU, we cannot help acknowledging the verification of the once improbable prophecy of our immortal Taliesin.

Eu ner a volant,
A'u hiaith a gadwant,
Eu tir a gollant,
Ond gwyllt Walia.

Their God they shall praise,
And their language they shall preserve,
Their land they shall lose,
Except wild Wales.

The following list of monthly publications, in Welsh, is the best criterion to ascertain the accuracy of the preceding statement:—

1. Seren Gomer. 2. Gwyliedydd. 3. Goleuad Cymru.

4. Eurgrawn Wesleyaid. 5. Dysgedydd. 6. Brud a Sylwydd. 7. Cyfrinach y Bedydwyr. 8. Y Meddyg, besides two quarterly reviews.

D. LEWIS, EDITOR.

The Editor of the Transactions thinks proper to mention that the Portrait of the Rev. MR. REES *is herein inserted, through permission obtained at the request of the Council, for the use of the plate, which was originally intended to be private; and he gladly avails himself of the opportunity of introducing it, with his accompanying communication relating to the Lords Marchers, both for the embellishment of the work, and for the sake of showing respect to one, whose exertions in promoting the literature of his country have for several years been indefatigable, and who has taken an important part in forming and support, ing the Royal Cambrian Institution, and the societies connected therewith in the Principality. The Editor likewise feels pleasure in introducing the portrait as the successful performance of a very respectable artist,* MR. HUGHES, *a native of Wales, who, some years ago distinguished himself in the graphic art, in his work entitled "The Beauties of Cambria."*

OFFICERS OF THE INSTITUTION, 1828.

SIR W. W. WYNN, BART. M.P.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Cymmrodorion.

CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.

A TREATISE OF LORDSHIPS MARCHERS IN WALES;

Shewing how, why, and when they were first erected; and how, why, and when they were suppressed; and, also, how they may best be known, and tried at this day, from other Lordships that were not Lordships Marchers. Originally written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Communicated by the

REV. WILLIAM JENKINS REES, M.A.

Honorary Member of the Institution.

[Collated with the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, 1220.]

FOR the true knowledge and perfect understanding of the state of Lordships Marchers in Wales, these questions following are fit to be moved. 1. When Lordships Marchers first began in Wales? 2. How long the erecting or creating of Lordships Marchers in Wales continued? 3. When the same was given over, and why? 4. Why they were at the first ordained and to what end they served for? 5. How they became Lordships Marchers and to have regal authority? 6. How long they continued in their force and authority from their first erection until their disfranchising? 7. When they were spoiled of their liberties and the same resumed to the King's hands? 8. Why they were deprived of their regal power? 9. How they are to be known at this day? 10. Why they were first and

now are called Lordships Marchers, and how they first took that name? 11. What difference is at this day between them and other Lordships that were not Lordships Marchers?

Wales being the refuge and place of safeguard of the remnant of the Ancient Britons, the first inhabitants of the isle of Great Britain, being driven thither, and dispossessed by the Saxon kings, having taken from them the fertile country of England, and held the same, and therein preserved their ancient blood-royal of the kings and ancient families, the posterity of the nation, their laws and ancient language, from the fury and cruel murder of the Saxons; between which two nations there continued implacable hatred and wars, insomuch that notwithstanding that the *heptarchia*, or seven kingdoms of the Saxons, were reduced into one monarchy by Egbert, king of the West Saxons; yet had these Saxon kings of England never any obedience and subjection of these princes that ruled Wales; but they held Wales as absolute monarchies, not acknowledging any superior under God; where the lawful issues of Cadwalader, the last king of Great Britain of the British line, did rule and govern the country and people as their lawful kings and princes all the time of the Saxon government. And, in the end, when it pleased God to send the Normans under the conduct of William, their duke, to make a conquest of England, he dispossessed the Saxon issue of the crown, and unrooted most of their nobility and brought those of his own nation, and so many alterations as is found to have happened to this land by that conquest. And after that William the Conqueror had quietly possessed the kingdom of England and pacified all troubles and tumults, yet did not, neither would the Welshmen, nor their princes, seem to take any notice of that conquest obtained over the Saxons, their professed enemies, or that it concerned them any way, but accounted it as a war between two strange nations.

Long before the time of William the Conqueror, the government of all the parts of Wales was united, and fell to Roderick the Great, called, in histories, *Rodericus Magnus*, who divided Wales between his three sons—*Cadell*, to whom he gave South Wales, containing twenty-five cantreds; *Anarawd*, to whom he gave North Wales, containing fifteen cantreds; and to *Meroyn* he gave Powys, containing fourteen cantreds.

At the time of the conquest, or shortly after, in the Conqueror's days, the issues of these three sons possessed Wales according to the said division, viz. Rice, the son of Theodore, ruled South Wales; Griffith, the son of Conan, governed North Wales; and Blethyn, the son of Convyn, possessed Powys. These three princes and their people would never acknowledge the Norman Conqueror, nor his issue, to have any superiority over Wales, as is before said. And for this, and the continuance of the inveterate hatred that remained unquenched between them and the remnant of the Saxons that inhabited, and were still the corps of the common people of England, there arose cruel wars between the kings of England, and these princes and people of Wales; and daily incur-

sions and invasions were made on each part by the other; and the kings of England oftentimes levied great armies, and invaded the borders of Wales, and forced the inhabitants to flee to the mountains and hills, out of the low and plain soils, and possessed divers of their countries. Again, the Welshmen, when fortune favoured them, would also soon repel them, and spoil their countries and people, and take them captives, and make divers roads over Severn, and had great spoils out of England, and used great cruelties, which at last much moved the kings of England. And when their estate was fully settled, they resolved to make a conquest of Wales, and to subdue the people and country to their obedience, as before they had done by England. But the country of Wales, by reason of the roughness of the ground, the high and steep hills, the strait passages, woods, and bogs, was naturally of itself so strong, that hardly any great army could be brought to enter, and annoy the Welshmen. And the kings of England having brought thither sundry armies, were forced divers times to return home with loss of men and charge; as may appear by the chronicles and histories of this realm. As William Rufus and Henry II. who entered Wales three times with royal armies; King John's wars made there upon Llewelyn, the son of Iorwerth, prince of North Wales; Henry III. upon Llewelyn, the son of Griffith; and many other voyages, wherein, by reason of the roughness of the country, there happened as much harm to themselves, as hindrance to the Welshmen; nevertheless they won, at several times, divers countries from the Welshmen.

And the kings of England seeing the wars very troublesome and hard to effect a conquest by any great army; the rather to bring under the Welshmen, and to ease their own charge of the wars, did use, and would give to the lords, and other great subjects of England, such countries in Wales as they could win from their enemies, the Welshmen; for so are the words of divers of their grants.

By which means, and other great allurements granted to those that would attempt to conquer the Welshmen, which shall be more particularly showed hereafter, many noblemen and others of England were drawn to bring great armies of Englishmen and Normans into Wales, and conquered many great lordships and countries there, which they held to them and their heirs for ever of the kings of England, as lands purchased by them by conquest from the Welshmen.

And about the conquest time, the kings of England having placed divers great earls, and built divers strong and great towns of garrison in rank on the frontiers of Wales, as Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Salop, and Chester, as places to be ready to chasten the Welshmen upon all attempts. The said earls and governors, with these great garrison towns, first began, by the king's leave and permission, and by their setting forwards to invade and dispossess the Welshmen next adjoining to these parts, and to invade their countries and to possess the same by force; as, namely, Sir Ralph Mortimer, for Wigmore.—Fitz-Alan, for Clun and

Oswestry; Walter Lacie, for Cwra's Lacie; Dru de Baladon, for Abergavenny; Monthault, for Hawarden; Gilbert, lord of Monmouth, for Monmouth; Foulk Fitzwarren, for Whitingdon; Roger le Strange, for Elsemere; and others for other countries in Wales. And shortly after came Robert Fitzhammon, with his twelve knights, into Glamorgan; Bernard Newmarch, to the lordship of Brecknock; Strongbow, to the countries of Dyfed, or Pembrokeshire; Martyn, to the country of Remmes; Morrice de Londres, to Kydwely and Carnwillion; Lacie, earl of Lincoln, to the country of Ross and Rhivoniog, now the lordship of Denbigh; Brewis to the lordship of Gower, Builth, Radnor, Melenith, and Elvel; and Roger Mortimer, to the country now called Chirk, (then called Mochnant Cynlleth,) and Nanthedwy, and other lands in Wales; and divers other great men to divers other countries and great lordships in Wales.

And to the end that the said lords should as well be the more willing to those attempts, as also the better able to rule and govern, and keep in due obedience, the people of the country, being once subdued, the kings of England suffered, and necessity of government forced, those lords to assume, and take unto themselves such prerogative and authority within the lordships as to themselves seemed best, and were fit for the quiet government of any country.

The like policy, saith the ancient historiographer Lampridius, was used by the kings of England, with lands upon the borders of Scotland, shortly after the conquest. His words cited by Mr. Camden are as follows:—" Sola quæ de hostibus capta erant, limitaneis ducibus et militibus donasset, ita ut eorum essent si heredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent, existimatos attentius eos militaturos si etiam sua rura defenderent."

And, therefore, there is no record to be found in the Tower, or elsewhere in England, of any grant made to any to be a Lordship Marcher in Wales, or any such liberty granted to any of them, as they themselves then, and long after, used; and the king's writs, out of his courts at Westminster, did not run into Wales, Pembrokeshire excepted, which was accounted part of England, and therefore called Little England beyond Wales; neither were there any sheriffs or officers of the king, to execute any of the king's writs or precepts in Wales; and yet, of necessity, law and justice were to be administered for the quiet government of the people, without which no commonwealth or society might be preserved or governed.

Therefore these lords themselves were forced, of necessity, to execute laws, as sovereign governors over their tenants and people in these strange lordships and countries subdued by them, which the kings of England did from policy permit for a time.

And to grant charters of such liberties in these cases could not conveniently be for three causes.

First, for the kings of England knew not before hand, when they granted to any nobleman such lands in Wales as he could win from the Welshmen, what lands he would so win; or whether he should

win any land at all, and therefore could not grant them any liberties within a certain precinct or territory.

A second cause was for that the lords after they had won, or conquered any country in Wales, were not desirous nor hasty to purchase or seek any such liberties from the king. For that it was not certain whether, or how long they could keep or enjoy those countries or lordships won from the Welshmen; for, oftentimes those countries that were so won, were again recovered, some by composition with the kings of England, as may appear by divers compositions taken with the princes of Wales; and oftentimes some of those lordships were again recovered by force, and the English lords expelled, which made the lords slow to seek or sue for any of those lordships until they had continued in quiet possession for divers ages.

One other reason, which I have heard of the learned, why the Lords Marchers had no charters of such liberties as they used within their signories, was, for the liberties and royal jurisdiction used by those lords were such, so high a nature, so royal, and so united to the crown, that, by the laws of this land, it lay not in the power of the king to grant or sever the same from his imperial crown, and therefore it was thought fitter, and a better course to suffer the lords to assume and take those liberties of their own authority, than to sue and obtain a void grant of the same, which, if at any time called in question, must be adjudged of no force.

Which kind of government by Lords Marchers continued in Wales for many years, till at length, in the time of Henry VIII. the country was brought into such quietness and subjection, and the people there became so obedient, that the kings of England well perceived that the country might be governed by civil and politic laws, as the rest of the realm. And therefore in the 27th year of Henry VIII. c. 24, he resumed all or most of those regal jurisdictions into his hands, and deprived the Lords Marchers of the same, and left them, in effect, but as lords of manors in England; and then ordained justices himself, and justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other officers, and divided the country into shires, and erected great sessions, quarter sessions, and other courts for the government of the country by officers of his own, by the laws of England, and left little or no authority to the Lords Marchers.

Which policy and gifts of the kings of England to their noblemen continued a long while, for many years, viz. from the conquest time until Edward I. insomuch that about the time of Edward I. almost all Wales was come into the hands and possession of divers English lords who held the same of the kings of England, and not of the princes of Wales. And the said lords espying out the best and most fertile parts in each country, builded them castles for themselves, and towns for their own soldiers and countrymen, which came with them to remain near about them as their guard, and to be always ready to keep under such of the country inhabitants as would offer to rebel, or arise either against the kings of England, being then become lords paramount of all those Lords Marchers,

or against their own lords, or seek to return subjects to their ancient princes. And by this means all the towns and castles in most part of Wales, which now are to be seen, were first built; which may appear, by the ancient charters of those towns, made by these lords and first conquerors and founders of the same towns, in most whereof are yet to be seen very ancient charters and large liberties granted to the burgesses and freemen of those towns, by the ancient lords thereof. And few or none purchased liberties from the kings of England until many years after, and that when those lordships came into the king's hands, or otherwise, by some means obtained charters from the kings of England, and that, but in few towns, which most commonly were but confirmations of their former liberties granted by their own lords.

By this means were many towns and castles built in Wales; as Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest; by Strongbow, William de Valence, and the Hastings, being his posterity; Newport, built by Martin, Lord of Remmes; Kydwely town and castle, built by Londres, and after augmented by the Duke of Lancaster, to whom it came by match; and the towns and castles of Swansea, Oystermouth, Longher, Radnor, Buallt, Rhayader, and divers others, built by the Brewises, and the Mortimers, and Beauchamps, to whom afterwards it came by issue female of the said Brewis; Brecknock was so built by Bernard Newmarch; Blacnllyfni, by Herbert, the son of Herbert; Caerdiff and Cowbridge, by Fitzhammon and the earls of Gloucester; Neath, by Greenfield; Abergavenny, by Dru de Baladon, Myles, earl of Hereford, and others his posterity; Ruthin, in Denbighshire, by the lords Grey, lords thereof; Denbigh, by Lacie, earl of Lincoln; as was Monmouth, Usk, Newport, Treleg, Chepstow, and divers other towns, too many here to recite, builded by the ancient conquerors of those lordships. And although that divers of these were anciently towns long before the conquest, yet were those ancient towns, for the most part, utterly destroyed and defaced, in the winning thereof by those Normans and English lords, and new castles and towns builded by them in their places. By which means so many castles were builded in Wales as are now to be seen numerous in every part almost of that country.

And so all the Lords Marchers held their lordships of the King of England in chief, as of the crown immediate, by serving the king in his wars, with certain numbers of men of that country, as may appear by divers records hereof yet extant to be seen.

And the Lords Marchers were bound by the laws of England always to keep their castles with sufficient men and munition for the keeping of the king's enemies in that lordship or country in subjection, if they offered any attempts or riots, as oftentimes they did.

The said Lords Marchers, being English lords, executed the English laws, for the most part, within their lordships, and brought the most part of the lands of the said lordships to be of English tenure, and passed the same according to the laws of England, viz.

by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of seizin, as in England. And such parts as they left to the ancient inhabitants of the country to possess, being for the most part, the barrenest soils, was permitted by some lords to be holden by the old Welsh custom, as to pass the same by surrender in court, which they called, in their country language, of *llys* and *Estyn-lal*, whereof this word *estynawl* was derived. And where such custom was permitted, there is no deed to be found of any lands of that nature before the 27th of Henry VIII. that Wales was made shire ground. But for so much lands in those lordships, as were turned to English tenures, you shall find deeds, some of four hundred, some three hundred, some two hundred years past, very fair written in Latin or French, as was used in England in those days.

And the laws of England were reduced and brought in by the Lords Marchers, chiefly because the laws of Wales were altogether unknown by the English lords, and their English people that came with them into Wales, who only understood and delighted in the laws of England, and would be governed by none other law. And, therefore, they brought in the execution of the English laws in every Lordship Marcher in Wales, saving that they permitted unto the ancient tenants certain points of the ancient Welsh laws which were nothing noisome to the lords, nor repugnant to the laws of England; which, although the same were indeed the common laws of Wales before, yet they were retained and suffered in those lordships by and under the name of customs; among which was the granting the use of *gavelkind* for parting lands between the brothers, and the passing of lands by *surrender in court*, and not by *fine, feoffment, livery of seizin*, and *attornment*, which were ceremonies never known, nor required by the ancient laws of Wales; and these were now lately taken as particular customs of the manors wherein they were permitted. Whereas, indeed, it was part of the ancient common laws of Wales, and was generally practised throughout all Wales before the coming of the Lords Marchers; which customs the lords were content to admit to satisfy the minds of such Welshmen that submitted themselves to their lords, being a contentment to the tenants, and no prejudice to the lords; and this was used only among the Welshmen that were permitted to enjoy their ancient lands in some Lordships Marchers. For the lords were not able to bring with them sufficient number of people to inhabit the whole country they subdued.

But where the lords parted the Englishmen that came with them, and gave them lands, the said Welsh customs were not used; but they held all their lands according to the laws of England, and the eldest son had the whole inheritance; and for this cause, in many lordships, there is a Welsh court for the Welshmen by themselves, where these customs were observed, and the Englishmen had another court in part for themselves, and in common speech among them.

The one part is yet, to this day, called *Englisherie*, and the other part the *Welsherie;* examples hereof you will find in Gower, where

is the Englisherie and the Welsherie; in Coyty Anglicana and Coyty Walliæ; in Glamorgan, Avon Anglicana and Avon Wallicana; English Talgarth and Welsh Talgarth; and in Pembrokeshire is the like; also in Formisoca, Kydwely Anglicana, and Commota Kydwely Wallicana; in Llanstephen, Dominium Anglicanum, and Dominium Wallicanum; and in many other lordships in Wales, where you shall commonly find the land in the one to be of Welsh tenure, and anciently was partable between brothers, and surrendered in court; and in the other of English tenure, and always passed by feoffment, and other conveyances, as the common law before Wales was made shire ground.

And yet in some few Lordships Marchers in Wales, that were wholly turned into English tenures, it is found that the tenants were permitted to have their old customs of dividing their lands between heirs males, and there also the lands were partable among the sons, yet did they pass all their lands by feoffments, and ancient deeds are to be found there, notwithstanding the said partition; and the said lands is said to be lands of English tenure and Welsh dole, and termed among them, in Welsh, *cyfraith saesneg a rhan gymraeg*. And in those lordships where the lands, so partable, was holden by knights service, the lord had the wardship of all the brethren, as if they had been sisters, which was commodious to the lords, and might be an occasion to move the lords to suffer, or rather to wish their tenants to continue their said custom for parting their lands among their sons. And many lords did utterly extirp both Welsh laws and Welsh dole, and brought all, as in England; and these matters and customs were permitted or denied in every lordship, as pleased the first conqueror thereof.

Although some of the Lords Marchers in Wales, long after they had enjoyed their lordships, and after the principality of Wales came to the king's hands, purchased of the kings of England divers privileges, as cognizance of plea, free-warren, fairs, and markets, &c. as they did in their own manors in England. Yet had they all those liberties before the said grants, and greater in themselves, taken and assumed by their own authority and the king's sufferance; and, also, they themselves gave such liberties to their tenants that held of them. So that by what is above written, and the three reasons formerly shewed, it appeareth why it is not to be found that the king gave to any man a grant to be a Lord Marcher, or such liberties as they enjoyed; but that the same first grew by their own assumption, and continued by prescription.

And in this sort Lords Marchers in Wales still grew and increased in number until the time that the lord or prince Llewelyn ab Griffith, the last prince of Welsh blood, was slain, viz. anno 11, Edward I. then king of England, who then took and seized the principality of Wales into his hands, and gave the same to Edward II. his son, and made him Prince of Wales; since which time there neither was, nor could be, any Lordships Marchers in Wales erected.

For that after the subduing of the said prince Llewelyn, there was never any lordship won, or recovered by force from any

Welshmen; but that all submitted themselves to the kings of England, and such liberties or freedoms as would procure to any town, lordship, or liberty in Wales. Sithence the coming of the principality of Wales into the king's hands by the overthrow of the said prince Llewelyn, the same was, and hath been obtained by charter and grant from the king. Neither durst any Lord Marcher, or other man in Wales, sithence that time, claim or assume unto himself any more privilege, liberty, or prerogative, but such as could obtain the same by grant from the king of England, more than was in themselves before.

For, immediately after winning of the principality by the king, he presently held a parliament at Rhuddlan-castle, and there ordained laws and officers to govern Wales after the English laws. So that afterwards if the king gave any lordship in Wales to any man, he could not assume to himself to administer law and justice to his people and tenants, as the Lords Marchers were forced to do in former time; for that the king had then ordained laws for the government of the countries, by which laws he must then govern the country so given by the king. By this, which is afore written, it may be gathered that it is apparent that there was no Lord Marcher in Wales which had any lord paramount, mediate or mean, between him and the crown of England, or that was not holden of the crown of England before the conquest of the said prince Llewelyn, as before is said; notwithstanding such lordship had jurisdiction royal, which many lords in Wales had, and obtained by grant from the kings of England, long after the coming of the principality of Wales to the crown of England, and yet were anciently tenants of some of those Lordships Marchers.

The like liberties did divers bishops and abbots, and the cells of St. John's of Jerusalem in England purchase; who held divers lordships in Wales as the ancient dower of their sees and abbeys, and never came to the same by conquest as the Lords Marchers did; but the same being given them by the ancient princes of Wales (but not with any such liberty and jurisdiction as may be presumed) in which lordships they did not, in the Welsh princes time, execute any such regal authority as the Lords Marchers did, as is thought, but afterwards purchased the same of the king of England, as may appear by divers ancient charters by them thereof obtained; and by some of the said charters it appeareth that after the government of the princes of Wales was expelled, that those bishops, abbots, and other religious men, were forced to take upon them the like regal power of government within their lordships, as their neighbours, the Lords Marchers did before the obtaining of any such charters; and this appeareth by the charter of Richard II. to Adam, bishop of St. David's; the words whereof are as followeth: —" Ut cum ipse episcopatum suum et quam libet parcelam ejusdem de nobis, ut de coronâ nostrâ integré teneat, ipse que ac predecessores sui episcopi loci illius jurisdictione regali in omnibus dominiis suis episcopatûs predicti, ut in cognitionibus omni modorum placitorum, personalium, et realium, ac de coronâ ad persecutionem

England, it came to pass that their lordships do remain and continue without alteration, as the same was in most things in the ancient princes's hands.

For, whereas, most of the other lordships in Wales that were won by the sword, and conquered by force of arms, the lords and conquerors thereof not regarding to observe and preserve the mears, bounds, or names of the ancient cantreds or commots, being the only divisions that were known of lordships and manors in Wales, among the ancient princes there, did alter the same, and created new bounds, by giving divers manors to their servants and men that came with them; and so would divide one commot into six or seven manors, more or less; erecting court baron in each manor; making manors, some of greater, some of less quantity of land, as pleased the lord to give, and as the person deserved; and so the bounds and the names of the ancient commots were, in most lordships that were conquered, new changed, and, in some places, the names utterly forgotten. But in the lordship of Powys, and the rest of the ancient members thereof, the commots remain entire and whole in bounds, and retain the ancient names without alteration to this day.

And, whereas, by the ancient laws of Wales, there was a court in every commot, so is there in the lordship now a court baron in every of these ancient commots for the said barony of Powys. As much as now beareth that name, and which came to the part of Jane Charlton, wife of John Gray, consisted, in old time, of six commots, namely, Caereinion, Mechan uwch Coed, Mechan iscoed, Mochnant, Llanerchhudol, and Ystradmarchell; in every one of which commots, there was, of old time, an ancient court. And now, at this day, the barony of Powys doth consist of those six manors, and called by those names, and known by their ancient bounds; and in each of these is, at this day, a court baron and leet kept, after the use of England.

And this barony, or lordship of Powys, although it be one of the royalest, greatest, largest, and best seignories and Lordships Marchers of Wales, yet hath it not any manor or lordship holden of it, as most of the rest of the Lordships Marchers in Wales that were conquered have, whereby the lord had any occasion to bestow any manors, or such gifts upon any of his men that aided him in the conquest, as other lords in Wales were wont to give to them that aided them in their conquests. Also, within the said lordship of Powys, there is no divisions of knights' fees, carucates, or ploughlands, or ox-lands, being a measure and quantity of land brought first into Wales by the English and Norman lords, and never known to the ancient Welshmen or Britons.

The like observation, as I have said of the now barony of Powys, shall you find in the rest of the members that sometimes were ancient Powys, as Mawthwy, Keri, Kedewain, Arwystly, Keveiliog, Doythwr, Cynlleth, Owes, &c. All which, for that they became subject to the crown of England by submission, and not by conquest, the ancient commots remain entire in bounds,

and retain their ancient name; and in every ancient commot, now a court baron, and not one mean manor holden of any of them, nor any knights' fees, ox-lands, or plough-lands in any of them.

The like shall you find in all the principality-lands in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Caermarthen, and Cardigan, that the ancient commots remain entire without alteration, retaining still their ancient names and bounds; and, at this day, a court baron, or hundred court, kept in each of them, as was before the Principality came to the king. But in all, or most other lordships in Wales, you shall find it altered, for the reason aforesaid. And, therefore, I have thought good to lay down, at large, the state of the lordship of Powys, being the one and only lordship of all Wales that came to be a Lordship Marcher in this sort. Whereas, near all the rest were won by force and cruelty; and, to show the reason and cause why this lordship of Powys, and other the ancient members of the same, do, in these few points, differ from the rest of the Lordships' Marchers, and so might breed a doubt, for want of true knowledge of the original cause thereof.

Further, I find, by ancient record and testimony, that the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, in Denbighshire, anciently called Dinas Brân, being the chief castle and ancient of the said lordship, came to the possession of English lords, as followeth:—

Emma, daughter to the Lord Audley, widow to Griffith ab Madog, Lord of Bromfield and Yale, Chirk, Nanthedwy, Maelor, and other lands, parcel of ancient Powys, having four sons by her husbands, between whom their fathers' inheritance was divided, strife grew between her and her husband's kindred, about custody and education of her sons; the father's kindred fearing that, if the sons should be brought up by the mother in England, the children would become English, and so rather incline to the King of England than to the Princes of Wales, between whom and both their nations, at that time, there were continual wars. But the widow getting to her possession her two eldest sons, Madog and Llewelyn, the first having, to his part, Bromfield and Yale, and the other Chirk and Nanthedwy for his portion; because she was not able to keep them and their lands from the Welshmen, nor to remain among them on her jointure, went to the King, Edward I. King of England, and delivered to him her two sons aforesaid, showing that, by right, they were his majesty's wards, by reason of the submission which the ancestors of the said infants, princes of Powys, had made formerly to the kings of England, and yielded to hold the dominion of Powys of the kings of England *in capite;* and, therefore, the king took them to his ward and protection, and committed the wardship of Madog, the eldest, to John earl Warren; and the wardship of Llewelyn to Roger Mortimer, third son of Ralph, lord Mortimer, of Wigmore; which two guardians, having the two youths and their lands in their custody, the earl Warren builded the castle of the Holt, in Bromfield, and Roger Mortimer, likewise, builded the castle of Chirk, and placed gar-

risons of English soldiers there, to defend the country from the Welshmen; but, shortly, the both wards, without issue, died. Yet, afterwards, both these guardians held still in possession of the lordships aforesaid, and would never after be driven out of them; and, to procure themselves some colour to hold the same, in the 10th of Edward I. obtained a grant, from the king, of the said lordships of Bromfield and Yale, and by force, and colour thereof, held the same from the right heirs ever after. The words of which charter, as I have seen the same, are as followeth:—

R. &c. concessimus, et hac presenti charta nostra confirmavimus dilecto ac fideli nostro Johanni de Warrena, Comiti Surrey, Castrum de Dinas Bran, quod fuit in manu nostra in principio presentis guerre nostræ Walliæ, et totam terram de Bromfield cum pertinentibus, quam Griffinus et Llewelinus filii Madoci Vychan per se, vel pertutores, seu custodes suos, in principio guerre illius tenuerunt, salvis nobis, et hæredibus nostris castro et terra de Hope, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris remanere volumus adeo plené et integré, sicut David filius Griffini inimicus et rebellis noster ea tenuit in principio guerre supradicte. Dedimus etiam et concessimus eidem comiti terram de Yale, quæ fuit Griffini Vychan, filii Griffini de Bromfield inimici nostri, habendam et tenendam, de nobis et hæredibus nostris eidem comiti, et hæredibus suis prædictum castrum de Dinas Bran, et prædictus terras de Bromfield et de Yale, plené et integré sicut prædictus Griffinus et Lewelinus terram illam de Bromfield, et prædictus Griffinus Vychan terram illam de Yale tenuerunt sicut prædictum est, una cum foris-facturis hominum de eisdem terris de Bromfield et de Yale quæ ad nos pertinere poterant vel debeant, et cum omnibus aliis ad ea pertinentibus, salvis nobis et hæredibus nostris prædictis castro et terra de Hope cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, sicut prædictum est; faciendum inde nobis et hæredibus nostris servitium quatuor feodorum militis pro omni servilio consuetudine aut demanda. Quare volumas, &c. Datum per manum nostrum apud Ruthlan septimo die Octobris, anno regni nostri decimo.

The like charter had Roger Mortimer upon Chirk; by means of which two charters, these two great lordships came to the possession of these English lords; whose issues and assigns held the same until it came to the crown; and by this charter, there is no words of *jura regalia*, or any other regal power or authority, and yet did these two lords use all the regal jurisdiction as liberal as any other Lord Marchers in Wales; and the said lordship of Bromfield was the third or fourth Lordship Marcher in Wales, and is £730 of ancient rent of assize per annum.

Also, the said Lady Emma, for that her husband's kindred in Wales did sore molest and trouble her lands of Maelor, being her jointure, and would not suffer her to enjoy the same in quiet, for anger that she had delivered her two sons to the king, and thereby had procured the coming of these two noblemen to build the castles of Bromfield and Chirk, and to bring English garrisons into the

country; she therefore desired the king to give her lands in England for it, and she would deliver to the king possession of Maelor, which the king did accept, and so came the king to possession of Maelor Saesneg, which for that her sons in ward died, the king held it ever after, and would not suffer any of their heirs to have it, pretending that they were rebels against him, and so Maelor remained a Lordship Marcher always in the king's hands, coming to the same in quiet by the delivery thereof to him by the widow without force or charge of war.

And by the former charter, made by Edward I. to John earl Warren and Surrey, he reserved to himself the lordship of Hope, being parcel of Bromfield, and so ever sithence hath the lordship of Hope continued in the crown.

And by this it seemeth that those lordships which are holden of the king, as of the principality of Wales cannot account themselves to be Lordships Marchers, although divers of such lordships, before Wales was reduced into shire ground, did use such royal or regal jurisdictions as the Lords Marchers did. And that either by a special grant from the king, or by use and custom; for it is to be found in some royal Lordships Marchers, that the mean lords that were their tenants, had the like royal jurisdiction in some things in their mean lordships as their lord paramount had; and this came by the grant or permission of their own lord paramount; and, therefore, the statute of 34 Henry VIII. and 4 Mariæ, which seemeth to respect, and take especial notice of the liberties of those lordships, doth call them lordships royal, in respect of their royal liberties then used, and therefore doth couple them, and the Lordships Marchers, and lordships royal in Wales, shall have and enjoy divers liberties, and much privileges there mentioned.

By this means the noblemen won many countries in Wales, and the king himself won divers also upon his charge, and those countries that were won upon the charges of his lords remained to them and their heirs; but those that were won at the king's charge remained to the king; except such of the same as was after bestowed on some of his nobles for their good service.

And it is to be remembered that almost all Wales was and had been in the hands of English lords before the time that prince Llewelyn was slain, as before is said; so that there was nothing left to prince Llewelyn but the shires of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and part of Flint in North Wales, and most part of Caermarthenshire, viz. West Towy, and all Cardiganshire in South Wales, which as yet was not won by the king or any English lord, and was in the government of the said prince Llewelyn; and so much is answered to his majesty to this day by the name and title of Parcella principalitatis Walliæ, and no more; the rest was before conquered by Lords Marchers, and is answered to his majesty by the title of other men's lands, that have been owners thereof, and came to the crown by attainder or otherwise.

Edward III. as it seemed, doubting or menacing the severing of the principality of Wales from the crown of England, and fearing

that thereby the kings of England might lose the tenure and services of the Lords Marchers in Wales, by reason of uniting both together, and that the principality departing from the crown of England, the said Lordships Marchers should be construed in law to pass with the principality from the crown of England, by reason of the union of the possession of them both in his highness's hands, *simul et semel*, the dismembering of which Lordships Marchers might be a great weakening of the crown of England. And some Lords Marchers, willing to ease themselves of their services due to the king, would willingly offer to hold their Lordships of other lords; and some great men did intrude, and would force some Lordships Marchers to hold of them; therefore, very providently to prevent the same, in the 28th year of his reign, cap. 2. it was enacted by parliament, that all the Lords of the Marches of Wales shall be perpetually attendant and annexed to the crown of England, as their ancestors had always been before, and not to the principality of Wales, into whose hands soever the same shall come hereafter.

Anno 2 Henry IV. cap. 18, it was ordained that the Lords of the Marches of Wales should set sufficient stuffing and ward, in their castles and seigniories, to the intent that no loss or damage should come to the king, or his realm, by their tenants, or other Welshmen, in their default, as was done for default of good government in times past.

By which words it seemeth that there was no Lord Marcher without a castle; and his charge was to keep a sufficient garrison to suppress those of the country of Wales, that should seem to arise, and annoy the king's subjects. And, therefore, it seemeth that all those little towns, whereof we see many in Wales, were built close to most castles to keep those garrisons, and the ancient inhabitants of all those towns were Englishmen, kept of purpose by the Lords, as a trusty garrison of his own countrymen, to subdue those of the country at such time as they should offer any revolt, as before is said, which appeareth by that it was enacted by parliament, anno 4 Henry IV. cap. 32, that the garrisons of castles and walled towns in Wales should be sufficiently provided, and stored with valiant English persons, strangers to the seignories, where the said castles should be set, and not of any mixed of the said parties, or seigniories, in Wales, till the land was appeased.

And for proof that there were Englishmen that inhabited those towns in ancient time, it appeareth by the names and surnames of the men at that time that so did inhabit therein; and although most of the inhabitants of those towns are now become mere Welsh in language and manner of living, yet doth many retain the English names, and most places about those towns are yet called by English names. Also, the ancient charters of those towns do give great liberty to the Englishmen of those towns. Neither might any Welshman be a burgess, or purchase any lands within any borough in Wales, as appeareth by divers ancient statutes, namely, 2 Henry IV. cap. 12 and 20. Also it was enacted that no Welsh-

man should have any castle, fortress, or house of defence, saving such as was in the time of king Edward, conqueror of Wales; except bishops, and other temporal lords, 4 Henry IV. cap. 31.

By which policy, and means abovesaid, the kings of England, by setting of their noblemen, and others, to get countries and lordships in Wales, and to cause them to build castles, fortresses, and towns, to place English soldiers therein, always ready to subdue the Welshmen, if they offered to rise or rebel against the kings of England, in time subdued most part of the country of Wales, without any great charge of the kings of England; and the more to encourage them, the kings of England suffered the Lords to use all regal authority and jurisdiction over the country so subdued; regarding more to have them subdued, and kept in obedience from interrupting the king's subjects in England, than any other thing.

And the more to encourage the haughty and valiant-minded men of England to take in hand the subduing of countries in Wales, the kings of England used one other allurement to draw on those that were thirsty of honour and pre-eminence; which was to create such of his English subjects, as should subdue any country in Wales, and being subject to the crown of England, to be a Lord Baron and Peer of the realm, and to have place and voice in the parliament-house of England by the name or title of a lord or baron of such country in Wales as he subdued, or conquered there, and to advance them thereby, from the number of the commons of the realm, to be of the highest rank of men, to be peers of the realm; which thing, no doubt, drew on many valiant minds to take this enterprize in hand. And, therefore, by search of the parliament rolls in the Tower, among the writs of summons of the barons, you shall find there, in the times of Henry III. Edward II. Edward III. and other kings, that there were twenty-one barons that had places in parliament by baronies and lordships in Wales, which had been conquered by them, and their ancestors, from the Welshmen.

And this the kings of England did for two especial causes: the one, as before is said, to allure his subjects to subdue the Welshmen, and bring them and their country under his obedience, upon the charge of his subjects. The other was to explain to the world the kings of England's right over Wales, which they claimed to be a member, and, of right authority, subject to the crown of England, which the kings of England still pretended, and the princes of Wales always denied. And to set forth and demonstrate to the world, the kings of England's right to their supremacy over Wales, there could no better course be devised, nor the king's title made more evident and apparent to all nations, than that the lords and barons of Wales were members of the parliament of England, which did openly show and manifest that Wales must be subject, and under the crown of England.

But of all those twenty-one lordships that in those days had and held their places in parliament, there is only Abergavenny at this day that still continueth his place and name, and in the line and blood of the first conqueror thereof [illegible] is the proto-baron, or first

and primer lord of all the barons of this realm, a matter very remarkable and worthy of many good notes; all the rest of the said baronies having lost their name and place, either by coming to the crown, or to other barons, that formerly had other places and titles in the parliament, and so drowned in oblivion, and grown out of knowledge.

Also it appeareth that, in those days, the more to allure men to the conquest of Wales, whosoever would undertake the conquering or subduing any country in Wales, the king would allow and grant him any prerogative whatsoever he would desire in the country subdued; and, therefore, in the statute of *Prerogativæ Regis*, made anno 17 Edward II. cap. 1, it appeareth that Lords Marchers had granted to them that the king should not have his prerogative in wards' lands, that are of the fees of the earls and barons in the Marches, *ubi brevia regis non currant*. And this seemeth to have been permitted to them before, at the first by the kings, when they first undertook such conquests in Wales; and after, when this statute of prerogative was made, the earls and barons then in parliament, that had Lordships Marchers, stood to have that exception in for those things which the kings had allowed and permitted them to enjoy in former time; for, otherwise, they could not nor would not have stood upon, this being long after the conquering of the Prince of Wales, and divers years after that the Lords Marchers had given over winning any country in Wales.

And by those means, in a short time, viz. in and before the time of King Edward I. almost all the country of Wales was in the possession of English lords; and each of them, in every great seignory, builded new castles and towns, so that there is scarce a castle in Wales, being in number about one hundred and forty-three castles, but is known to this day to have been builded by some English lord or other.

And so the government of Wales was continued under those Lords Marchers until the time of Henry VII. in whose time, the Welshmen willingly submitted themselves in heart to his highness, being paternally descended of those ancient princes of the British line, in such sort that they, who in former times had been termed so disobedient to the crown of England, and against whom the kings of England promulged such unnatural and extreme laws, as never any prince did the like against his subjects, grew so quiet, that king Henry VIII. in his time, did well perceive that the people and country of Wales might be governed by laws as the subjects of England, and not left to the thraldom and cruelty used by the Lords Marchers.

And whereas at the first, the permitting of the Lords Marchers to have such absolute government of the subdued Welshmen was found a good policy to bring them low, and the more ready to obey, yet when as the said Welshmen had yielded themselves to be governed by due course of law, and live in civil and quiet sort, as the rest of the subjects of England, which they did not till the times of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. then was the government and regal

jurisdiction of the said Lords Marchers, which was in most places executed most injuriously, by bad, partial, and covetous ministers, found to be most noisome, and rather a cause to urge the subjects to revolt and rebel, than to preserve and keep in quietness the country people. Whereupon, the said king Henry VIII. in the 27th year of his reign, by deep and grave advice, and profound counsel, did resume into his own hands the whole prerogatives which the Lords Marchers used by jurisdictions more fit for a prince than a subject, and left no more regal authority than lords of manors in England have, as is said before.

And perceiving that all or most Lords Marchers had no grants from the kings of England for any liberty or franchises for any of their Lordships Marchers, but the same was used and taken by them at the beginning, of their own authority, the kings of England consenting thereunto and permitting the same, and maintained only by prescription; he did provide, by act of parliament, that they might hold court barons, court leets, have waif, estray, infangthief, outfangthief, treasure trove, deodands, and felons' goods, goods of outlaws, wreck of the sea, moiety of recognizance forfeited, and divers other things, and provided that they might hold those by prescription within their lordships, as they did before in times past, notwithstanding the abrogating of the rest of their authorities. Sithence which time for that the said jurisdictions and authorities which were the most common signs, outward badges, and tokens, whereby the common people, and others of the ignorant sort, took knowledge of Lordships Marchers in Wales, and which were some not claiming the same, which never was allowed; and some who are, and ought to be allowed, are denied to be so.

For resolution of which doubt and question, which I have often heard moved and debated, by the opinion of the gravest and best learned, it is thought fit we should resort and learn out the first original beginning, and the cause, when, why, and the manner how those Lordships Marchers had their first beginning, as a ground most sure to know the same. Whereby it will appear that there can be no Lordships Marchers, but such as were subdued by the king of England, or some of his subjects to his use, or their own, before the death of Llewelyn ab Griffith, and before the coming of the Principality of Wales to the hands of the kings of England, which was in the 11th year of Edward I.

And to know what lordships in Wales were so subdued before the coming of the Principality to the king's hands, you must know that so many lordships as were so subdued of ancient time in Wales, were and are holden of the crown of England in chief, and not of the Principality of Wales, nor of any other mean lordship or manor, which is an evident and manifest token of a Lordship Marcher, and this tenure only may be a sufficient note or badge for trial of the doubt; and, therefore, the ancient officers or inquisitions, found after the deaths of the ancient lords of those lordships, will show much light therein, and the same is one of the most

certain tokens of all other, and carrieth most reason and proofs with it.

Also, there is no Lordship Marcher that hath not been, in ancient time, the inheritance of some English lord or nobleman; for that lordship, if any be in Wales, that hath continually been in the possession of any Welsh lord, and not given him by the king till the conquest of Wales, or that was holden of the Prince of Wales, which Prince of Wales never suffered any of his subjects to enjoy any of the said jurisdictions that the kings of England permitted to the Lords Marchers of Wales, cannot be said to be any of the Lordships Marchers of Wales. All those Lordships Marchers which were holden of the king in chief, before the said conquest of Wales, if any suit grew for the title or inheritance thereof, the same was pleaded at the common law in Westminster; and there were fines levied of those seignories, and of no other in Wales, which is one other evident and apparent sign of a Lordship Marcher. Vide Fitzh. tit Jurisdiction, 23 William I. 13 Edward III. 21 Henry VII. 33, 34, et 18. Brook tit Jurisdiction, et vide quod Vicont de Gloucester serva execution, sur recoverie en dower in Marches de Gales et in manor tent in chief. Fitzh. tit dower 71. T. primo Edward III.

Another badge, or token, which divers men take to know Lordship Marcher by, is that if he did exercise *jura regalia* within the lordship, that is, trial of life and death, hold plea of land, and such like, then some say that was a Lordship Marcher; which, in the opinion of those that are both learned and skilful in the ancient estate and government of Wales, doth not always hold. For that it is evident that some manors holden of others Lordships Marchers in Wales, did use the same by grant of their lords paramount, and yet were never Lordships Marchers of themselves, but holden over of some other Lordship Marcher, and never held immediate of the crown of England. And some such liberties might also be purchased by charter from the king by those to whom he gave lordships, after the subduing of the Principality; and yet doth this differ much from the beginning of a Lordship Marcher; neither did the kings of England write to such lords for men, or any other urgent affairs, when he wrote to all the Lords Marchers of Wales, as appeareth by the ancient records in the Tower; but always wrote to the lords paramount, which held immediate of the king, having the said paramount to command such mean lord as held of him.

And divers small and mean lordships in Wales in process of time, and at such time as their chief lords went into England, and leave their tenants and servants holding lordships of them to be their stewards, and license tenants under them within their seignories in Wales, did usurp and encroach divers authorities and jurisdictions regal to themselves within their manors that they held of their Lords Marchers, for there are few or none Lords Marchers in South Wales but had divers and sundry manors holden of them. Whereupon you shall fine great quarrels and suits of latter times

between some of the Lords Marchers and their tenants, and *quo warranto* brought touching those matters.

Also some Lords Marchers did give their tenants such jurisdiction within their manors which they held of them, and yet were they for all this no Lordships Marchers, as before is said. And, also, some of the English Lords Marchers having, in process of time, brought their countries or lordships into quiet and civil government, returned home to their ancient habitations in England, and grew careless of their lordships in Wales; and so remaining in England, did sell or give away these jurisdictions, or some part of the same to some others of the Lords Marchers adjoining; for that the revenues of their lordships would not bear and defray the charge of justices, chamberlains, chancellors, constables of the castle, and other officers to minister justice there, which of necessity must be Englishmen, and learned in the laws of England, who would not supply the rooms without greater fees than the profits of those casualties would yield unto the lords. And yet did those lordships remain Lordships Marchers, and were bound in all things to serve the king of England, as other Lordships Marchers did, as to keep their castles in repair, and their garrisons complete, to be ready to serve the king in wars, with competent number of able men of those manors or countries which they had subdued, and held of the kings of England, and to serve as well against the Welshmen or elsewhere the king had need.

One other apparent sign to know a Lordship Marcher by is said to be the passing and conveying of lands, within the manor or lordship, by course of the common law of England, viz. by fine, recovery, deed and release, livery of seizin and attornment, before the 27th of Henry VIII. which was most certainly brought in by the English lords that conquered those countries and lordships from the Welshmen. For before the subduing of Wales, the same was governed wholly by the laws of Howell *Dda*, some time Prince of Wales; by which law all the land in Wales did pass by surrender in court, and not by fine or feoffment, deed or release; and, therefore, in all lordships where those English lords did alter this Welsh custom, there are ancient deeds, releases, indentures, fines, and recoveries, to be seen and found long before Wales was divided into shire ground, which argueth the same was conquered by an English lord; and so, consequently, seem to be a Lordship Marcher. But in that part of Wales which prince Llewelyn had in his possession, which is mentioned before, and is now accounted the principality lands, he used in the same the ancient laws of his fathers and country; and the same use of law continued for passing and conveying of lands after king Edward I. recovered the Principality, and so until the 27th of Henry VIII. Sithence which time, throughout all Wales, they used to convey and pass their lands by conveyances at the common law, which was used before only in Lordships Marchers, conquered by some English lord in old time.

But this is no certain token for a general trial of a Lordship

Marcher from another that is not; for that there were divers Lordships Marchers in which the lords thereof did permit their tenants to continue their ancient custom in that point, and to pass their lands by surrender in court according to the laws of Howell *Dda*, to divide the same among heirs male, as before is declared; and yet were these lordships conquered by the English lords, and had all other trials by the laws of England, as it is more largely touched before. Besides, there are divers lordships in Wales that the first English lords did give lands to their tenants to hold by copy of court roll, which is a common tenure in England; and in all those lordships there is no deed or release to be seen yet at this day; and, therefore, although the passing of lands in Wales, before it became shire ground, by deed, release, fine, and recovery, be an evident sign that the same was conquered from the Welshmen, yet doth it not hold the converse, for the reasons above said.

Also, the Lords Marchers of Wales, in ancient time, did use and were so permitted, of their own absolute power, to incorporate towns and boroughs, and gave them divers charters and liberties such as pleased them, without seeking leave or license of the king of England, which is taken for a very probable sign that such were Lords Marchers; for you cannot find any such grants or charters throughout Wales but such as were made by Lords Marchers. One other sign or token of a Lord Marcher is an unreasonable custom used within the said Lordships Marchers of Wales, which was to have all the goods of any of their tenants that died intestate within their Lordships Marchers; which custom, although it seemeth against law and reason, and fit to be numbered among the unlawful customs which, by act of parliament, are abolished, yet was and is the same used in all or most of the Lordships Marchers; saving where the lords of a good mind and conscience have released to their tenants the same unreasonable custom by special charters; many of which releases are yet extant, to be seen in divers lordships in Wales. And it appeareth among the records in the Tower, in 28 Edward III. in Bundelli Esceat, that, upon a commission granted to certain commissioners to inquire whether there were any such customs used in Wales, yet is therefore found by office that the Lords in the Marches of Wales had and used the same customs within their Lordships Marchers time out of mind.

It was, also, in ancient time a special matter and a most undoubted and infallible sign to know the Lords Marchers of Wales by, that the king and council in all weighty affairs, as for wars, musters, guarding of the sea coasts against foreign invasions, and other such like affairs of importance, touching matters of estate for Wales, used to write to the lords of the several countries and Lordships in Wales; as the queen and council used at this day to write unto the sheriffs, justices of the peace, or lieutenants of shires, charging and requiring them to have a special and careful regard unto the said lordships and countries which they then held of the king, that the people thereof were sufficiently armed, and the sea-coasts and their castles carefully guarded with watch and ward;

whereof there are divers precedents extant to be seen among the records in the Tower. This, also, is plainly expressed, and the same still preserved in the Statute of Wales, anno 34 Henry VIII. cap. 25, where it is enacted that all people for urgent affairs were for the causes aforesaid, for other process of the king's court did never run into Wales, and these processes were always directed to the lords of manors and other governors and stewards of each lordship, as is before declared, for other officers in Wales the king had not. Also, the Lords Marchers of Wales being permitted to take upon themselves all manner of regal and royal government, some of them imitating the king, in creating the tenures of their freeholders, they created tenure to hold of them *in capite*, and enjoyed, within their Lordships Marchers, over and among their tenants, the like prerogative as the king did, by his prerogative royal, within his realm. Wherever this is found, it is a great argument and a manifest sign of a Lordship Marcher; yet this is not so common a matter as that it should be expected in every Lordship Marcher, for, in divers lordships, the same is not to be found; but, wheresoever the same is found, it is a great confirmation that the same was an ancient Lordship Marcher at the first.

So that, by this, which is before written, the truest and surest mark to know a Lordship Marcher is to see whether the same was conquered from the princes of Wales, in ancient time, and holden of the kings of England, before the coming of the Principality to the kings of England; and, to know the same, the most certain direction is to search the ancientest *Inquisitiones post mortem* of those lords. Another apparent and infallible sign and badge to know a Lordship Marcher by is, that the escheator of the Marches of Wales did, in ancient time, inquire of the tenure, and find office *post mortem*, after the death of the lords of those lordships; and that by writ and commission, to him directed, out of the king's chancery of England; for, as soon as the Marches of Wales were wholly subdued and won by the English lords, and brought to hold of the kings of England; for that the same lordships were not in any shire of England, and the king had no escheator to inquire of the tenures of those lordships; the same was, therefore, laid upon the escheators of the next English shires adjoining to those lordships, by making him also escheator of the Marches of Wales as well as of the English shires adjoining; and so the escheator had the charge, care, and survey of all Lordships Marchers that were holden of the king, who, by his office of escheator of the Marches, would come into any Lordship Marcher in Wales, in what part soever, and swear an inquest, and find an office, after the death of any Lord Marcher, and inquire of the tenure and value of his Lordship Marcher. Whereas, all offices of other manors that were holden of the king, as of his Principality, were found, by virtue of writs and commissions issuing out of the king's exchequer of Carnarvon or Chester, for North Wales, and the exchequer of Carmarthen or Cardigan, for South Wales, or out of Pembroke, for lands holden of the king, as of the earldom of Pembroke;

the like was for lands holden of the king, of any other Lordship Marcher, as Glamorgan, Brecknock, Denbigh, Bromfield, &c. But always offices found, of any ancient Lordship Marcher in Wales, which was holden of the king before the Principality of Wales came to the crown, the same was always found by writ or commission out of the king's chancery at London, and under the great seal of England, and the offices found upon the same returned into the same court, whereof there are many to be found extant in the Tower, to this day, of every Lordship Marcher in Wales.

And now, to know the difference, at this day, between a Lordship Marcher and another lordship that is not, as the case now standeth, the one little differeth from the other only in those things that are reserved to Lordships Marchers and Lordships Royal, by the statute of 24 Henry, cap. 9, against killing of waynling, which the butchers were not to kill under two years old. The penalty is given to Lords Marchers; and, by the statute of 26 Henry VIII. cap. 4, they should have the defaults of those that appear not at their courts; and, by the statute 27 Henry VIII. cap. 26, they shall have half the forfeiture of common mainprize, recognizance of the peace, or appearance forfeited by their tenants as answered them by the sheriffs; mizes and profits of their tenants, as they used to have at their first entry; and keep and hold courts barons, courts leets, and law days, and all things to the same courts belonging, and shall have, within the precinct of their lordships and law days, waif, strays, infangthief and outfangthief, treasure-trove, deodands, goods and chattels of felons and of persons condemned or outlawed of felony or murder; and, also, wreck *de mere*, whartage, and custom of strangers, as they have had in times past, as though such privileges were granted unto them by the king, by point of charter; and, by the statute of 1 Edward VI. cap. 10, for adwarding of proclamations into Wales, upon suits out of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the liberty, interest, and preeminence of Lords Marchers is saved by proviso; and, by the statute of 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 15, the self same things as are granted them before, by the statutes of 27 Henry VIII. cap. 26, is to them there confirmed, which, in effect, is all the difference that is to be found between a Lordship Marcher and another lordship that was not of that prerogative, which are left as a memorial to posterity to know which were Lordships Marches in times past.

And now, to know why those lordships were first called Lordships Marchers and Lords of the Marches of Wales, (for so you shall find them called in most ancient records,) seeing divers and many of them are far from those parts which we now call the Marches of Wales, and placed in the very heart and centre of Wales, and some in the most remote and farthest part of Wales. The cause why was, for that, at the first, these Lordships Marchers, first of all other places, began in the Marches of Wales next adjoining to England. For the lords of England first of all began,

after the conquest, to subdue those parts nearest unto them, and to take from the Welshmen those countries next adjoining to England, which was, and now is, called the Marches of Wales; being also the best and chiefest soil of all Wales, and there, when divers lords had won divers countries, and made lordships thereof, they were called the Lords of the Marches; and in time, by corruption of speech, they were called Lords Marchers, by omitting the syllables "of the," and, instead thereof, adding the letter "r" to the word Marches, and making that Lords Marchers for ease of speech.

And in the Marches are the most ancient Lordships Marchers to be found; for the Welshmen, inhabiting near at hand, were wont to make sudden invasions upon the kings of England's subjects next unto them, and oftentimes would take them prisoners, sometimes burn towns and villages, take away their goods, and invade the countries with open hostility: which great injuries first forced the kings of England, upon the humble complaint of their subjects, to take in hand to subdue the country, and to set divers of his noblemen to subdue, first, those parts which did most annoy him; and, therefore, there were very strong towns and cities built in those quarters that then were the limits of both countries, viz. upon the river Severn, as, namely, Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Salop, and Chester upon the river Dee, as formerly is said, all towns of great force; and there were great and mighty subjects placed as men of fittest force and ability to defend and annoy the Welshmen, as may well appear by the ancient earls of these towns and cities. Then did these noblemen and earls of these towns, having once firmly seated themselves in strong fortifications, proceed further into Wales, and won many lordships, as Clifford, The Hay, Abergavenny, Chepstow, Monmouth, Usk, Newport, Skynfraith, and to Buellt, Brecknock, and Radnorshire, and came not further, by land, that way; and this was not done by one army, nor at once, but at many and sundry times, from year to year, and by several and sundry lords. The like did the earls of Chester, Salop, and others, for Montgomery, or Rhos Rhyvoniog, Bromfield, Yale, Kedewain, Clun, Oswestry, Whittingdon, Hawarden, and Elesmere, and the rest out towards Chester.

And to the end the Welshmen might not, at any hand, be free, but occupied on every side, that their forces should, of necessity, be dispersed, and their country, at one instant, invaded, divers of the English lords did attempt to environ the country of Wales, and, by water, brought great armies, and invaded and subdued great countries on the sea-coast of Wales, as the lordship of Glamorgan, the lordship of Gower, the lordships of Kedwely, Laugharne, Llanstephan, the earldom of Pembroke, the lordship of Kemmes, which was the furthest part of Wales that was subdued by any Lord Marcher that way, upon the north sea-coast, who was forced always to confront the princes of Wales, for that he was next to their country of Cardiganshire, and daily subject to their sudden invasion, and, therefore, stood in most danger of all the Lordships

Marchers of Wales, for, from the river of Tivy, in South Wales, to the river of Conway, in North Wales, was there no Lordship Marcher, but the same countries remained wholly to the princes of Wales until the Principality came to the crown.

And this word "Lord Marcher, or Lords of the Marches of Wales," was not only proper to those lordships, within those parts which now are counted to be the Marches of Wales only, but it was always applied, spoken, and meant of all such lordships as were subdued by the English lords, and taken from the princes of Wales, and holden of the kings of England in chief, in what part soever the same lordship lay, yea, were it in the farthest parts of Wales, or in the heart or in-land of Wales, as appeareth plainly; for that the escheators, in ancient time, in the shires of Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, and Worcester, were, also, escheators of the Marches of Wales, as appeareth by divers inquisitions found before them; which, by reason that they were escheators of the Marches of Wales, did inquire of the tenure of Lordships Marchers in all parts of Wales, as in Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and all other shires in Wales, where Lordships Marchers were; and, by this means, the escheator for the Marches of Wales, in the time of Edward I. Edward II. and Edward III. and other kings, tried and did inquire after the death of Londres and the duke of Lancaster, for the tenure of Kedwely and Carnwillion, after the earls of Pembroke, for the earldom of Pembroke, after the death of Sir William Martin and others, for the lordship of Kemmes, after the death of the lord of Abergavenny and Brecknock; and did come into those parts and lordships, and that in execution of their office to inquire thereof; whereby it appeareth that this word Marches of Wales, as touching the matter we now treat of, was taken to extend to all Wales that was subdued by the Lords Marchers, and not stinted to these parts which we now call the Marches. Although, first of all, the same name took beginning in that part which we call the Marches, being next adjoining unto England, and was the first part subdued, and brought subject to England by the means aforesaid, and was the means and cause that they were called Lords of the Marches, and afterwards Lords Marchers.

And that this word "Marches" of Wales was taken for every part of Wales so subdued by any English lord is evident by the statute of 27 Henry VIII. cap. 26, which saith that the said statute shall not be prejudicial to Sir Walter Devereux, for the office of stewardship of the Lordship of Builth, in the Marches of South Wales; which Lordship of Builth is in the heart of Wales, in the county of Brecknock, and not in those parts that we now call by the name of the Marches of Wales. And, also, in the tenth year of Henry IV. it is found before the escheator of Herefordshire, by an office found after the death of John Tutchett, Lord Audeley, as follows:—"Dicunt quòd prædictus Johannes Tutchett, Chr. tenuit in Marchia Walliæ prædicto comitatui adjacens, medietatem castri et dominii de Newport in Kemes, et tenetur de domino rege in ca-

pite per servicium militare;" which lordship of Kemmes and the castle of Newport lieth in the farthest part of Pembrokeshire, upon the sea-coast; and yet was, it is said, to be in the Marches of Wales, comit Hereford adjacens, for no other cause but that it was a Lordship Marcher, and was first subdued by an English lord, and so came to be holden of the king in chief, as the Lordships that lay in the Marches were at the first, and, therefore, for this cause did the Lordships Marchers first take that name; were they never so far in the heart of Wales, if they came to be subdued, as the Lordships in the Marches first were, and were Lordships Marchers indeed.

Also, this point is much manifested by the inquisition taken before the commissioners, appointed for that purpose, 28 Edward III. before mentioned, touching intestate's goods, where it is found, *quod domini*, in Marchia Walliæ, had these customs in their lordships, and it appeareth by the ancient charter of Tenby, made by Aymer de Valence, 16 Edward II. and the charter of Haverfordwest, made by Edward I. *anno regni sui* 19, that they released the same custom to their burgesses of those towns; and Sir Nicholas Martin did the like to his tenants of Kemes: and yet it is manifest that Tenby, Haverfordwest, and Kemes are not near the parts next England, but in the remotest and farthest parts of Wales. The like is found, by the office, upon the attainder of James, earl of Wiltshire, to be used and due in Laugharne, in the fifth year of Edward IV. which is also in Carmarthenshire, upon the sea-side; so that it appeareth that *dominium in Marchia Walliæ* was then understood of every lordship in Wales, in what part soever the same was.

Also, the lordship of Gower, being the farthest part of Glamorganshire from England, and close adjoining to Carmarthenshire, is said to be in the Marches of Wales; for that it was a Lordship Marcher, and not by reason it stood in the Marches, next to England.—Holingshed, p. 858.

And now I will end here with answering a doubt which I have heard moved of divers, which was that, seeing the river of Severn was the ancient bound and limit between Cambria, now called Wales, and England, why all the land that is over the said river of Severn, viz. all Herefordshire, and so much beyond Severn as was part of the ancient countries of Gloucester, Salop, and Worcestershires, had not been divided into Lordships Marchers, as the rest of Wales was; for it is certain that a great part of the land beyond Severn did anciently belong, and was part of Gloucestershire, some other part of Worcestershire, and some part of Shropshire, long before the statute of 27 Henry VIII. Also, the whole ancient shire of Hereford is wholly beyond Severn, and yet was not divided into Lordships Marchers, as the rest of the Marches were, that was won sithence the conquest.

To know the cause of this, you must understand that so much of Wales beyond Severn, as made the ancient county of Hereford, and so much also beyond Severn as was anciently part of the

counties of Gloucester, Worcester, or Salop, was, long before the conquest, won from the Welshmen, viz. in, or shortly after, the time of Offa, king of Mercia, and all the Welshmen clearly expelled there thence, and the country new planted with Englishmen. And this was long before the dividing of England into shires, and the same was then annexed, and become part of the kingdom of Mercia, and so, as part of that kingdom, it came to the hands of king Alfred, who first divided England into shires; and, therefore, he finding it ready subdued, and the Welshmen expelled, made no difference between it and that which was on this side Severn; but divided that with the rest into shires, and so added some part thereof to the shires of Gloucester, Worcester, and Salop, and made the whole shire of Hereford, all beyond Severn, a shire of itself.

For herein I find a difference between conquering of Wales by the Saxons and Norman kings; for so much of Wales as the Saxon kings did win, they then did it themselves, and at their own charges and to their own use, and did not suffer their subjects to deal therein. But when the Norman kings came, and had possession of the whole realm of England, the Conqueror, at his first coming, contented himself with the realm of England, and thought himself well off to have so good success in the conquest thereof; and all his time did not bend much of his forces against Wales more than he was forced to do, by their invading of his people and country; and also his issues after him, being much busied with keeping their countries in France quiet, were not so well able to attend wars on every side, and that those countries of Wales that were unsubdued were rough and hilly, and hard to vanquish, they thought it a better policy to give to their nobility such part thereof as they could conquer and subdue of Wales.

They did attend wars in other places, which the Saxon kings never did; so there never was any lordship won in Wales by any subject, but sithence the coming of William the Conqueror; and that Herefordshire, and such part of the other three shires aforesaid, as lieth beyond the Severn, and was parcel of the ancient shires, was not won from the Welshmen sithence the conquest, as some do suppose, and would infer, may appear evidently by one manor or lordship in Hereford, called Urchingfield, being one of the farthest parts of that shire towards Wales, is ancient demesne lands; of which kind there is none to be found in all England, but such as was in the possession of king Edward the Confessor, before the conquest, and king William the Conqueror, which argueth plainly that it must be won from the Welshmen long before the conquest, and that Herefordshire was won from the Welshmen by the Saxons, and that it was by all likelihood made a shire when king Alfred first divided all England into shires, and that it is no new shire, as some do imagine, because it lieth over Severn, and was within the bounds of ancient Cambria.

See Silas Taylor, of this Urchinfield, in his History of Gavelkind, p. 106, and Humphrey Llwyd, in his Fragment of the Description

of Wales, his Latin book, p. 52, first edition, English translation, p. 63, whose words, as Bryan Twyne translates, are, Gwyr Reunwe makes one of the six states that met at the mouth of the river Dyvi to choose Maelgwyn Gwynedd king, about the year 560; and p. 74 of his Breviary of Britain, as he calls it, and not far from thence, viz. Lamstre, or Llanllieni, is the ancient city, Henffordd, standing upon Wye, or, more truly, upon Gwy, in old time called Ferleg, now Hereford. Towards Severn, on Malvern-Hills, and in the very corner between Severn and Wye, not far from the town of Ross, is that renowned wood, which, of the Danes, is called the Forest of Dean. These regions, with all Herefordshire beyond Wye, before they were possessed by the Englishmen, in old time, were termed in British *Ewrgeinese*, and inhabitants *Ewrnwyr*, of which name there remaineth yet some signification, apparent in one place of Herefordshire; for that which the Englishmen called Urchenfield, the Welshmen called *Ergnig*, and afterwards *Ergengel*, and no marvel, since the least portion retaineth now the name of Powys.

An Abstract of divers Records found in the Tower, where the Kings in ancient time wrote to divers Lords Marchers in Wales, and People of those Lordships, touching Affairs required of them, in respect of their Lordships, which they held of the King of England, in manner as followeth.

King Edward I. in the eleventh year of his reign, at which time he brought his great, and the last army that was in Wales, and in which the last prince Llewelyn* was slain, and when the king first came to the possession of the Principality of Wales; the king and his army being at Aberconway, fearing the scarcity of victuals that might ensue, wrote to the officers of all the good towns and countries of South Wales that were formerly subdued by the Lords Marchers, and were at the king's commandment, that they should cause victuals to be brought out of all those parts to Montgomery *in quindena pascha* next following, to furnish the king's army, where he writeth to the chief towns in every Lordship Marcher, and to some Lordships themselves as followeth.

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Swansey.—Ballivis, Mercatoribus et Probis Hominibus, de Swansey; which is the chief town of the lordship of Gower.

Bristol.—Majori, Ballivis, Probis Hominibus, et Mercatoribus, de Bristol.

Cardiff.—Ballivis, Probis Hominibus, et Mercatoribus, de Cardiff; which is the chief town of Glamorgan.

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* The said prince was slain about the feast of St. Lucy next after, as saith Ranulphe, monk of Chester. Lib. vii. cap. 38, fol. 379.

Strongol. — Ballivis, Probis Hominibus, et Mercatoribus, de Strongol; which is the chief town of Netherwent, in Monmouthshire.
Haverford.—Ballivis, &c. de Haverford.
Pembroke.—Ballivis, &c. de Pembroke.
Laugharne.—Ballivis, &c. de Laugharne.
St. Clare.—Ballivis, &c. de St. Clare.
Kemes.—Ballivis, &c. de Cameys.
Kelgarron.—Ballivis, &c. de Kelgarron.
Caerlion.—Ballivis, &c. de Caerlion.
Carmarden.—Ballivis, &c. de Carmarden.
Cardigan.—Ballivis, &c. de Cardigan.
Brecknock.—Ballivis, &c. de Brecknock.
Kedwely.—Ballivis, &c. de Kedwely.
Uske.—Ballivis, &c. de Uske.
Llandestephan.—Ballivis, &c. de Llandestephan.
Austedyne.—Ballivis, &c. de Austedyne, *Austalyn.*
Monmouth.—Ballivis, &c. de Monmouth.
Burgevenny.—Ballivis, &c. de Burgevenny.
Blenlueny.—Ballivis, &c. de Blenlueny.

King Edward II. in his wars in Scotland against Robert de Bruce, wrote to those Lord Marchers in Wales to send to his aid the number of men following, out of their several Lordships Marchers. The date of these letters patents to them is 18 Junii, anno 3 Edward II.

Kedwely et Carwarthlan.—Henrico de Lancaster, de terris suis de Kedwely et Carwarthlan 100
Canterbagh.—Johi Gifford, de Brumsfield, et Caterina de Aldeghlegh, de terra sua de Canterbagh 100
Gower.—Willo de Breinosa, de terra sua de Gower 100
Powys.—Griffino de la Pool et Johanni de Charlton, de terra sua de Powys 400
Elwell.—Guidoni de Bello Campo, comitati Warwick, de terra sua de Elwell 200
Clun.—Edmonds, comiti Arundel, de terra sua de Clun..... 200
Morganog.—Gilberto de Clare, comiti Gloucester et Hertford, de terra sua Morganog 500
Brechenog.—Humfredo de Bohun, comiti Hereford et Essex, de terra sua Brechenog 100
Ewyas.—Rogero de Mortuo, Mari de Wigmore, et Theobald de Verdon; de terra sua de Ewyas 100
Kemes et Dyvett.—Menevensi Episcopo et Willielmo Martin, de terris suis Kemes et Dyvett 200
Melenith, Kerry, et Kedewen.—Præfato Rogero, de terris suis de Melenith, Kerry, et Kedewen 200

Magnatibus, Northwalliæ.

Dyffryn Cloyt.—Johanne de Grey, de terra sua de Dyffryn Cloyt 100
Nanthudo et Glandyfrdwy.—Rogero de Mortuo, Mari de Chirk, de terra sua de Nanthudo et Glandyfrdwy .. 200
Ros et Ryvoniog.—Henrico de Lacie, comiti Lincoln, de terris suis de Ros et Ryvoniog 200
Bromfield.—Johanni de Warrena, comiti Surrey, de terra sua de Bromfield, pro 200
Mohuntsdale.—Roberto de Monte Alto, de terra sua de Mohuntsdale 100

Also, the said King Edward II. in the said third year, having written to divers Lords Marchers of Wales for men then he wanted, writeth to each of them for abating of some part of the number formerly required of them, as followeth. The date of the king's letters patents to them is 11° Septembris, anno 3 Edward II.

Dyffryn Cloyt.—Johanni de Grey, de terra sua de Dyffryn Clwyd, de 200 hominibus admittendis 100
Ros et Ryvoniog.—Henrico de Lacie, comiti Lincoln de Ros et Ryvoniog de ducentis 80
Bromfield et Yale.—Johanni de Warrena, comiti Surrey, de terra sua de Bromfield et Yale, de 300 100
Roberto de Monte Alto, de centum 50
Brecheniog.—Humfredo de Bohun, comiti de Hereforde et Essex, de terra sua de Brecheniog, de sexentis 150
Kemes et Dyvet.—Willielmo Martin, de terra sua de Kemes et Dyvet, de ducentis 150
Carwarthlen et Kedwely.—Henrico de Lancaster, de terris suis de Carwarthlen et Kedwely, de ducentis 100
Morganog.—Gilberto de Clare, comiti Gloucester et Hertford, in terra sua de Morganog, de 800 400
Clun.—Edmundo, comiti Arundel, de terra sua de Clun, de ducentis 100
Melenith, &c.—Rogero de Mortus, Mari de Wigmore, de terra sua de Melenith, et aliis terris suis in Wallia, de quingentis 200

Plura ex Rotulo Scotiæ, de anno 3 Edward II.

Dyffryn Cloit.—Johanni Grey, de terra sua de Dyffryn Cloit 200
Ros et Ryvoniog.—Henrico de Lacie, comiti de Lincoln, de terra sua de Ros et Ryvoniog 200
Roberto de Monte Alto 100
Brecknock.—Humfredo de Bohun, comiti Hereford et Essex, de terra sua de Brecknock 800
Kemes et Dyvett.—Willielmo Martyn, de terra sua de Kemes et Dyvett 200

Carnwillion et Kedwely.—Henrico de Lancaster, de terris suis de Carnwllion et Kedwely 200
Morganog.—Gilberto de Clare, comiti Gloucester et Hertford, ...de terra sua Morganog 800
Clun.—Edmondo, comiti Arundel, de terra sua de Clun..... 200
Melenith.—Rogero de Mortuo Mari, de terra sua de Melenith et aliis terris in Wallia 500

Indorso Patent, 3 Edward II. pro exercitu, versus Scotiam.

Rogero de Mortuo Mari Justicuro Walliæ, Griffith ap Rees, et Jerward ap Griffith Sattin, pro peditibus in terris suis elegendis.

Ros et Ryvoniog.—Henrico de Lacie, comiti Lincoln, producentis hominibus de partibus de Ros et Ryvoniog.
Bromefield et Yale.—Johanni de Warrena, comiti Surrey, pro trecentis hominibus de partibus de Bromefield et Yale.
Mohuntsdale.—Roberto de Monte Alto, per 100 hominibus de partibus de Mohuntsdale.
Kemes et Dyvett.—Willielmo Martin, per 200 hominibus de partibus de Kemes et Dyvett.
Carwarthlan et Kedwely.—Henrico de Lancaster, per 200 hominibus de partibus de Carwarthlan et Kedwely.
Morganog.—Gilberto de Clare, comiti Gloucester et Hertford, per 800 hominibus de Morganog.
Clun.—Edmundo, comiti Arundel, per 200 hominibus de partibus de Clun.
Knokin.—Johanni Le Strange, per 100 hominibus de partibus in Knokin.
Whittington.—Falconi filio Warreni, per 100 hominibus de partibus de Whittington.
Melenith.—Rogero de Mortuo Mari, de Wigmore, pro 500 hominibus, de partibus de Melenith, et aliis terris in Wallia.
Roberto de Holland, justiciaro Chester, &c.

Indorso, 15 Edward II. R. pro exercitu Scotiæ.

Kerry, Kedewy, Clun, Oswaldestree, et Chirk.—Edmundo, comiti Arundel, domino terrarum de Kerry, et Kedewy, Clun, Oswaldstree, et de Chirk, vel ejus locum tenenti in terris illis pro 200 hominibus de Kerry et Kedewy; pro 200 hominibus de terris suis de Clun, Oswaldstree; pro 200 hominibus de terra sua de Chirk.
Melenith.—Edmondo, comiti de Lancaster, domino terræ de Melenith, pro 300 hominibus.
Dyffryn Clwyd.—Johanni de Gray, domino de Dyffryn Clwyd, pro 200 hominibus.
Kedwely et Carwarthlan.—Henrico de Lancaster, domino terrarum de Kedwely et Carwarthlan, pro 200 hominibus.

Monmouth.—Eidem Henrico, domino de Monmouth, pro 100 hominibus.

Strigoil et Netherwent.—Thomæ, comiti Norfolk et Mareschalle Angliæ, domino de Strigoil et Netherwent, pro 200 hominibus.

Burgevenny et Went.—Johanni de Hasting, domino de Burgevenny, et Went, pro 300 hominibus.

Pembrokeshire et Haverford.—Adam de Bat, comiti Pembroke, domino de Pembrokeshire et Haverford, pro 400 hominibus.

Domino de Knokin, pro 50 hominibus, in Knokin.

Estradelon et Hawarden.—Roberto de Monte Alto, domino de Estradelon et Hawarden, pro 100 hominibus.

Maelor Saesneg.—Ballivis de Maelor Saesneg, pro 100 hominibus.

Whittington.—Falconi de Warreni, domino de Whittington, pro 100 hominibus.

Gower.—Gower, pro 200 hominibus.

Morganog et Glamorgan.—Morganog et Glamorgan, pro mille hominibus.

Brecknock.—Brecknock, pro 200 hominibus.

Powys.—Powys, pro 500 hominibus.

Bromefield et Yale.—Bromefield et Yale, pro 400 hominibus.

Uske.—Uske, pro 300 hominibus.

Denbigh, Rigwenock, et Keynneriche.—Denbigh, Rigwenock, et Keynneriche, pro 400 hominibus.

Buellt,—Buellt, pro 100 hominibus.

Penkelly, Blaenleveng, et Brenthlys.—Penkelly, Blaenleving, et Brenthlys, pro 300 hominibus.

King Edward III. fearing the invasion of the Scots, writeth to the lords of the liberties of Wales to have the sea-coast watched, the men of the country armed, their castles strengthened and furnished within the said lordships, and maketh them lieutenants, in effect, within the said lordships; and writeth to those, subscribed, Patet in Rotulo Scotiæ, anno 10 Edward III. Dat apud Berewicum super Twedam, 24 Junii, anno regni 10.

Glamorgan et Morganog.—Willielmo de Zouch de Mortuo Mari, domino de Glamorgan et Morganog.

Strigoil.—Thomæ, comiti Norfolk et Mareschalle, apud Strigoil.

Monmouth, Kedwely, et Carnwillion.—Henrico, comiti Lancaster, domino Monmouth, Kedwely, et Carnwillion.

Gower.—Johanni de Mowbray, domino de Gower.

Morganog.—Willielmo la Zouch, domino unæ partis terræ Morganog.

Newport et Usk.—Hugoni de Audeley, domino de Newport et de Usk.

Pembroke.—Custodi terræ de Pembroke.

Haverford.—Isabellæ, regiæ Angliæ, dominæ de Haverford.
Roch.—Domino de la Roch.
Laugharne.—Guidoni de Brian, domino de Laugharne.
St. David et Pebidiog.—Henrico, Episcopo Menevensi, domino terrarum Sancti David et Pebidiog.
Tynbegh.—Willielmo de Clynton, domino Tynbegh.
Kemes et Llandovery.—Jacobo de Audeley, domino de Kemes et Llandovery.
Buellt.—Custodi terræ de Buellt.
Brecknock.—Comiti Hereford, domino de Brecknock.
Bulke Dynas.—Gilberto Talbot, domino de Bulke Dinas.
Burgevenny.—Custodi terræ de Burgevenny.
Caerlion.—Elizabethæ de Burgo, dominæ de Caerlion.
Melenith.—Custodi terræ de Melenith.
Radnor.—Custodi terræ de Radnor.
Wrthrenion.—Custodi terræ de Wrthrenion.
Powys.—Johanni de Charlton, domino de Powys.
Kedewin.—Domino terræ de Kedewin.
Dynbych.—Willielmo de Monte acuto, domino de Dynbych.
Bromefield et Yale.—Johanni de Warrena, comiti Surrey, et domino Bromefield et Yale.
Monghnant.—Richardo, comiti Arundel, domino de Moghnant, Kenlleth, et Nanthoide, in Wallia.
Dyffryn Cloyt.—Rogero de Gray, domino de Dyffryn Cloit, in Wallia.
Montgomery.—Willielmo Fitzwarren, constabulario castri de Montgomery.

The said king Edward having thus commanded the fore-named Lords Marchers to have their people of their Lordships Marchers armed and ready, appointed William de la Zouch, de Mortuo Mari, and Gilbert Talbot, his justices of South Wales, to be captains and leaders of all the said lords and their people, against the Scots, if they should offer to invade these parts of the country; and writeth to the Lords Marchers of South Wales, commanding them to be ready, aiding and assisting, and at the commandment of the said captains; and hath, in his letters patent to them, these words:—"Et vos præfati domini, et custodes libertatum, et dominiorum omnes homines defensibiles de dominiis, et libertatibus illis quos per vos mandavimus *arruiari*, &c. per vos eleos et arriatos, ac ipsos Willielmum et Gilbertum, et eorum utrinque ducat ad proficiendum una, cum omnibus aliis hominibus defensibilibus partium prædictarum in comit. ipsorum Willielmi et Gilberti, vel eorum alterius pro defensione earumdem partium contra inimicos nostros supradictos, quotiens opus fuerit, et per præfatum Willielmum et Gilbertum, vel eorum alterum super hoc ex parte nostra fueritis præmoniti. In cujus rei, &c. Test apud Northampton, primo Julii, anno regni nostri decimo.

Per ipsum regem et consilium.

Here it is to be noted that the king's writ does not here run to any part of the six shires, that is part of the principality of Wales, but only to such parts of Wales as were subdued by the Lords Marchers, and which were his tenants, and held their lordships immediately of the king. Yet we must think, that the king had also men out of the principality lands to serve him in these wars; but those commissions are not to be found with those among the king's records in the Tower; for that the prince of Wales, who then held the principality, wrote for men out of his principality, to serve his father in his wars, which records remain among the prince's records, and are not to be found in the Tower.

CATALOGUE*

OF

WELSH MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

IN NORTH WALES.

By ANGHARAD LLWYD,†

Hon. Member of the Institution.

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* For this catalogue, presented at the Eisteddvod, held at Welshpool, September 8, 1824, the Cymmrodorion Society, in Powys, awarded their second Premium.

† The Compiler acknowledges, with pleasure, that she generally met with great encouragement from the proprietors of Welsh MSS. in making the catalogue, who did all in their power to facilitate an undertaking in itself both laborious and unpleasant. She, however, laments that the present possessors of the Brogyntyn (or Porkington) collection were not influenced by the same feeling of nationality, as the insertion of particulars of the MSS. in a public catalogue, might possibly be the means of preserving them from future depredation.

I. Actyn Bach, near Wrexham.

Belonging to Mrs. *Hughes*. (Her first husband was *Merhall Griffith*, Esq.)

Is a folio volume, containing an account of armorial bearings belonging to Welsh and English families, and a description of the country. The index, which is very full and promising, is the only part complete, the transcriber, whose writing may be of Queen Anne's time, professes to copy a volume then in the possession of Mr. Myddelton, of Gwaenynog.

II. Bangor Iscoed.

The Rev. *Mawrys Wynn*, LL.D.

1. A small quarto, containing an account of "Tylwyth Sion ab Meredydd, allan o hen yscrifen lyfr yn mhenbedw."
2. An illuminated roll, called "The Pedigree of the Family of Pengwern, near Festiniog, done in 1736."
3. Various interesting papers, written in 1659, by Mr. Risiart Wynn, of Penhescyn.

III. Bodrhyddan.

1. A circular, illuminated Pedigree, compiled out of ancient MSS. of the Conwy family, and the intermarriages, "drawne by Griffith Hughes, Deputie to the Heralde-office for North Wales, and finished the xxxth of July, 1689."
2. Numerous interesting papers, loose sheets of Pedigrees, Letters, &c. relating to the ancient family of the Yonges, of Bryn-Jorcyn. The pedigrees are brought down to the time of Ellis Yonge, Esq. by himself, in 1780. Hanes Catrin y Beren, &c. some in Welsh, and other sheets in Latin and English.

IV. Caerwys.

1. Englynion y Misoedd. Y Deuddeg Arwydd. Gosodiad ynys Prydain. Rhagorion yr ynys. Cyvreithiau Cenedlaethau. Eisteddvau Archescyb. Cenedlaethau a wladychant yr ynys, hon a pha amser, y dayth pôb un ir ynys. Iethoydd a Naturiethau y Cenhedloydd. Dioregwawd, Taliesin. Cyvrinach y Cyvrinachoedd [medical receipts.] Cantrevi a Chymydau Cymrû *** viii. o Harri viii. Brenhin Lloegyr, Aprill 4. Romance of Charlemagne, in good preservation, and written in Cymraeg, folio vol.
2. Brudiau a Phrophwydoliaethau.
3. Cyfreith Howel dda. Perfect.
4. Precedents and Pleas in the Civil Law. English.
5. Preface to Thomas Williams's Dictionary and Cerddi. In Dr. Davies's Dictionary. A present, in sheets, to Mr. Rowland Vaughn, [now at Hengwrt, 1738.] I find the two following

Englynion in Dr. Davies's own hand, and composed by himself. None of the best poetry.

"Gwr ydych Roland, o hyff unlawn waed
Un a wnai'n Gerdd Gwiwgryf, &c. &c."

6. A Copy of the Charter of Beaumaris, granted by Queen Elizabeth.

7. The Courte Rolls of some Welsh Manors, beginning about the 33d of Henry VIII., and ending about the 9th of James I.

8. A Copy of the Patent from King Philip and Mary, unto William Hanmer, of all Saxton's property, in the county of Flint.

9. Topographical Account of the Parishes in Denbighshire.

10. Ditto of Denbighshire, Dolgelleu, and Tal y llyn.

11. Extracts from the Seabright's Collection, by J. Lloyd.

12. Ditto, very curious and multifarious, by the Rev. John Lloyd, of Caerwys, and a Copy of the Trioedd ynys Prydain, from Mr. Vaughn, of Hengwrt's copy.

13. Extracts from Doomsday Book, and full catalogue of, and extracts from four volumes of the Seabright Collection, by J. Lloyd.

14. A quarto volume of Pedigrees, ancient.

15. A folio volume of Huw Morys's Works, copied in a neat hand.

16. "The Correct Annales of Brittaine, from the Incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to this presente yeare; in which the yeares are computed, according to the order sette forth, by R. R. T. T. Giles Bucherius and Philip Brietius, of the Societies of Jesus. Gathered out of several authors, printed and MSS.; but, most especially out of Brut y Tywysogion, or the Annales of the Princes of Wales, herewith inserted by Thomas Sebastian Price, of Llanwylling, in 1688." Hi annales continuantur, in p. 89. Historiæ Brut y Tywysogion ad obitt Jarll Clâr, an. 1260. Armorial Bearings. History of British Cities. Eisteddvod Caerwys, [20th of Julye, 15th of Henry VIII.] Robert Vaughn's Answer to a South Wales Gentleman, concerning Anarawd, Cadell and Mervyn, English; and an Account of Wales, in the same language. Explanation of British Words. Trioedd Marchogion. Llys Arthyr. 24 Beste Kinges of Brittaine. "Granted to various burgages of Denbighe, of Curteledges, in the towne, of five score feet in depth and 50 feet in breadth each, and Housboate and Heybote in Coed Lleweni, by Harri de Lacy, Oct. 1, 13th yeare of Edward, son to Henry, king of England." Welsh pedigrees in the end. Ancient.

17. Gosodedigaethau y Deyrnas gan Dyvnawl Moelmud ab Cludno, Iarll Cerniw. Cantrevydd a Chymmydau Cymru. Brutt y Tywysogion. Ancient hand-writing.

18. A volume of Cywyddau. Ancient hand-writing.

19. A folio volume, three inches thick, containing a copy by A. Ll., of Ail lyfr Tymplen Sion ab William ab Sion, beginning with pan oedd yr Arglwydd ni, Jesu Christ, yn MCCCLXXI. o vlynyddoedd ir mwyn y rhai sydd dlawd o lyfrau, a chwannoc i

wybodeu i tynwyt hyn o Lyfr, bychan o Ladin ynghymraeg, &c. ag yn gyntaf ir treithyr yma am henwau yr ynys.

2. Ei mhodd gosodiat ai messur.
3. Iw ei ragorau.
4. Ei rhyfeddodau.
5. Iw ei rhannau arbennic.
6. Rhag ynysoedd ystlysawl.
7. Iw ei ffyrdd Brenhinawl.
8. Ei prif avonydd pennaf.
9. Ei hen Dinesydd.
10. Ei Gwledydd ai Siroedd.
11. Yw ei chyfreithiau ai tervynau.
12. Yw ei Breninaetheu ai tervynau.
13. Hescobaethau ac Hysteddvau.
14. Pa sawl, pa amser, a phwy a fu ac y sydd yn gwladychu yr awron.
15. Yw ei hieithieu ac harvereu y bobl.
16. Llyma draithiaid am ddestrowedigaeth Bangor Iscoed. Henwae'r saintieu galenedig. This volume contains a full account of king Arthyr, and of his coronation, by Dyfric, archescob Caer lleon. Pedigrees of the North Wales families, and a few things extracted from a fragment of a book of pedigrees found in South Wales, with this remark at the end; "finished by Lewys Dwnn, deputi heralt king-at-arms, 1577." Extracts from the Caernarvon Court Rolls discovered in 1817.] Copy of the Bangor Iscoed MS.; besides another of the illuminated pedigree belonging to Dr. Wyn. Chronicles of the Kings of Brittain, beginning with "Ddistrywedigaeth Troya," &c. And a Chronology of the Brenhinoedd Saeson, differing but little from the one in Mr. Griffith, of Wrexham's, possession, and ending about the same time, 1460; transcribed from the Llannerch MS. A Discourse upon Heraldry from the same volume.

20. Pedigrees of all families who are descended from Llewelyn Aurdorchog. Bleddyn ab Cynfyn. Sandde Hardd o Vortyn. Edwyn Tegaingl Hanmers. Cowrys ab Cadvan. Marchweithin Puleston. Seisyllt Arglwydd Meirionydd. Gwaethvod fawr o Bowys. Elffin ab Gwyddno Garanir. In this volume is a perfect copy of the Mostyn Pedigree Book, marked 9. An Account of the Rebellion, copied from the one numbered 8, of the Penbedw Collection. The Pedigree of the Cyffins, of Glascoed, brought down to the present time. A copy of Sion Gryffydd's Assessment Book, The Gwydyr Pedigree in all its branches. Extracts from one of Lewys Morys's Memorandum Books, and several of Ed. Llwyd's Letters, faithfully transcribed from the original folio volume, three inches thick.

21. Caernarvonshire and Mona Pedigrees, transcribed faithfully out of the collections of Mr. Huw Hughes, commonly called "y Bardd Coch o' Fon." Barddoniaeth. A copy of the Denbigh MS. The Nerquis Pedigree, from Madoc Ddu, transcribed from an illuminated one, which is now in the possession of Miss Gifford. Copies of the Pedigrees of the Eytyns, of Eytyn. Owen,

of Ty'n Llwyn, from an illuminated roll, made in 1677, and belonging to Owen, the son of Syr Cynrie Eyton, who married the heiress of Plasisa, near Corwen, Meirionethshire. Copy of a small quarto of divers pedigrees belonging to the same families, and written in 1665, and brought down to 1784. Copies of the Gwerclas papers. Some particulars respecting Meirionyddshire, of Bishop Baily. Ancient Tomb-stones. A Welsh Letter from Gryffydd Hiraethog to Risiart Mostyn, Esq. This volume is folio, and two inches thick.

22. Contains the Pedigrees of North Wales and those of Radnor, Monmouth, and Caermardden, besides others of the South Wales families, all transcribed out of Lewys Dwnn's own books. Folio vol. four inches thick.

23. A folio volume, three inches thick, of Pedigrees, transcribed out of different well authenticated old MSS.

24. Miscellanea, principally Pedigrees and Letters, partly English and partly French. Folio, three inches.

25. Miscellanea. This folio, of three inches, contains a faithful copy of various rolls of illuminated Pedigrees, of different families. "Drawne up by Randle Holmes." Anecdotes, Letters, Epitaphs, &c. Extracts out of Parish Registers. And copies of some of the Pengwern MSS. of the Coed Coch Memoranda Book; Mr. Warrington's Pentrepant Papers. Barddoniaeth, &c. Extracts from a volume in Mr. T. Griffith's Wrexham Collection, and the whole of his Ystoria Brenhinoedd y saeson, contained in y Llyfr Dinas Basing. "Hanes Cantref Gwaelod a Soddodd yn y mor," &c. Heraldry.

26. A thin folio of Pedigrees belonging to Mouldsdale, and other places in Flintshire. Written about the time of Charles I. Not perfect.

27. Contains an account of Ruthyn Castle, and of all the places dependent upon it, the names of the freeholders of the Vale of Clwyd, and the householders of Ruthyn. Written temp. Henry VII. A folio of one inch thick, in Latin and English.

28. Welsh Pedigrees appertaining to North Wales Families in the female descent, not quite legible in the beginning. Written temp. Henry VIII. Quarto, two inches thick.

29. A copy of Piers Roberts, of Bronhwylfa's Diary. Quarto, thin.

30. Ancient Writings about Meirionyddshire. Owain Glyndwrs, Cywydd Moliant, his pedigree. And Barddoniaeth, by different bards. Quarto.

31. Miscellaneous. This volume contains eight hundred and fifty Coats of Arms, illuminated and chiefly belonging to the principality and of the bordering counties. Prophecies. English translations of Ancient Welsh Poetry, &c. The History of the Fifteen Tribes. Quarto, five inches thick.

32. Contains a faithful copy of Sion ab Sion Gryffith's folio volume of Pedigrees, now in the possession of his lineal descendant Thomas Gryff, Esq. Extracts from Ancient MSS. and Parish

Registers. Barddoniaeth. Copy of the Coed Llai and Havod MSS., Ancient and modern Englynion. Copies of the Penhescyn Papers. Quarto, two inches.

33. An old quarto volume of Welsh Pedigrees, written in the time of James I. Two inches thick.

34. Contains copies of Ancient Pedigrees belonging to Pengwern and Mr. Llwyd, of Bank-place, Chester, (the worthy author of Beaumaris Bay, &c.); and, also, out of a folio volume belonging to John Madoc, Esq. of Glan y wern, and written in 1648. Extracts out of Parish Registers, Epitaphs, &c. in Welsh and English. Three inches thick.

35. Contains Pedigrees, transcribed out of various Ancient MSS. The arms, deeds, and wills in the celebrated Digby Book at Penbedw. See Pennant's Wales, quarto edition, p. 411. Also, a copy of the Bodrhyddan Papers. And of the fragments of Pedigrees, &c. belonging to Pengwern. Extracts out of Parish Registers, Epitaphs, Englynion; and Copies of the Myddelton Papers. Welsh and English. Quarto, two inches thick.

36. An old quarto volume of Barddoniaeth, belonging to different bards. Not perfect. Collected and written about 1620.

37. Contains copies of original Ancient Letters, in English.

38. Miscellaneous. This volume contains a copy of the Pedigree Book belonging to Mrs. D. Jones.

39. Barddoniaeth. Original Englynion. Anecdotes. Armorial Bearings, &c. Partly Welsh and partly English.

40. Original Journals, Tours, and Old Letters of celebrated Persons.

41. Ten small volumes full of interesting Memoranda, towards a Topographical History of Wales, by the late Rev. John Lloyd, Rector of Caerwys.

42. Six quarto volumes collected by the Rev. John Lloyd, for the same work.

V. Castell Caer-Einion.

Mr. Athelystan Owen, schoolmaster at Castell Caer-einion, has in his possession Extracts from Y Llyfr Coch, Llanelwy, taken by Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt.

VI. Castell y Waun. [Chirk Castle.]

1. A quarto volume, beginning with the History of Joseph and Mary, from the New Testament, and ending with the Crusade of Richard I. Written in English.

2. An old MS. upon Medicine. Welsh and English.

3. A List of all the Deeds belonging to the Estates of the Myddelton's, and a short Account of all the Families branching from the original one, at Myddelton and Chirk Castle. Written by Mr. Samuel Myddleton, in 1646, and continued down by Syr

Richard Myddelton, bart. who died in 1716, aged 62. Fairly written in English.

VII. Cerri, Montgomeryshire.

The Rev. *John Jenkins.*

1. Folio volume, inch thick; containing Cywyddau, by Dafydd ab Gwyllym, Gytto'r Glyn, Bedo Phelippe bach, Sion Ceri, Bedo Havesp, Meredydd ab Rhys, Dd. Llwyd ab Llyw ab Gryffyd, &c. &c.; and six Chwedlau, or Legendary Tales, viz. Tair Gwialen Moesen, y Tri Brenhin, Dysgybl ar Athro, Lleian St. Ffraid, &c. Transcribed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

2. A few Awdlau of Iolo Gôch, Gryff. ab Jeuan ab Llyw Fychan and Edmund Prys, at the beginning of an octavo volume. The best consisting of scarce Welsh printed Tracts. The transcript made by Robert Thomas, Clochydd, Llanfair, Talhaiarn.

3. A quarto volume, three inches, containing Awdlaw Cywyddau and Cerddi, by different Bards, from the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. to the year 1684, when the collection was made by Davydd Humphreys. It contains, also, Breuddwyd Gronwy ddû, a Breuddwyd sion Tudyr, Hanes y Trwstan, Areith Gwgan, &c. a Llawer o Englynion. There are interspersed through the volume many Brudiau, preparing the Welsh for the attempt of Henry VII. and loyal songs during the great Rebellion.

4. Cyfrinach Beirdd ynys Prydein, "sef Llwybrydiaeth ac Athrawiaeth ar Barddoniaeth Gymraeg ai pherthynasau herwydd Barn a Dosparth Beirdd a chadair morganwg." This is a treatise of great curiosity and value: it consists of canons of criticism and rules of poetry, established at different Gorseddau, and collected by Llywelyn Sion, of Llangewydd, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and completed by the addition of examples, by Edward Dafydd, of Margam, in the year 1681. This is the third copy taken from copies from the original found by Iolo Morganwg. It is a quarto, one and a half inch thick.

5. A small octavo volume, containing Dosparth Edeyrn Dafawd aur. Transcribed, from a copy of Iago ab Dewi, by Iolo Morganwg. At the end of the volume are some Cywyddau, by Jeuan ab Hywel Iwrdwal and Gryffydd ab Llyw Fychan, and Chwedl Rhitto Gawr.

6. Casgliad o Cywyddau ac Englynion a Chaniadau awenydol ar amryw destynau o waith y Beirdd mwyaf godidawg or Deheudir yn yr oes diweddaf, sef Jefan Gryffydd or Twrgwyn, Alban Thomas, Siencyn Thomas, Evan Thomas o Lanarth, ac Evan Evans y Prydydd hir, &c. Gan Joan Siencyn y Bardd bach, o Aberteifi, 1791. An octavo, two inches. From this collection "Blodau Dyved" was principally taken.

VIII. Chester.

Richard Llwyd, Esq.

1. A quarto volume of Welsh Poetry. In the first leaf some remarks upon Eisteddvod Caerwys, in 1599; written, seemingly, at the time, or soon after it was held. Hanes Dyfnwal Moelmyd, Pedigrees, &c. Cywyddau darogan Robin ddû, ag ereill.

2. A quarto, containing Marwnadau. Cywyddau, Englynion, and a few Pedigrees, written about eighty years ago.

IX. Coed Coch.

John Lloyd Wynn, Esq.

Symon Thellwall, of Blaen Ial, Memoranda Book, extracts in his own hand-writing, beginning in 1573, and continued by him to 1670. Latin and Welsh.

X. Coed Llai.

Leeswood John Wynn Eytyn, Esq.

1. Cerddau Phrophwydoliaith neu Ffrystiau, a quarto Index to this quarto volume. Written temp. James I.

1. Henwau Brenhinoedd y Brittiau.
2. Coronawg vaban. *Taliesin.*
3. Digogan awen ffion. *Taliesin.*
4. Gwedi coder. *Taliesin.*
5. Yr Hafdir wyndwg. *Taliesin.*
6. Y Duw y Crebau. *Taliesin.*
7. Merciwch ar Duw Mercher. *Taliesin.*
8. Gwilio am yr Haf glybog. *Taliesin.*
9. Arwyddion yn y rhair gair. *Taliesin.*
10. Ochan Varchellan. *Taliesin.*
11. Pe gwype Wynedd ar Deheu. *Taliesin.*
12. Meibion moelion a fydd. *Taliesin.*
13. Pan ddel owain y Fanaw. *Taliesin.*
14. Pan vo Rhydd Rhedyn a choch. *Taliesin.*
15. Crist Jesi celi i ti y credav. *Taliesin.*
16. O Gyfarcha Ferddin. *Taliesin.*
17. Gwyn am fedydd a fydd am fawr. *Taliesin.*
18. Hanes Taliesin Pen Bardd cyffredin. *Taliesin.*
19. Am Bowys ag eraill. *Taliesin.*
20. Geirau mair cowir y gair. *Taliesin.*

2. Barddoniaeth, by Meilir and Taliesin; together with their Prophecies: Iolo Goch, Jefan Gwyn, Merddin wyllt, Robin ddû, 1660, Llun ab Cynan ddû, Llun ab owain, Cowydd y Garnedd, Dd, Llyd ab Llun ab Gryff: Dd. Gorllech, 1500, Gryff. ab Jefan ab Howel vychan, 1500, Gryff Llwyd ab Dd. ab Einion Lygliw, 1400, Gryff. ab Dd Vân; besides several others. Quarto and perfect.

3. A quarto volume of Pedigrees of Freeholders, in the Parish of Mold and Estyn [Hob], by Evan Edwards, of Rhual, 1650.

XI. Denbigh.

In the possession of *Richard Lloyd Williams*, Esq. of Havodwryd, now residing at Denbigh.

1. A quarto volume of Miscellanies. It once belonged to the Rev. Evan Evans [*y prydydd hir*], and contains observations touching Liming, collected by Syr Samson Evers, Knt. and given by him to Judge Prydderch. Laws written in old French, &c. Land-tax of Denbighshire. The Rules laid down by Baron Pryce for his Almshouses, at Cerrig y Drudion.

2. A quarto volume of Syr John Wynn's History of Gwydyr. Ancient, and in good preservation.

XII. Galltfaynan.

John Lloyd Salusbury, Esq.

At Galltfaynan are the original papers belonging to the baronies of Edernion, wherein are some curious remarks upon Owain Brogyntyn, "though basely born, not basely esteemed." Written in English, 27th of Henry VII.

A List of the Sheriffs of Merionyddshire, Flint, and Denbigh, from 1540 down to the year 1808.

XIII. Clan y Wern.

John Madoc, Esq.

1. Volume, folio, of Pedigrees, belonging to Radnor, Flint, Denbigh, Mona, and Caernarvonshire, Merionethshire and Pembrokeshire. Written in Welsh, 1601.

2. Pedigrees, by Lewys Dwn, in his own hand-writing, consisting of those belonging to Caermarthenshire, Pembroke, and Cardiganshire; brought down as low as 1626. Folio, perfect, and in Welsh. Two inches and a half.

3. A folio volume of Pedigrees, an inch thick, belonging to the North-Wales families; brought down as low as 1648, and perfect. It was purchased by Mr. Madoc's, lately, from Thomas Edward's widow, *alias* Twm y Nant, *the Welsh comedian*.

4. A small, thin folio, written in 1672, containing curious anecdotes of Owen Hughs, of Porth y Llongdû, M.P. for Mona, in 1683, together with a Trial of Ann Goodman, John Goodman, and Elisabeth Goodman, for the Murder of Humffrey Thomas.

5. A folio volume of Cheshire and English Families of Distinction belonging to Lancashire and other Countries. Perfect, and written in the reign of Queen Elisabeth. An inch thick, and fairly written in English.

6. Another folio volume, written in Elisabeth's time, seemingly in the same hand-writing as the last mentioned, in Welsh, Latin, and English, containing Pedigrees belonging to North and South Wales, and several families of distinction.

7. Another folio volume, in Latin and English, of most English families entitled to bear arms; well preserved, and, on its cover, has the name of Marie Cholmoley. Two inches thick, and written xxth of Henry VII.

N.B. All these valuable volumes of Pedigrees have regular indexes done in a later hand, and are very legible, except the one written by Lewys Ownn.

XIV. Gwasanau.

Philip Davies Cooke, Esq.

1. A small folio, closely-written, of Pedigrees. It is very correct and more interesting than common. This volume contains a few Odes of Iolo Goch and the Chronicles of the Kings of England, by Thomas ab Ieuan ab Dd. who began it in 1500, (the year he was appointed notary to Pope Alexander,) ending it in 1530. He is quoted as high authority by our later compilers of pedigrees.

2. A thin folio of Poetry, by Dd. ab Edmund, Syr Philip Emlyn, Dd. Nanmor, Gyttyn Owain, Iolo Goch, Gytto'r Glyn, Sion ab Howel. Much mutilated.

3. Pedigrees and Hanes y Pedwar mesur ar hugain, a tract upon Heraldry, a quarto, incomplete. This is a second volume, the first being at Llannerch, or lost.

4. A curious old Law-book, containing deeds and indentures. Written extremely neat in the xxxth year of Henry VIII. French, Latin, and English.

5. A quarto, in good preservation, containing Odes to Syr Roger Vychan, by Lewys y Glyn; others by Llyn Goch, Rhys Vychan, Ievan ab Huw, Iorwerth Vynglwyd, Howel ab Rhys Mathew, Mr. Roland Vychan, &c.; a quotation from Holinshed's Chronicles, published in 1577; and a Commemoration of the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Earl of Derbye, one of her Majestye's Privy Council and Lieutenant of Lancashire and Chester for Queen Elisabeth.

The above volumes are a part of the moiety of the Llannerch library, which was divided between the coheiresses, Mrs. Puleston and Mrs. Leo.

XV. Gwerclas.

Richard Walmsley Lloyd, Esq.

1. A small volume, written by Humffrey Hughes, of Gwerclas, in 1662, concerning his own family, descended from Owain Brogyntyn, in English. Richard Hughs, the father of Humffrey Hughes, having been a retainer in the family of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and being confidentially treated, had several curious letters addressed to him, and which are still in the possession of Mr. Lloyd.

2. Some loose sheets of paper that once belonged to an old MS.

book, containing some of the Edernion pedigrees. Williams of Flint, and the Goodmans.

XVI. Halston.

John Mytton, Esq.

Only two volumes remain of the once splendid collection that belonged to Halston.

1. An Itinerary of Wales, by Edward Lhwyd. A thick octavo.

2. Dr. Fowlkes's Dissertations and various Pedigrees, by John Salusbury, of Erbystock. Bound lately in two volumes, folio.

XVII. Havod.

In the Parish of Estyn, [Hôbe.]

Mr. Thomas James, a farmer, bought at a sale at Gresford-lodge, when Mr. Parry's furniture and books were sold, a small thin quarto volume of pedigrees, belonging to the gentlemen of Hopedale, written by Mr. Edwards, of Rhual. A duplicate of the one at Coed Llai. now at [illegible] given for a [illegible]

XVIII. Llannerch.

The Rev. *G. Allanson.*

1. An old illuminated MS. of Genealogies, written in the time of Queen Elisabeth, containing all the marriages, armorial bearings, &c. belonging to the crowned heads of Europe, South and North Wales, with an account of the ancient British banner. A large folio vol. one inch thick. sold in 1857 [illegible] by Mr [illegible]

2. A quarto volume, in which is Brut y Brenhinoedd, and a Chronology of the Saxon Kings, in Welsh, and very much like "Llyfr Basing," and a Dissertation upon Heraldry, beginning with "mi a draethwn pa amser, a pha achos gyntaf yr ymar verwyt a arveu; yn ail, pa liw sydd weddys i ddwyn a pha liw sydd bennaf. 3. Pa rhyw arweddion a ddygir mewn arvau. 4. Dysgu disgrio a dosparth arvau." Very old, and upon vellum; not perfect.

3. Miscellaneous. A thick quarto, in Welsh, and upon the cover is 1502. Inside, R. Davies, 1628.

4. Concerning the Moulde Rectory, written in 1636 and 1641. Quarto.

5. The Pentateuch, in Latin, very ancient, and in good preservation. A quarto.

N.B. These are all that remain of a library, once the most celebrated in the principality for ancient MSS.

ye court rolls belonging to Denbigh Castle written A D 1570 in 2 vol: fol: perfect

XIX. Manavon.

A mem: [illegible] below I transcribed [illegible] of Llannerch

The Rev. *Walter Davies.*

1. A Collection of Poems, chiefly the Works of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. Tuder Aled—William Lleyn—Owain Gwynedd

A mem: on the cover by Mutton Davies

AND hys book lent unto the steward of Denbigh Lordship A: D. 1677 - label'd "courte rolls Denb: Land in Leicesters time" - no 64.

—Huw Llwyd Cynfael—Thomas Prys, &c. and Cywyddau Brudiau, by Robin Ddu—Dafydd Gorlech—Sion Cent—Dd. Llwyd o Fathavarn, &c. Not in good preservation. Copied from 1700 to 1720.

2. Pedigrees of several families, mostly of the Herberts. Copy imperfect.

3. Pedigrees, tracing the maternal line only. Imperfect.

4. Achau Saint ynys Prydain. The same as is published in the Myfyrian Archaiology.

5. Copies or Transcripts, from a Collection of Poems, &c. by Mrs. Margaret Davies, of Fron Wion, in Ardudwy. Written about the year 1730, &c.

6. A Fragment of Miscellanies, containing a Letter from Mr. Kynaston, of Pant y Byrsle, requiring information respecting two Gwaethvods; the one of Powys, and the other of Caredigion, and the answer thereto, by Mr. Robert Vaughn, of Hengwrt.

7. A Copy of the Gododin of Aneurin, modernised by the Rev. D. Ellis, rector of Crigcaeth, in Caernarvonshire.

8. Sketches of Pedigrees from old MSS. as they occurred.

9. Extracts from several Grants, by Gwenwynwyn, and others, to the abbots and monks of Strata Marcella, near Welsh Pool.

10. Letters from and to several persons in the last century. John Morgan—Moses Williams—Edward Llwyd—Lewys Morys—Goronwy Owain—Evan Evans Fardd, &c.

XX. Mostyn.

Syr *Thomas Mostyn*, Bart.

1. A short Account of the Family of Cors y Gedol, from 1237 down to 1769, by William Vaughn, Esq. the then proprietor. A small octavo—English.

2. Barddoniaeth Rhys Jones or Blaenau, in loose sheets, and scraps of Barddoniaeth, from Plas Hen.

3. A short History of the Family of Cors y Gedol, "from a fair MS. of Rhobert Vychan, of Hengwrt." A small quarto—English.

4. A small quarto, entitled "Llyfr Gwyllym Fychan o Gors y Gedol, a Nannau, 1672," written by himself; containing, for the most part, Cywyddau and Awdlau, by the following bards:—Tudyr Penllyn, 1460; Dd. Nanmor, 1460; Tudyr Aled, 1490; and Robert Vaughn's Letter to Archbishop Usher, in English.

5. Miscellaneous, belonging to Cors y Gedol. Welsh and English.

6. Tri Ystoria o Mabinogi, by Thomas Evans, 1607; beginning at the twelfth page with "Ystoria Bevis ne Bowyn de Hampton, ail Ystori; Perudur ab Evrawg, Trydydd Ystoria Pwyll, Arglwydd saith Cantref Dyfed, a Phryden ei vab. A quarto volume, an inch thick, in good preservation.

7. A quarto volume, of an inch thick, old writing, containing,

"a Booke of Collections or the Brieffes instiled the Gwehelyth" quarto - south wales Pedigrees - see no 9 -

Hanes Tiroedd Cymydau ag Trevydd Cymru y gyd—Pymthec llwyth Gwynedd a Teuluodd Cymru. Except three or four leaves at the beginning, it is perfect.

8. Sixteen pages of a quarto, written by John Jones, of Gelli lyvyd, beginning with Llyfr Sion ab William ab Sion o araetheu, Iolo goch. Ieuan brydydd hir—a Sion Tudyr.

9. A quarto MS. about an inch thick, containing Pedigrees, mostly South Wales, in Welsh. Begun in 1583, and continued to 1638. In good preservation, and very curious.

10. Several richly-illuminated Latin and French MSS. Among the latter, are two of Froissart's Chronicles; but as they do not come within the object of this Catalogue, it is not necessary to insert a list of them.

11. A Report of the Deanery of Penllyn and Edernion, com. Merioneth. A thin quarto, written in 1729.

12. A folio, of one inch thick, written by Mr. Vernon, containing an Account of the Proceedings against Syr John Fenwick, in 1696.

13. Original of the Commission, issued by Queen Elizabeth, to hold an Eisteddvod at Caerwys, in the ninth year of her reign.

14. Several Pedigrees belonging to the family of Mostyn. The oldest is forty yards in length, beginning with Adam and Eve, and ending in the time of Edward the Fourth. All illuminated, and on vellum.

In the catalogue belonging to the library, mention is made of a History of the Rebellion, in MS. by one of the family, but it could not be found. The one in the Penbedw list is supposed to be a copy of it.

XXI. Nant-Clwyd.

Richard Cyffin Kenrick, Esq.

1. Folio, three inches thick, contains a History of the House of Gwydyr, by Syr John Wynn, and also his "Vitæ Griffini filius Conani Regis," &c. in Latin. Elegies and Odes, addressed to Tylwyth Sion ab Mredydd, in the British tongue, by Huw Cae Howel, Huw Machno, and several others. Various petitions to James the First, in English, and bearing the signatures of "John Wynn, of Gwedeyr," and "William Williams, of Vaenol. Thus far written, no doubt, by Syr John Wynn himself; the remainder of the volume in different hands-writing; and chiefly Cowyddau, such as the following:—Cowydd dros Jefan ab Rhobert ab Mredydd i ofyn cleddau i Jefan ab Gryffydd ab Cynfrig, o Ffriwlwyd o waith Tudyr Penllyn—Cowydd moliant i Rhobet ab Mredd. ei dad pan oedd allan gyda Owen Glyndwr, o waith Rhys goch o Erryri. Odes, by Howel Reynallt—Lewys Mon—Inghko prydydd—Lewys Daron—Morys ab Inn ab Einion—Gytto'r Glynn—Irin Gethin—Syr Dd. Trevor—Rhys Goch o Glyndwrdwy—Tudyr Aled—Dd. Nanmor, &c. Cowydd i ofyn corn dros Sion Eytyn Yswain gan ei gevenderv Sieffrey Coytmor ûn or ystysies comon pleas. A Trial

concerning Cymner and Glyndwfrdwy, in 1575, between Owen ab Dd. Lord of Cymmer and Madoc Llwyd ab Gryff. et Angharad, uxor ejus Dma de Vaerdre," &c. Charters of Welsh and English princes. "Tenn moral Preceptes, given by a careful Father to hys Sonn, written by ye oulde Treasurer to his Sonne, Robert Cecil, Erle of Salsbri, and Ld Treasurer nowe."

2. Containing, for the most part, the poetic effusions of the following Bards, Gwylym ab Sefnyn—Dd. ab Edmund, Lewys Morganwg—Gryffydd ab Inn ab Llun vân—Howel ab Reynallt—Harri ab Howel Sowedal—Dd. Llwyd yscolhaig—Inn ab Llun ab Mali—Cywyddau a fu rhwng Gytto'r Glynn, a Howel ab Dd. ab Inn ab Rhys, ynghylch Raglan—Iolo Goch—Dd. ab Gwylym—Gryff. Llwyd ab Dd. ab Einion—Robin Ddu—Bedo Brwynllys—Gryff. ab Inn ab Llun vân ends one of his letters with these words, "Ag velly y terfyna Llythyr Gryff. ab Inn. ab Llun vân i Geisio'r saer." A quarto, five inches thick.

3. In a long tin case are five richly illuminated pedigrees of the following families:—Cyffins of Maenan—Cenric of Nant Clywd—Wynns of Gwydyr—Pulestons and the Lloyds of Bryn Lluarth.

XXII. Pant Avon.

The Rev. *Peter Baity Williams.*

1. A Copy of Robert Vaughn, of Hengwrt's, Translation of the "Triœdd ynys Brydain," with his Notes, and several other Prize compositions relating to the Antiquities of Wales.

2. Rowland's [Author of Mona Antiqua] Historia Parochialis of the Cwmmwd of Maltraeth, in Mona, &c.

3. Llyfr Bardoniaeth, by the following bards:—Bleddyn Fardd—Cynddelw—Dd. ab Gwylym—Cynric Dd. Goch—Dd. Llwyd ab Llun. ab Gryff.—Dd. ab Edmund—Deio ab Jeuan—Dd. ab Llun ab Madoc—Dd. Nanmor, &c. &c. Compiled about the time of James and Charles the First. Quarto, in good preservation.

4. Cywyddau ac Awdlau, by Bedo. Philip Bach—Cadwaladr. Rhys Trevnant—Iolo Goch—Dd. Ddû—Dd. ab Howel—Dd. fynglwyd—Gryff. Havren—Gwalchmai—Gytto'r Glynn—Gutto Goch prydydd—Howel ab Syr Mathew, &c. &c. Folio.

5. Cywyddau ac Awdlau, by the following bards:—Lewis Glyn Gothi—Llun. ab Gyttyn—Lewys Môn—Llowdden—Morys ab Howel—Owen Gwynedd—Sion Phillip—Rhys Cain—Sion Tudyr—Tudyr Aled—William Lleyn. Folio.

N.B. Mr. Williams has about fifteen quarto volumes, mostly Cywyddau and Awdlau, of his own transcribing, and from thirty to forty of William Lleyn's Poetical Works.

XXIII. Penbedw.

1. Edd. Llwyd's Original Letters in English to Mr. John Lloyd, Mr. Davys Lloyd, and Mr. Richard Mostyn, with Copies of his Letters to Mr. Humffrey Ffowlks.

2. A Welsh Grammar Prosody. Pedwar mesur ar hugain, beginning with "llyma ddosparth Edern davod aur, Edern gymenddoeth, Ethrylithr ac Aurvedrwydd i davod ai athrawaeth, &c. &c." Llyfr Thomas ab Ievan o Hendreforfedd, 1624. Quarto, one inch thick.

3. A Journal, from 1627 to 1629, written by Syr Kenelmn Digby. Folio, thin.

4. A Discourse concerning the Vegetation of Plants, made by Syr Kenelmn Digby, knt. in the Assembly at Gresham College, 1660. Folio, thin.

5. Six Letters from Dr. Corbet, Lord Penbroke, and Verses by the latter. Quarto, thin.

6. Welsh and Latin Dictionary, by Dr. Williams, with his name inside the cover. Folio.

7. Digby Papers, Letters, &c. &c.

8. An Account of the occurrences during the civil war in Brecknock, Meirioneth, Cardigan, and Denbighshires. Written partly in English and partly in Welsh. No doubt a copy of the one lost at Mostyn.

9. The Digby Book, most splendid illuminated, temp. Charles II. See Pennant's Wales, quarto edit. p. 411.

XXIV. Pengwern.

Syr *Edward Pryse Lloyd*, Bart. M.P.

1. Diary of Piers Roberts, of Bronhwylfa, Registrar of St. Asaph, in English, beginning 1609, ending in 1647. Quarto.

2. Brut y Brenhinoedd, "Achau'r Saint," and Pedigrees, with illuminated Letters. Quarto.

3. Mabinogion. Iarll Wrangon, and some others. Quarto.

4. Welsh Pedigrees. Quarto.

5. Llyfr Sion ab William's, (John Jones, Gelli lyvdy,) upon Rhetoric. Quarto.

6. An Exposition of the Pater Noster. Numeral Observation. Ancient British History, in Welsh. Quarto, not quite perfect.

7. Petitions, by John Jones, of Gelli lyvdy, gent. dated "Flint Gaol," to Charles I.; one is dated July, 1642, "On the abuses of the Times." Also, seven various fragments of Pedigrees, written by John Jones. Quarto.

XXV. Ruthyn.

Mrs. *David Jones*, of Maesannod.

At Ruthyn are ancient records since the time of Edward III. belonging to the Manor Court, and in the possession of Mrs. D. Jones, daughter of the late Mr. Peter Lloyd, of Maesannod, are the following MSS.

1. Syr John Wynn's History of the Gwydyr Family, very old in appearance, and of the Author's own time. A few pages are restored in a modern hand. Octavo.

2. A volume of Pedigrees, chiefly relating to families of North Wales. Written in the year 1677, brought down from the earliest period. This volume contains interesting extracts from "Llyfr dû o Gaerfyrddin," and other ancient MSS. a quarto, in Welsh, and in good preservation, except a few leaves of the Cors y gedol Pedigree being torn at the end.

3. Copy of an old MS. transcribed by the Rev. Richard Thomas, of Penmorfa, formerly curate of Ruthyn. This volume contains "extempore verses, by divers men," viz. Hydd Grydd. Thomas Grythor, prydydd y moch. Twm Bach, *alias* Tomas ab Risiart. Rosser Cyffyn, &c. &c.

4. Several loose sheets, containing Pedigrees of the following families, partly English, partly Welsh, and mostly in old writing. Hengae ends with the marriage of Margaret, the heiress, with William Anwyl, fifth son of William Lewys Anwyl, of Parc Ystymllyn. Bron y Foel. Coytmor. Glynns. Buckleys. Maesannod. Rhiwlas. Bodeon. Plas Rhos Colyn. Bodi or Caerau, &c. &c.

XXVI. Shrewsbury.

In the school library, a small MS. of Welsh Prayers.

A folio volume of Pedigrees, written in the sixteenth century, in Welsh, and now belonging to Mr. Vaughn, the clothier.

XXVII. Wrexham.

Thomas Griffith, Esq.

1. Of Pedigrees, compiled by Sion Gryffydd, of Cae Cyriog, in 1677, and carried down by him to 1699. Inside of the cover is written "Henwae'r arwedd feirdd, ar achau wyr y pigais, ac a gevais ddefnydd hyn o lyfr, allan or llyfrau ai llavyr hwynt." Gyttyn Owain, 1480. Gryff. Hiraethog, 1530. William Salusburi o Rûg, 1560. Rhys Cain, 1580. Sion Tudyr, 1580. Lewys Dwn o Sir Drefaldwyn prydydd, a deputi herald, dros holl Cymru, 1590. Thomas ab Jefan, 1630. Piers Llwyd or Ddôl, 1640. Mr. Edwards Roberts, rector Gwaenyscor a vicar Dymeirchion, 1663. Mr. John Salusbury o Erbystock ac yntau allan o lyfrau Owen Salsbri, o Rûg. Rhobert Davies, o Wsanau, Edd Puleston, o Drevalyn. Peter Ellis, o Wrexham, a Howle Owen, o Nanclyn, 1690. A folio, closely written, of an inch and a half thick.

2. Is Llyfr Basing, written upon vellum, by Gyttyn Owain. Contains Caradoc of Llancarvan. "Dares Phrygius, or the Destruction of Troy, from p. 1 to 40 inclusive." Galfridus, from p. 41 to 198, but in many places very different from the printed copy. A pretty exact Chronology, from p. 199 to the end, but very different from Caradoc, of Llancarvan, and the Clera, as published by Dr. Powell. Quarto, three inches thick, in excellent preservation.

3. William Salusbury's Rhetoric, inside the cover Howle Llwyd, Christ's College, Oxon. 1630. Quarto, thin.

4. A Welsh Prosody, written by Jo. Jones, of Gelli lyvdy, in 1605, and begins with his own pedigree. "Llyfr Sion ab William

ab Sion, &c. &c. or pum llyfr Cerddoriaeth." Llyma ddysg i adnabod cerddoriaeth. Cerdd davod newydd, llyfr Dd. Dew, athraw. Llyma gerdd dafod, nid amgen pedwar mesur ar hugain. Quarto, two inches thick.

5. A small book of Assessment, written by Sion Gryffydd, of Cae Cyriog, Rhuabon Parish. Account of Properties, "sold by their owners in the late civil wars." Extracts out of different books "of the Decayes of Ruthyn, Divisions of Denbighshire, &c. Hundreds, Bridges, and Survey of some of the Lordships. 'Chiefe Rentes' of Ruabon Manour," &c.

XXVIII. Wrexham.

The Rev. *George Warrington.*

1. Several original Letters from Elisabeth, Queen of Bohemia, to Lady Broughton, of Marchwiel Hall.

2. Welsh Pedigrees, written by John Salusbury, of Erbystock, upon loose sheets of paper.

XXIX. Wynstay.

Syr *Watcyn Williams Wynn*, Bart. M.P.

A Catalogue of the MSS. of Mr. William Morys, of Cevn y Braich, antiquary, taken from his own Catalogue. Mr. William Morys sold his valuable library to Sir William Williams, of Llanforda, bart. for £70, and what remains of them are now at Wynstay, the mansion of Sir W. W. Wynn, bart.

1. Brut y Brenhinoedd. Folio, six inches deep.
2. Brut y Tywysogion. Folio, six inches.
3. Cyfraethau Howel Ddâ, lib. i. Eight inches.
4. Arvau Cymru. Folio, six inches.
5. Aborigines Britannicæ, written by Mr. William Morys. Large folio, seven inches.
6. Theobardicon, sef Duwiolgerdd. Folio, six inches.
7. Y Basilico Bardicon, sef Brenhingerdd. Folio, eight inches.
8. Aristiobardicon, sef Bonedd-gerdd. Folio, eight inches.
9. Miscellanea, sef Brith lyfr. rhan i. Folio, four inches.
10. Ibid. ibid. ii. Folio, four inches.
12. Archiobardicon, sef y Llyfr dû o Gaerfyrddin. Folio, eight inches.
13. Neobardicon, sef Duveddargerdd. Folio, eight inches.
14. Logobardicon, sef Cyfrinach Beirdd, ynys Brydain. Folio, eight inches.
15. Proverbia, Latine et Wallice, per Dr. William Davies. Folio, six inches.
16. Antiquarium Britannicum, Repertorium Britannicum. Folio, 2 dig.
17. Gildas Nennius Eulogium Britannicæ Insulæ. Folio, 4 dig. William Morys's own.
18. Chronica a Cadwaladro rege, ad Leolinum ult. Folio, three inches,

19. Dau lyfr Cywyddau, o law John Jones, o ysceiviog (*Gelli lyvdy.*) allan o lyfrau Simmwnt Vychan, y ddau yn un. Folio, six inches.

20. Adversaria Historico Britannica, per William Morys. Folio, two inches.

21. Lectionarium sive Spicilegium variorum Lectionum, Scriptum per William Morys. Folio, four inches.

22. Llyfr Gwyn o Hergest. Folio, four inches. Burnt. See Appendix.

23. Cywyddau o destynau y Salmau. Folio, one inch.

24. Thesaurus Cornucopiæ, o law Mr. William Morys. Folio, one inch.

25. Cywyddau o Waith Ed. Urien. Folio, three inches.

26. Britochronicon ar hên femrwn. Quarto, four inches.

27. Hen Lyfr Duwiol yn Lladin ar hên femrwn. Folio, three inches.

28. Cyfraith y Cymru ar femrwn. Folio, three inches.

29. Cymmydau Cymru. Folio, four inches.

30. Buchedd y Saint yn Saesnec ar femrwn. Four inches.

31. Primitive fidei, venerabilis liber, scriptum in pulchra manu, et initium uniuscujusque partis incipit cum aurea litera. Folio, four inches.

32. Collectanea Latina, scripta per William Morys. Folio, five inches.

33. Chronological Essays, by William Morys, 1660. Folio.

34. Llyfr Cywyddau o waith amryw, o law Mr. William Morys. Quarto, five inches.

35. Index at Codicem Hoelianum, by Mr. William Morys. Folio, one inch.

36. Talin o Gyfraith y Llysoedd ar femrwn. Folio, two inches.

37. Anthropopathy, in English, by William Morys. Folio, nine inches.

38. Bardorum Britannicorum Grammatica autographo membranaceo, fideliter transcripta, per Gul. Mauricum, Lansiliensem.

39. Observations on Scriptures, in English, by William Morys. Folio, three inches.

40. Llyfr Cywyddau o waith Amryw Feirdd. Folio, three inches.

41. Chronicon Asseri Menevensis Episcopi, fideliter scriptum e Vetusto Codice Archiepiscopi. Math. Cant.

42. Florilegium, written in English, by William Morys, in 1649.

43. History of Belinus and Brennus defended, written by Mr. William Morys, to Mr. R. Vaughn, of Hengwrt. Folio, one inch.

44. Llyfr Prawf eneid. Folio, one inch.

45. De Britannica et primus ejus hominibus, per William Morys. Folio, two inches.

46. Awdlau i Dwysogion Cymru, o law Dr. Powel. Quarto, two inches.

47. De Descriptoribus rerum Britannicarum, per William Morys. Folio, three inches.

48. The Life of St. Edmund, in verse, written by William Morys. Folio, three inches.

49. Llyfr Cywyddau o waith, T. Prys, o Blas Iolyn. Folio, four inches.

50. Chronologia Britannica, written by William Morys.

51. Llyfr meddiginiaeth o waith meddygyn. Quarto, five inches.

52. Llyfr Phisgwriaeth. Folio, five inches.

53. Llyfr achau ag arfau, o law Simmwnt Vychan. Quarto, two inches.

54. Cywyddau o waith Dd. ab Gwyllym. Quarto, four inches.

55. An old MS. Psalter, in vellum, four inches.

58. Llyfr clera Rhys Cain. Folio, four inches.

59. Another old Psalter, with great golden letters, on vellum. Folio, three dig. William Morys.

60. Brut y Brenhinoedd; or, the History of the Kings of Britain, being a copy of the original, which Jeffrey, of Monmouth, transcribed into Latin. See No. 1 in Mr. William Morys's catalogue.

61. Brut y Tywysogion, being a continuation of the British History, by Caradog, of Llancarvan. A copy of the original, which Humffrey Llwyd translated into Latin, and Dr. Powel into English.

62. Index ad Leges Hoëli Boni, being a Summary of the heads contained in the Welsh laws. A Chronicle, beginning with Æneas. And an old extent of Oswestry. Folio, eight inches.

63. Y Llyfr Dû. First, it contains the most ancient Poems that probably exist in our language. Taliesin, &c.

2. A large collection of Ancient Prophecies, Merlin, Robin Ddû, &c. Some of which are curious, but the greater part were forgeries, as to the names and pretended expositions, of Merlin's Prophecies, written probably about the time of the conquest of England, and adapted to the hopes of Ancient Britons, from Owen Gwynedd, Owen Glyndwr, and Henry VII.

3. Computationum Manuale; or, Manual of Computation, for the regulation of the Callender, written by Dd. Nanmor. This is very interesting as giving the names of the Saints in the Welsh Calendar, about A.D. 1450. It is drawn up in the same manner as the computation of John, de Sacro Bosco, (or John, of Holyrood,) but the writer quotes a book written by Alchabitius, some of whose astronomical works are, I believe, in the Bodleian library.

4. The Medical System of the Physicians, taken principally from Hippocrates and Pliny.

5. Dares Phrygius, a loose and incorrect translation from the Latin.

64. John Salusbury, of Erbystoc's, celebrated book of Pedigrees, which appears to have been commenced by Thomas Salusbury, of Erbystoc, about the year 1640, and to have been carried on with many additions from his son, John Salusbury, down to the year 1671, illuminated and in high preservation. Folio, two inches deep.

65. Welsh Pedigrees, compiled by John Salusbury, of Erbystoc. Folio, two inches.

66. Welsh Pedigrees, including those of Cheshire and Shropshire. Old writing. Folio, four inches.

67. Organum Britannicum, being a Catalogue of Authors treating of the History of Britain, written in Welsh, Latin, and English, by William Morys, 1659. Folio, two inches.

68. Antiquarium Britannicum, written by William Morys, in 1659.

69. Miscellanies. A thin folio, not perfect.

70. An Account of the Mayors of Chester and a History of England, by Robert Ince, Coroner of Chester, in 1639. Thin folio, not perfect towards the end.

71. A brief Declaration of the First Inhabitants of this Island's lineal Descent from Brutus, by Olyver Mathews, in 1671; it ends with the Kings of England. English, a thin folio, perfect.

72. An Account of Parliaments holden in Richard the Third's time, English. Folio, one inch deep, not perfect.

73. Thomas Skinner's Petition about the Shipping in 1667, English. A thin folio.

74. Laws of Howel Dda. This volume contains Annotations on Camden. A Portion of the Apocalypse, in Irish, with a translation on part of the leaves. Transcript of MSS., by Mr. Vaughn, of Hengwrt's, Pedigree of Mr. David Parry. Folio, three inches.

75. The Pedigrees of Cwmmwd Maelor, written in the time of Sir Richard Trevor, of Trefalyn. Folio, four inches.

76. Graphiologia de Traditione Genealogica Britan. Giraldus Cambr. &c. Written in 1670. Folio, six inches.

77. An old copy of Brut y Brenhinoedd, with clasps, interleaved with Notes, by Mr. William Morys. Quarto, three inches.

78. A Latin History, and at the end a copy of a Welsh MS. given to Lord Carew by Mr. Owen, 1609, containing a History of the Marches of Wales. A few Pedigrees. Quarto, three inches.

79. Contains the Poems of Dd. ab Edmund. Gytto'r Glynn. Gyffyn Owain. Howel ab Dd., ab Inn ab Rhys. Iolo goch. Lewys Mon. Dr. Sion Cent. Tudyr Aled, &c. finished in 1605. By John Jones, of Gelli lyvdy.

80. Brut y Tywysogion, written by John Jones, of Gelli lyvdy, while in the Fleet Prison, in 1636.

81. Brut y Tywysogion, from 680 to 1332, written by William Morys, from the Hengwrt Copy.

82. Brut y Tywysogion begins differently from the one transcribed by William Morys.

83. A folio cover full of old miscellaneous Letters.

84. Norton de Alchemia. Folio, one inch.

85. Miscellanies, written in 1773. This volume contains the Ystym Colwyn Pedigree. Folio.

86. Barddonniaeth, with a chân brith rhwng, Taliesin a Myrddin, in the hand-writing of William Morys. Folio, five inches.

87. Hengerdd Llyfr, written by William Morys, in 1660. Folio, five inches.

88. Encyclopedia Bardica, written by William Morys. Folio, five inches.

89. Pregethau a wnaeth, Maistr Latimer, ag a bregethodd gar bron yr Arglwyddes Catrin Duges o Suffolck, yn oed yn Argl. 1552. Transcribed into Welsh, by Roger Pulston. Quarto, four inches.

90. A Treatise of Wales and the Marches. Account of Fees Paid, &c., written in 1723. Folio, one inch.

92. A general Collection of all the Offices in England, with their Fees, written in 1595. Folio, one inch.

93. Proffwydoliaith a Prydyddiaęth Merlyn, and Barddoniaeth, by different bards, mostly Dd. Llwyd, written in Charles I. time. Quarto, two inches.

94. A volume of Miscellanies, containing Poems by Lewys, Glyn Gothi. Annals of Owen Glyndwr. Account of the Lordship of Oswestry. Welsh Antiquities, from the Triads, &c. Return sent to the Commission sent by Henry VII. into Wales, to inquire into the Pedigree of Owain Tudyr. Account of Wales and the Families. Genealogical Extracts from the Pryse MSS. Manner of keeping the Parliaments, &c. Quarto, four inches.

96. Contains Pedwar mesur ar hugain Henwae Siroedd, Cymmydau, &c. Written in Henry VII.'s time. This volume has W. Morys's name inside the cover, dated 1650. Quarto, four inches.

97. Chronicle of the Welsh Princes of the Kings of Europe, and of the Popes of Rome, in Latin. Octavo, one inch.

98. Heraldry, mostly Welsh Arms, illuminated and some little notice taken of the families entitled to bear them. The Fifteen Tribes, rudely executed, in 1597. Quarto, three inches.

99. Another thin quarto of Welsh Heraldry, and Pedigrees, with the Arms well delineated and coloured.

99. Reports of the House of Commons in 1673, English. Folio, one inch.

100. A folio, of English Laws.

101. Adversaria Historica, &c. Contains "Henwae Llyfrau Cyfrreithieu yr hên vritaniet, a mesur Tervyneu, a gwerth Croesseu, *John Jones*." The Extent of the Lordship of Oswestry. A Cowydd, recited at Cnockyn Castle, when Syr R. Cynaston received the order of knighthood from Edward IV. King of England.

102. A Catalogue of the Hengwrt Library, written thirty years ago. "The last Catalogue finished by Mr. Robert Vaughn, in 1661, after his library had received many considerable additions, especially the books of Mr. John Jones, of Gelli lyvdy, cannot be found as yet; it was in the hands of Dr. Ellis, of Dolgelleu, when William Morys was last at Hengwrt." The substance of the above is taken from a note in William Morys's hand-writing, without a date. Quarto, thin.

103. A Catalogue of Mr. William Morys's Books. Folio, one inch.

104. Another of Mr. Williams Wynns's, taken in 1729.

105. A small box, half a yard long and about four inches deep, full of interesting Miscellaneous Papers, written by Edward Llwyd. Account of Places, and some of the Cambrian Superstitions.

106. Scriptor. Rerum Brit. Adversaria Graph, Miscell., all Welsh, many places marked with the year 1605, it contains Llyfr Clera Rhys Cain. Folio, four inches.

107. Hên Farddoniaeth, copied in 1694. Folio, four inches deep, many blank leaves towards the end.

108. "Llyfr Dared Cymraeg scrifennedig allan o lyfr Risiart ab Sion o Langanhaval, yr hwn a goppiasai yntai o lyfr Simmwnt Vychan, *John Jones*, 1605. Ag oi ûn yntai y gaed scrifennydd, William Morys, 1664." It begins with "Llyma Ddysg i adnabod cerddoriaeth cerdd dafod, herwydd Llyfr Dd Ddu Athraw." Folio, four inches.

109. Cywyddau ymryson rhwng Edmwnd Prys, Archiagon Meirionydd, a William Cynwal, copied by William Morys in 1669. Folio, three inches.

110. Barddoniaeth Bedo Brwyn Llys. Sion Wyn, Huw Arwistli, Sion Ceri, Ieuan Deulwyn, &c. old writing. Quarto, thin.

111. Miscellanies. Quarto volume, thin.

112. Dd. Nanmor's Poems, Thomas Prys, and Simmwnt Vychan. Quarto, one inch.

113. Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod aur, y pedwar mesur ar hugain, &c. Quarto, two inches.

114. Comments upon the Scriptures, by John Salusbury, of Erbystoc, written in Welsh in 1668. A thin quarto, not perfect.

115. Miscellanies, written by William Morys. This volume contains Welsh Prophecies, translated into English. Folio, thin.

116. The Legends of the Saints, in English verse, and written upon vellum. Folio, two inches.

117. Contains Judge Doddridge's Cases, English.

118. Charta 9, 10, &c. of Edward II. yn y Twr, Latin, concerning Wales, with occasional remarks, written in Welsh. Quarto, three inches.

119. A copy of some papers communicated by Dr. Hudson, A.D. 1705. Observations made by a Traveller. Quarto.

120. A Memorandum Book concerning Oliver Cromwell's Rebellion in Wales, giving an account of the castles that capitulated, &c. written from 1638 down to 1647, English. This volume also contains Catalogues, Chronological, Historical, Britannicorum, &c. Quarto, thick.

121. A Catalogue of my Lord of Bangor's MSS. in his study, taken June, 1696. Cynwal's Book of Pedigrees in among them, and also the Laws of Howel Dda, &c. Likewise six MSS. contributed by the Rev. Dr. Jones, Dean of Bangor, written by Mr. Williams, Schoolmaster of Beaumaris School, about 1670, all concerning Wales.

122. A Specification of the Charter of Howel Dda, from a copy taken from the White Book, of Hergest, by Peter Roberts, clerc. A thin quarto.

123. An interesting Memorandum Book, written between the years 1664 and 1668, by a Gentleman in the Navy Office, who was a cousin to Mr. Andrew Thelwall, of Llanrhydd, and Mr. Thelwall, of Plas y Ward.

124. Taliesin and other Barddoniaeth, bound up with an old Latin MS. upon vellum. Octavo, two inches.

125. Prayers and Poems, on vellum, English. A few of the first pages lost. Octavo, one inch.

126. Llyfr Sion Watcyn, Jun, on vellum, one inch thick, with William Morys's name inside the cover, 1664.

127. Latin Herbals, written in 1626, and another of the same size, containing a Dictionary of Plants. Both octavo.

128. Cywyddau allan or Llyfr Gwyn, o Hergest weithian sef hên femrwn lyfr a scrifenwys, [folio mawr] yn amser Edward y pedwerydd frenhin Lloegyr, omnia per Amanuensem Exemplificavi Ego Gwil. Maur Llansilin.

in the conflagration caused by the burning of Covent Garden Theatre in 1810 the moiety of the sebright papers was burnt: which were taken up to London by Mr Ws Wynn to be bound.—

*** *The Catalogue presented by Mr. Aneurin Owen, at the Eisteddvod, held at the Welshpool, Sept.* 8, 1824, *and for which the Cymmrodorion Society, in Powys, awarded their first Premium, will appear in onr next Part.*—Ed.

add 6 pages of [illegible]

Y TRI TEULU GWYNFYDEDIG.

AN

ESSAY

On the Promulgation of the Christian Religion in Wales, by the Families of Brân, Brychan, and Cunedda.

PRESENTED TO THE CYMMRODORION, SEPTEMBER, 1824.

Revised and Enlarged by the Author,
THE REVEREND JOHN HUGHES.

NOTICE.

IN the following ESSAY the Author did not think it requisite formally to make reference to his authorities, which are, principally, *Achau'r Saint*, from a copy of Mr. Edward Williams, the Bard of Flimstone, compared with the Triads and Mr. Owen's (Dr. Owen Pughe) Cambrian Biography.

THE memorials handed down to us, respecting the promulgation of Christianity among various nations of the western and northern parts of the world, are enveloped in considerable obscurity. This has arisen partly from too anxious a desire, in some ancient authors, to attribute the introduction of the Christian faith, in their respective countries, to one of the Apostles, or, at least, to one of their coëvals and coadjutors.

*While we have sufficient reason to believe that our country was among those where Christianity was planted, during the age of the Apostles, we have not such clear evidence as to who that apostolic person was who first preached the Gospel in Britain; and, as to what we are told from monkish legends, respecting Joseph of Arimathea, with twelve associates, coming over to this island, and settling at Glastonbury, it is hardly worthy of formal notice.† It is too great a stretch of credulity to admit that the venerable person alluded to ever came to these western parts of the world. He, as well as St. Philip, (who is included in the legend,) may have proceeded as far as *Galatia*, in preaching the Gospel, but not into *Gallia*, and much less into Britain. The name of Joseph of Arimathea, it is very probable, was a palpable mistake for another *Joseph* and his companions, who first founded the Monastery of Glastonbury. This has been cleared up by Bishop Stillingfleet in his learned work on the British Churches.

The Anglo-Saxon Church had no authentic account of the origin of Christianity in Britain but what they derived from our ancestors. *Bede* records nothing, respecting ecclesiastical affairs, of an age previous to the time of Lucius, and, consequently, he has no account of Joseph of Arimathea coming to Glastonbury, that fiction not being then known, or that historian would gladly have related it as the tradition of the English Church. But it is singular that Bede mentions, not even in general terms, anything concerning the early prevalence of Christianity in this country.

The statements contained in our Cambrian traditions are simple and intellible; they neither impose on our credulity nor lead us, in the vindication of them, to contradict general history. Instead of undertaking to inform us of the conversion of the whole island, as in an instant, we are modestly informed of an illustrious family who gave their sanction to the first introduction of the Gospel among our ancestors, and the circumstances that led to such a result are simply related. We are also informed, from the same source, of certain illustrious persons and their families, who became friends of the Christian cause as the cause of truth, civilization, and beneficence. There is special notice taken of three families:—that of BRAN AP LLYR a Silurian Prince—that of CUNEDDA, a Cambrian Prince, who settled in the western parts of Wales—that of BRYCHAN, Prince of Brecknock. The first of these names

* See this subject discussed at large in Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii.

† Archbishop Usher has ably investigated the monkish legends respecting Glastonbury, which he prefaces in the following manner:—

"Ad Glastoniensium Monachorum de Josepho Arimathæensi et ejus sociis traditiones, nunc venio: quas etsi Normannorum adventu antiquiores non existimem, et superiorum temporum superstitionem plane redoleant; tamen quales cunque sunt, ex Gulielmi Malon esburiensis de antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ libello, exhibere visum est."

The supposed mission of St. Joseph has been defended by Dr. Adam Clarke with considerable ingenuity, in an "Address on the Introduction of Christianity into the British Isles," delivered in London in 1814; but the arguments adduced by Stillingfleet cannot be overthrown.

relates to the first promulgation of Christianity; and the two last to the promotion of it in the fourth and fifth centuries.

In one copy of the Triads, preserved in the Hengwrt collection, these families are thus spoken of:—"The three sacred lineages of Britain; that of Brân, the son of Llyr; that of Cunedda, the potentate; and that of Brychan, of Brecknock." But we shall proceed to take particular notice of what is said respecting each of these families, and what is attributed to their descendants, as related in the large series of the Triads, No. 18, &c. First, The family of Brân is said to have been instrumental of first introducing Christianity into this island. In that copy of the historical notices, or memorials, that go under the name of Triads, preserved in Glamorgan, and printed in the Welsh Archaiology, we have the following statement:—"Brân, the son of Llyr, *(Lear,)* was the first who introduced the Christian Faith to this island from Rome, where he had been detained in captivity, in consequence of the treachery of Aregwedd Foeddawg, or Boadicea, (a mistake for Cartismandua,)" or, as it is stated, in another place, "Brân was detained, for seven years, as a hostage for his son Caractacus, who had been taken prisoner by the Romans." The same statement is confirmed in that interesting fragment, "The Memorials of the British Saints," which inform us, "that Brân the Blessed, was the first convert to the Christian Faith of all the Cymry, and that his family was deemed one of the three sainted families of Britain." It is also said, in the same old fragment, that he brought over with him two Israelites of the names of *Cyndaf* and *Ilid*; and, with them, is mentioned another person of greater note, *Arwystli* the Aged, an Italian, who is the *Periglor*, or chaplain of *Brân*. This last could be no other than *Aristobulus*, one of St. Paul's disciples, and who, in the Greek Martyrology, is said to be the first bishop of the Britons. See Usher, p. 5.

The history of *Caractacus*, called *Caradoc* by the Welsh, is succinctly drawn, in its most striking features, by the able pen of the historian *Tacitus*. The stern valour and daring intrepidity of that hero, who maintained so long and arduous a struggle with the masters of the world, render him not more worthy of admiration than his magnanimous behaviour when exhibited as a fallen and captive prince at Rome. The probability that the Christian Religion should be brought to this island by means of a British family, detained at Rome, where they had the opportunity of hearing the Gospel preached, appears highly reasonable, and confirms our national tradition. The sentiment of a learned prelate and an able investigater of our ecclesiastical antiquities, coincides with such an hypothesis. "It is certain," says bishop Stillingfleet, "that St. Paul did make considerable converts at his coming to Rome, which is the reason of his mentioning the saints in Cæsar's household. And it is not improbable that some of the British captives, carried over with Caractacus and his family, might be some of them who would certainly promote the conversion of their country by St. Paul." Such was the reasoning of that learned writer in his

Origines Britannicæ, little aware that what he was advancing was the tradition of the old British Church, though lying hid, for ages, in old papers, which have been but little noticed until of late years. Nor was the great Primate of Ireland acquainted with the Triads, though he corresponded with the celebrated Robert Vaughan, Esq. of Hengwrt, who, it appears, had designed communicating to the Archbishop the contents of the Triads, but which he declined doing,* until it was too late.

As it was by means of *Brân* the Christian Religion was introduced among the Cymry, or native Britons, though it may, by other means, have found an entrance among the Roman colonies in Britain, his family and descendants continued to patronize the same cause. *Cyllin*, the son of *Caradoc*, or *Colinius*, as the Latinists would call him, was a devoted adherent of Christianity, and is spoken of as one of the saints of that age; and it was that person's grandson, or the third in descent from the great hero, who is celebrated in ecclesiastical history as the grand patron of the faith in his day, under the name of *Lucius*. In the Welsh Chronicle, the same person goes under the name of Lles, the son of Coel, and is also denominated *Lleuvermawr*, or the Great Luminary; but, in the Triads, he is called *Lleirwg*. It is said that "he erected the first church in Llandaff, which was the first church in the island of Britain, and he admitted those who held the Christian Faith to civil rights and privileges, with power of jurisdiction and guaranty," *i. e.* making a Christian's oath and declaration legal, administering justice upon Christian principles. We are not here sanctioning those legends of the Romish monks, which, in the first place, represent *Lucius*, as King of Britain, and then overturning idolatry by an act of his supreme authority, and rendering a nation of Heathens a Christian people; converting the Heathen temples into Christian sanctuaries, and establishing a well-endowed Hierarchy on the ruins of Pagan superstition. Such a wonderful metamorphosis surpasses all belief, and contradicts all we know of the obstinate perverseness of human nature, with its rigid adherence to the prejudices of superstition and long-established usages. But our Triads do not represent *Lucius* as Sovereign of Britain, but only as a Silurian Chieftain, his patrimonial territory being situated in the east of Glamorgan, on the banks of the river Taaf. He lived in the third century, and his affection for Christianity induced him to exert himself in promoting it within the sphere of his influence, at a season of tranquillity favourable to so pious a design. From the paucity of adequate instructors at home, it is stated he was advised to send to Rome for persons suitable to exercise religious functions within his dominions. He accordingly deputed messengers to make application for such assistance from *Eleutherius*, the Bishop of Rome. Two presbyters, or, according to

* In the collection of the Archbishop's letters, published by Dr. Parr, there are two from Mr. Vaughan, on the subjects of British Antiquity. In the Cambr. Register, vol. iii. there is one expressly on this subject.

other accounts, four were sent, and their names are said to be *Dyvan*, *Fagan*, *Medwy*, and *Elvan*, or, when Latinized, *Duvanus*, *Faganus*, *Medwinus*, *Elvanus*. The Saxon historian, Bede, simply tells us, though fond of amplifying where he had any scope to do so, "That Lucius, King of the Britons, sent to Rome, to Eleutherius, bishop of that see, requesting his sanction that he might be admitted into the Christian Church; and here it is that the historian dates the commencement of British Christianity, for it is evident he wished to suggest that it had no existence before, that there was no Church in Britain at that time, until power and authority was given from Rome to found a Christian Church here."

That application was made at all to Rome, on this occasion, may be doubted; for Christianity must have had some degree of establishment by this time among the Roman Britons. By the names given to the persons said to be sent over from Rome, we may suspect them to be Britons; and, indeed, those of another nation and language could not well answer the object of their mission among the natives. *Lleirwg*, we may believe, erected some places for the specific purpose of Christian worship, and, in particular, he is said to have built the first church at Llandaff, which was the first erected among the natives; the places where the Christians assembled being as yet private and retired. As to what is affirmed in the Triads of this prince, and the extensive privileges granted to the Christian cause, such honours do not accord with the state of Britain, and of the times, at so early a period; but under the mild government of Marcus Aurelius, we may allow some concessions were made to dependent chiefs, such as *Lucius*, while it would be wrong to attribute to this ancient defender of the faith what could only be effected by one of ampler means and more extensive authority.

That a descendant of Caractacus should enjoy his patrimonial territory unmolested, under the government of the Romans, cannot be considered any ways inconsistent with the policy of that people, in other instances. This is the opinion of our two great antiquaries, Usher and Stillingfleet, and there is reason to believe that most of the native chieftains continued to maintain their subordinate stations, while they paid their tribute, and yielded subjection to the imperial government. Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Gibbon, and Mr. Turner were disposed to think such to have been the state of things. That *Lleirwg* had both the disposition and the power to do what is attributed to him, according to our statement, by fostering the Christian cause, and helping it to rise out of obscurity, we need not doubt; for the Roman governors were glad to make a friend of one who bore eminent rank among his countrymen.

How far beyond the territory of Gwent the influence of the Christian religion extended among the native Britons we have no ability to ascertain; but what was now planted and cherished continued more or less to flourish to the reign of Dioclesian, when the church was visited with that dreadful storm of persecution, during which, so many sealed the sincerity of their profession with their blood. *Julian* and *Aron*, (or *Sulien* and *Carron*,) Silurian Britons,

were among the martyrs of that period. To the memory of the latter, it is probable, the church of Llantarnam, or of Llanarangam, near Caerleon, was dedicated.

Mr. Roberts has treated the history of Lucius copiously in his Dissertation on the British Church, appended to his translation of the Chronicle. But that Lucius himself became a preacher of Christianity, and extended his labours to foreign parts, I do not venture to affirm, though traditions to that purpose are given by Usher, and other antiquaries.

Cunedda.

II. The second sainted family noticed in the Triads is that of Cunedda, called Cunedda Wledyg, or the Potentate, who is said to be the first that conferred lands and immunities on the church, or, as the phrase used in ecclesiastical memoirs runs—"He gave lands and immunities to God and the saints."*

This chieftain was son of Edeyrn, and grandson of Padarn, of the Crimson Coat, by Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebog, and thus by his mother descended from Beli the Great. His patrimonial territory was in Cumberland, and he began to reign about A.D. 320, but his progeny being numerous many of them betook themselves to various parts, "seeking adventures;" and the Welsh coasts being much infested with predatory bands of the Hibernian Scots, who in various instances were able to form settlements in that country, an opportunity was afforded the young warriors to give proof of their valour. They encouraged the natives to attempt the expulsion of the aliens, and their endeavours proved successful. The Welsh were pleased with their valour, and their spirit of enterprize; and considering them as of the same blood, and speaking the same language with themselves, they agreed to cede to them the dominion over the lands, which they had conquered from the Irish. They came from Cumberland to the Isle of Man, and from thence to Mona, or the Isle of Anglesea, where they met with a numerous band of Irish, headed by a leader of the name of *Serigi*, who fell fighting at the head of his men. "The aliens being expelled from Mona," as an ancient fragment states, "the Cymry took heart, and expelled them from every place, where they had settled in North Wales, only permitting those to continue in the country, who were willing to live in subjection to the Cymry."

* The whole of the Triad is here given:—"Tair gwelygordd sanctaidd Ynys Brydain. Gwelygordd Brân Feudigaid ap Llyr Lediath, sef y Brân hwnnw a ddug y ffydd yn Nghrist gyntaf i'r ynys hon o Rufain, lle y bu yn ngharchar drwy frâd Aregwedd Foeddawg merch Avarwy ap Lludd.

Ail gwelygordd Cynedda Wledyg, a roddes dir a braint gyntaf i Dduw a'r Saint yn Ynys Brydain; Trydydd ydoedd Brychan Brycheiniawg a ddug ei blant a'i wyrion ar ddysg a bonedd, fel y gallent ddangos y ffydd yng Nghrist i Genedl y Cymry lle ydd oeddynt yn ddiffydd.

Bonedd y Saint, in the Archæology, says thus:—Plant Brychan sydd un o'r Tair gwelygordd Saint Ynys Brydain, a'r ail yw Plant Cunedda, y drydedd yw plant caw o Brydin.

An Irish tribe, under the command of *Liethali*, as their chief, ravaged the shores of South Wales, and some of them settled in the country of *Gower* and *Kedwely*, comprising great part of the country to the west of the Swansea-bay, and from *Loghor* to *Kedwely*; or, as it is otherwise described, the country lying between the river *Tawé*, in Glamorganshire, and the *Towy*, in Caermarthenshire. This tract was subdued by *Urien*, a descendant of *Coel Godebog*, who came into South Wales about the beginning of the fifth century, and having assisted the natives to expel the Irish from that territory, he was invested as its sovereign. This went under the name of the kingdom of *Reged*.

The sons of *Cunedda* called the conquered territories by their own names, agreeable to the custom of other conquerors. *Tibion*, the eldest, died in the Isle of Man, in his way from Cumberland into Wales, but that warrior had a son of the name of *Meirion*, from whom that part of the country, since called *Meirion* and *Merioneth*, was so called. *Ceredig*, in like manner, gave his name to the land of *Ceredigion*, better known under the name of *Cardigan*. The other sons are said to have territories given to them, or rather conquered by them, as follows:—*Arwystil* had *Arwystli*; *Dunod* had *Dunodig*; *Edeyrn* had *Edeyrnion*; *Mael* had *Dinmael*; *Coel* had *Coleion*; *Dogfael* had *Dogfeilin*; *Rhufon* had *Rhyfoniog*; *Einion* had *Caer Einion*; and *Oswal* had *Osweilin*.

But the principal reason why *Cunedda* and his family attract our attention is the character given them, as friends to Christianity and patrons of the church. Of that prince himself it is asserted that he was the first that settled any territorial property on the clergy; that is, he was the first prince who so far patronised Christianity, in that part of Britain, where his domains lay. Lucius, or Lleirwg, had preceded him in patronising the Christian cause, in a different part of the island; but Cunedda and his sons had greater extent of territory, and were under circumstances more favourable than Lleirwg, who was dependent upon Rome.

When the rage of the Dioclesian persecution was over, if not before then, it is probable that many edifices for Christian worship were erected, under the patronage of the Emperor Constantius, and his son, Constantine the Great. But the accounts of Cambrian tradition must be confined chiefly to the native Britons of Wales and Cumberland; for, long before the time of Cunedda, (A.D. 314,) we read of three bishops from this island being present at the council of Arles, the first for London, the second for York, the third for Caerleon, the capital of Britannia Secunda.*

Many of the descendants of Cunedda embraced a religious life, and were persons of note in the Cambrian Church. We shall pay particular attention to some of them, who may be regarded as bright luminaries in a dark age and a benighted country.

AVANUS, or AVAN BUALLT, was the son of Ceredig, lord of Cardigan, and he was styled Episcopus, or Bishop, like some others

* See Usher and Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 69.

in that age, although their charge is not defined. The Church of *Llanavan*, near *Builth*, was so named in honour of him, and in the church-yard there is to be seen a stone, with the following inscription—HIC JACET AVANUS EPISCOPUS.

Of the same line was DEWI, or ST. DAVID, called Davidus Menevensis in old ecclesiastical writers. He was a native of Pembrokeshire, and was son of *Sandde*, or *Sandicus*, who was grandson of *Ceredig*, the son of *Cunedda*. His mother *Nonna*, was daughter of *Ynyr*, (Honorius, lord of Caergawch,) and a lady of the name of *Anna*. *David* was famed for his great devotion and learning, and, when young, he, in company with *Teilias* and *Paternus*, (or *Teilio* and *Padarn*,) travelled to Jerusalem to visit the holy places, the scenes of human redemption. He was educated under *Paulinus*, of Whitland, or Tygwyn, in Caermarthenshire, and is styled in the Triads one of the three holy visitors, the other two being his two friends just referred to, and of whom it is stated, "That they travelled about the country, instructing the inhabitants in the Christian religion, and distributing of their own property to the relief of the indigent." Thus, although it is said the holy man was much devoted to a retired life, he also joined activity to contemplation, which, by some ancient writers, is regarded as the perfection of a religious character. Such conduct in these old ecclesiastics calls for our admiration at this distant period of time.

The residence of *David* was at *Mynyw*, or *Menevia*, which was afterwards called by his name, and in process of time the cathedral of the diocese was fixed there.

When, in consequence of the prevalence of the Pelagian Heterodoxy, a synod of the Welsh clergy was summoned at *Brevi*, (since called *Llandewi Brevi*, in honour of this Saint). David reluctantly was prevailed on to join in the deliberations of the assembly. Upon that occasion, his learning and eloquence were so conspicuous that as *Dubricius* was, in consequence of infirmity, about to resign his situation as Primate of the Cambrian Church, *David* was considered as the most proper person to succeed to so important a trust. It is asserted, in most histories, that David acceded to the proposal, and the Romanists in their calendar style him Archbishop, but there is reason to think that there has been an error committed here by our antiquaries, in consequence of presuming one thing on the back of another. It is said, *David* was nephew to King *Arthur*, and that he took up his residence at Caerleon, where Arthur held his court; but this holy man is taken for *Dubricius*, who was indeed nearly related to our renowned hero of Gwent, but not so was David. As a mistake was committed in one instance, a similar one was committed in the other; and thus supposition passed for fact, for Arthur having a sister named *Anna*, that lady was confounded with *Anna*, the wife of Ynyr, of Pembrokeshire, the maternal grandfather of the saint. This gave rise, it is probable, to St. David's residence at Caerleon, at the court of Arthur, and his being made Primate of Wales. Subsequent ages paid excessive veneration to the name of David, as appears by the

many churches dedicated to him, while that of *Dubricius* was nearly forgotten. It is highly probable that the clergy of Dyfed resolved to extol David above all the Cambrian saints, in consequence of the dispute between them and the Llandaff Clergy, who submitted to the Primacy of Canterbury, in the time of Dunstan, in the reign of Edgar.* In the middle ages it was customary to go on pilgrimage to his shrine, and the Welsh bards joined with the monks, in extolling his posthumous fame. As it became a custom for every country to have its patron saint, St. David had the honour of being made Patron of the Principality, though this principally related to South Wales, as, in the opposite part of that country, the leek is hardly known.†

Teilo, or *Teilaus*, was great grandson of *Ceredig*, and founder of a religious institution at Llandaff, and was afterwards honoured with the title of Bishop, being regarded as the first Bishop of Llandaff, which was called *Plwyf Teilo* and *Esgobaeth Teilo*. Many churches are dedicated to him in Monmouthshire, Breconshire, Radnorshire, and Caermarthenshire, and in particular that of *Llandeilo Fawr*, in the last county, where it is said he died. This holy man must have lived to a great age, as he appears to have survived both *Dubricius* and *David*. He, with several ecclesiastics, quitted their native country, in consequence of the dreadful ravages of an epidemical distemper, called by the Welsh *y fad felen*, or *yellow fever*. After continuing for some time in Britany, *Teliaus*, with his companions, returned to Wales, and having remained a while at Llandaff, he is said to have retired to end his days at a place of his resort on the banks of the Towy, afterwards named Llandeilo *Fawr*. The old Llandaff Manuscript, on the contrary, mentions that he died at his episcopal seat, which probably is the truer account. His name is in the Roman Calendar, and his festival on the 9th of February.

Some others of the family of Cunedda, whose names appear among the warriors of the age, devoted their last days to religious retirement, and have their names enrolled among the saints of Britain.

Brychan.

Brychan is a celebrated name in our ancient history, and it is rather extraordinary that, being a foreigner, he should have obtained so great distinction. He was son of *Aulach*, the son of *Cormac*, one of the supreme sovereigns of Ireland. But this chieftain was of Cambrian descent by the mother's side, that lady whose name was *Marchell*, being the daughter of *Tudyr*, and sole heiress of her father to the territory of *Garthmadrin*, or *Brecknock*, to which he succeeded about the beginning of the fifth century. Brychan brought over with him, from Ireland, a holy man of the name of

* See Usher on the Religion of the Ancient Britons and Irish, p. 81.

† Gwenffrewi and Beuno were, in ancient times, more revered in the North than David, but all the Cambrians now rank under his banner.

Brynach, and by his assistance, his children and grand-children, as stated in the Triads, were brought up in the knowledge of Christianity and the arts of civilized life. Several of them were devoted to religion, and became the instructors of the Cymmry in the Christian faith, in the unenlightened parts of the country, where they founded churches and religious institutions. It appears from the manner in which this is spoken of in the Triads, that the inhabitants of various districts of Wales were not as yet initiated into Christianity, or that they had relapsed into heathenism, superstition maintaining a firm hold on the minds and habits of a rude people. The sons and descendants of *Brychan* thus became a kind of missionaries, reclaiming many of the Cymmry, and bring them back to the fold of Christ. The names of the children or grand-children of this prince are preserved in ancient memorials, and amounted to the respectable number of twenty-four of the male sex and twenty-five of the female. We here proceed to notice some of them, whose names are handed down to us, as persons of some eminence in the church. But we first give the names of the whole family.

The Names of Brychan's Children, (or rather, his Children and Grand-children).

His Sons—1. Cynawc. 2. Cledwyn. 3. Dingad. 4. Arthur. 5. Cyflevyr. 6. Rhain. 7. Dyfnan. 8. Gerwyn. 9. Cadoc. 10. Mathaiarn. 11. Pascen. 12. Neffei. 13. Pabiali. 14. Llecheu. 15. Kynbryd. 16. Kynfran. 17. Hychan. 18. Dyfric. 19. Kynin. 20. Dogfan. 21. Rhawin. 22. Rhun. 23. Cledoc. 24. Caian.

Daughters—1. Gwladus. 2. Arianwen. 3. Tanglwst. 4. Mechell. 5. Nevyn, 6. Gwawr. 7. Gwrgon. 8. Eleri. 9. Lleian. 10. Nefydd. 11. Rhiengar. 12. Goleuddydd. 13. Gwenddydd. 14. Tydieu. 15. Elined. 16. Keindrych. 17. Gwen. 18. Cenedlon. 19. Kymorth. 20. Dwynwen. 21. Keinwen. 22. Tudvyl. 23. Envail. 24. Hawystl. 25. Tybiau.

Cynoc, son of Brychan, is said to have fallen a victim to the ferocity of some of the Saxons, who it appears made inroads into this part of the country. We have no particulars as to his life and actions, but that the parish church of Merthyr Cynog is supposed to bear his name.

Cadoc the Wise, son of Gwynlliw, Prince of Gwentlwg, who married Gwladys daughter, of Brychan, a very eminent character among the ancient Britons. He was one of the counsellors of *Arthur*, and is ranked with *Blase* and *Patroclus*, as the determined protector of innocence and misfortune. Along with *Iltutus* and *Birt*, he is denominated one of the three holy and chaste bachelors, who had always conducted themselves with the nicest decorum towards the female sex. *Cadoc* renounced the world, and devoting himself to religion, he presided over the celebrated college at *Llancarvan*, while his friend *Iltutus* became *abbot* of a similar institution at the neighbouring town of *Caer Worgan*, afterwards known by the name of *Lantwil Major*, or *Llanilltud Fawr*, in the vale of Gla-

morgan. There are several churches dedicated in memory of him, as *Llangattoc Caerleon*, *Llangattoc*, near *Crickhowel*; *Cadoxton*, near *Neath*; and *Llangadoc*, in Caermarthenshire. He is indiscriminately called Cadoc, or Cattwg. His festival in the Roman Calendar is kept on the 24th of January.

Clydoc was the founder of a church in the region of Ewias, (or Euas,) in Herefordshire, hence the Parish of Clydoc, in which Longtown is situated, bears his name.

Three of the sons of *Brychan (Neffei, Pasgen,* and *Pabiali)* are said to have gone over to Spain, where their sanctity gained them great repute.

Rhain is supposed to be commemorated in an ancient monument, at Llandevailog, near Brecon.

Cynfran is the saint to whom the parish church of Llysfane, near Abergele, in Denbighshire, is dedicated.

Dyvrig Benaurog, *Dubric*, or, as he is denominated in the church history, *St. Dubricius*, a name as venerable as any in our annals. His first distinction appears to have been that of presiding over a college or institution, raised on the banks of the Wye, under the patronage of his father, Prince Brychan. Some histories mention two places, *Henllan* and *Mochros*. The village of *Llyswen*, on the Brecknock side of the river, seems to have been the name of a place of note in ancient times. The parish on the opposite side of the ford, a little higher up, is erroneously called *Bochrwd*, perhaps for *Mochrwd*, signifying the swift or rapid ford, and this may have been the *Mochros* of antiquity, but we have a place of that name in Monmouthshire, recorded in the Book of Llandaff, as given to the church by Mouric, or Meyric ap Tewdric. In "The Memorials of the Saints," the name is *Wyg*, or Wick, denoting it to have been formerly an idol grove. *Dubricius* is said also to have been director, at one time, of the college of Llancarvan, over which we find afterwards that *Cadoc*, his sister's son, was placed, and he was elected Bishop of Llandaff.

Dubricius, moreover, is made Primate of the Cambrian Church, whereas he, and *Teilo*, and *David*, were, in all probability, no more than abbots, though they may have had the title of bishops. Thus *Kentigern*, *Asaph*, and *Daniel* were abbots, and the places over which they presided afterwards gave name to so many bishoprics.

The Daughters of Brychan.

Gwladys, was married to Gwynlleis, Prince of Gwentllwg, and St. Cadoc was the fruit of that marriage.

Nevyn was married to *Cynvarch*, to whom she bore *Urien*, Prince of *Rheged*. The church of *Nevyn*, in Pembrokeshire, and that of the same name in the district of *Lleyn*, in Caernarvonshire, is called after her.

Mechell was the first wife of *Gynyr*, Lord of Caergawch, who was father of *Nonn*, the mother of *St. David*, by another wife, of the name of *Anna*.

Eleri, the wife of *Ceredig*, the son of *Cunedda*, and mother of *Sandde*, father of St. David, so that the saint was descended from Brychan as well as Cunedda.

Dwynwen has a church in *Mona* bearing her name. Welsh lovers invoked her at *Llandwynwen*.

Elined had a chapel at the Slwch-hill, near Brecon, and of which *Geraldus* takes notice in his Itinerary, where he narrates some singular traits of fanaticism, connected with the celebration of the wake, or festival, observed there.

Gwawr was wife of Elidyr, and mother or Llywarch Hen, the Cambrian bard, one of the courtly and valiant knights of Arthur's court. Several of his sons died fighting for the independence of the Cymmry.

Tudvil was the wife of *Congan*, Prince of *Powys*, who gave lands for endowing the college of *Bangor iscoed*, in Maelor. This lady, while on the road to pay a visit to her father, fell a victim to the ferocity of a horde of Pagans, said to be Saxons, who infested the country. She was deemed a martyr from the circumstance of her untimely death, and *Merthyr Tudvil* is so called in honour of her.

Celibacy, as we perceive from these notices, was not superstitiously in repute among the ancient Britons, up to the sixth century. Married persons were numbered among their saints. Even in the tenth century there was a married Bishop at St. David's, and in high estimation; Sulien the Wise, the father of Ryddmarch, himself an eminent ecclesiastic.

P.S. It is to be lamented that our ecclesiastical antiquaries have not taken more pains to ascertain the genealogy of illustrious men. Upon looking more minutely into things, I perceive that the great *Dubricius* must be a different person from the son of *Brychan* of that name, for his mother *Anna* could be no other than *Anna* the wife of *Gynyr* and daughter of *Gwrthevys*, as *Anna*, the sister of *Arthur*, married Llew ap Cynvarch. *St. Dubricius* was, therefore, the uncle of *St. David*, and it is he who is said to have been Bishop of Llandaff, while the other *Dubricius*, son of *Brychan*, was the director of the college on the *Wye*, and under whose patronage, in all probability, *Cadoc*, his sister's son, founded the college at *Llancarvan*. We may thus account for the intimacy subsisting between *Dewi* and *Dyfrig*, and if we believe that both these two celebrated churchmen, confined themselves to the western parts of Wales, we shall simplify the history of that period.

AN

ESSAY

On the several Tribes comprehended under the Appellation of Ancient Britons.

THE aboriginal inhabitants of this country never called themselves *Britons;* their national designation was that of *Cymmry*, or aborigines; and, by this term, their descendants distinguish themselves, to this day, from the other inhabitants of the island. Before this island was inhabited, it was denominated *Clâs Merddin*, (the sea-girt green spot). After it was colonized by the Cymmry, it was designated by the phrase *Mel Ynys*, (the honey-island,) probably from the great quantity of wild honey found in it: and, when the first colonists were organized into a commonwealth, or social state, by Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, the inhabitants called it *Ynys Prydain*, (the isle of Prydain,) in honour of Prydain, their organizer and legislator.* Now, all proper names, in the old British language, have a significant import; and that of Prydain, applied either to a person or a country, means *abounding with beauty;* hence the Cymmry appellation "Ynys Prydain" denotes the *isle abounding with beauty*, which, it must be admitted, is both appropriate and poetic. By this name the island became known to the Celtic tribes upon the continent, and, when the Romans invaded and conquered Gaul, Julius Cæsar heard this designating term. The Roman general easily Latinized the word Prydain into Britannia, and named the inhabitants Britanni; for the Romans generally designated a nation after the name of its country. The appellations given to the Cymmry and their country, by Cæsar, were immediately adopted by foreign historians and poets, and soon became general; and, after travelling a pretty long round in a Roman garb, they finally assumed an English dress, and are now anglicized into Britain and Britons. As the modern inhabitants, from Land's End to Johnny Groat's, feel a pride in the appellation *Britons*, and use the term with considerable pride, they generally distinguish the descendants of the old settlers, or Cymmry, by the names of Welsh, Cambrians, or Ancient Britons, though

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57. The society awarded a silver medal to the Rev. William Probert, at the London Eisteddvod, in 1825, for this Essay.—ED.

the people of Wales never assume any other name among themselves than that of Cymmry.

From the statements made in our historical Triads, it seems that there were no less than seven grand tribes in the island at the period of the Roman invasion, besides other roving parties who came over from the continent, and who formed either a permanent or a temporary settlement, according to circumstances. It is equally clear that the first settlers, in this country, were of Asiastic origin, and were quite a distinct people from the Goths and the Vandals, who were, also, Asiatics originally. Their first settlement was on the Tauric Chersonesus, and, next, on the western shores of the Euxine. Their numbers were very considerable; their government was patriarchal; and their real or symbolical leader, at the period in question, and, in their subsequent emigrations, was called *Hu Gadarn*, (Hu the Mighty). We are informed that the tribes by whom they were surrounded were very fierce, warlike, and cruel; and that, in consequence of these things, as Hu the Mighty was the patron of peace and quietness, they determined to emigrate westwardly, so that they might be enabled to obtain lands in peace, and live without fighting and plunder. The emigration commenced, and, following the course of rivers, they, at length, reached the German Ocean, which they called *Môr Tawch*,* (the hazy sea). Under the real or emblematical† guidance of Hu the Mighty, part of this emigrating body crossed the sea, which is properly called *hazy*, and landed in Britain, which they found to contain everything they wanted. Writers generally believe that the first colonists came into this country from Gaul, across the British Channel; but this is decidedly a mistake. The Triads represent them as crossing the German Ocean, or the Hazy Sea. They landed, therefore, in the North of England, or the South of Scotland, and from thence they spread themselves over the present counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and on into Wales; on the other side, they settled north of the Tweed, along the coast beyond Edinburgh, and forward as far as Glasgow and Dumbarton. The remainder of the great body, refusing to cross the Môr Tawch, or the German Ocean, separated from their brethren, and, turning to the left, they marched forward along the coast until they came into Llydaw, or Armorica, being the present province of Britanny, in France. Other colonies, of the same original stock, had taken a more direct course from the Euxine, and settled themselves previously in different parts of Gaul, and wandering columns had pushed forward over the Alps and Py-

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57.

† "Real or emblematical." This phrase is used, because the Triads lead us to believe that Hu conducted them in person, even into Britain: but some Welsh critics contend that Hu had been dead long before; that the Cymmry deified and paid him divine honours; and that they came into the island under his emblematical guidance. Dr. W. Owen Pughe has published, in classical Welsh, a very pretty poem, intituled "Hu Gadarn." It is in three cantos, and well worthy the attention of every Welshman.

renees, and fixed their residence on the borders of Italy and Spain, under the name of Ligurians, from whence colonies subsequently came into Britain and Ireland. How long the Cymmry, who first took possession of the island, continued by themselves is not known; but we are informed that, at a subsequent period, two large colonies of those who had settled in Gaul came over and joined their brethren. Whether their coming was occasioned by any misunderstanding with their brethren on the continent, or whether they were induced by the favourable accounts received respecting the fertility and pleasantness of Britain, or whether both these causes produced the second emigration, cannot now be determined: nor is it possible to ascertain the precise period of their coming, nor whether they came together or at different periods, because the historical documents of the Cymmry, however correct, as they regard facts, are, from their very form, and the heterogeneous subjects which they class together, in the triadic form, necessarily deficient with respect to dates. We know, however, from the authority of the following Triad, that they did come, and were received in peace:—"There were three social tribes of the isle of Prydain. The first was the tribe of the Cymmry, who came to the isle of Prydain, under Hu the Mighty, because he would not possess a country and lands by fighting and pursuit, but by justice and tranquillity. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrians, who came from Gascony, and they were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymmry. The third were the Brython, who came from Armorica, and who were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymmry. These were called the three peaceful tribes, because they came by mutual consent and tranquillity; and these tribes were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymmry, and they had all three the same language and speech.*

As these three tribes were of the same family, spoke dialects of the same language, and came to Britain by mutual consent, so they enjoyed the same rights, laws, and privileges. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that, as they had been separated for some time, and had acquired distinct appellations from their respective places of residence, or other circumstances, so they naturally preserved their discriminative terms of Cymmry, Lloegrwys, and Brython. The first of these terms, as has been previously mentioned, denotes aborigines, or first settlers; the second, the people of the Liger, now called the Loire; and the third, people of warlike habits.

After the junction of these three peaceful tribes, it is probable that the conventional system of policy, as traced out by Prydain, was perfected and carried into effect by his successor, Dyvnwal Moelmud. Plans were also arranged for a proper division of the country, which was formed into the three grand departments, or kingdoms, of Cymmrú, Lloegr, and Alban. Cymmru was the part

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 58.

occupied by the Cymmry, or the Aborigines, and which then comprehended, as has been previously noticed, the south of Scotland, the northern parts of England, Wales, and Cornwall, and parts of the fertile counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, Cheshire, and Lancashire, together with a fine district, overwhelmed by the sea in the fifth century of the Christian æra, and now called Cardigan-bay.* Such was the geographical position of the Cymmry, whose descendants are now called Ancient Britons, or Welshmen. Lloegr comprehended that part of England which was occupied by the Lloegrwys, who gave their name to the district. Subsequently, the whole of England was denominated Lloegr, and this is the term by which the Welsh designate it to this day. These Lloegrwys are represented in the Triad, already quoted, as being descended from the original stock of the Cymmry, and as speaking a dialect of the same language. Whether they gave their name to the Liger, now called the Loire, or whether they derived their national appellation from a name previously given to that river, cannot now be ascertained; but as they gave their name to a very considerable part of the island, which name is still retained, their numbers and importance must have been considerable. The Brython seem to have settled on the north-east of the Lloegrwys; these came from Armorica, the present Brittany, and, from the authority already given, were of the same stock as the Cymmry, and rather more nearly related to them than the Lloegrwys. As they spoke the same language, or a dialect of it, and as they came in peace, they are classed with the Cymmry and Lloegrwys, as forming one of the three peaceful tribes. Alban denotes the upper part, or utmost limit; and this name was given to the Highlands of Scotland, either from its being the northern extremity of the island, or because of its abounding with high mountains.† When this division was first made Alban‡ was uninhabited.

These divisions were doubtless made with a view of preserving the island to the original settlers; for they wisely calculated that a time would come when other roving bands would arrive and wish to settle in the island, either by treaty or by force of arms. Accordingly, we are informed, by the following Triad, that three other tribes came over, and solicited refuge and land:—"There were three refuge-seeking tribes that came to the Isle of Prydain; and they came under the peace and permission of the tribe of the

* By that calamitous event, we are told that sixteen fortified towns were lost, superior to all the towns and fortified stations in Cymmru, with the exception of Caer Llion, upon Usk. Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 64.

† Vide Dr. W. Owen Pughe's Dic. in voc. *Alban*.

‡ Alluding to Alban, we may remark that the Romans called the island *Albion*, which name is considered by some as a corruption of the British *Alban*, whilst others think it was given in consequence of the white appearance of the cliffs opposite Calais. It may be observed that in addition to the names already mentioned, the Britons often called the island "Ynys wen," the white island; but whether this be a translation of the Latin Albion, or *vice versâ*, or whether both these names were given to the white-like appearance of the Dover Cliffs, independently of each other, is left for the consideration of the learned.

Cymmry, without arms and without opposition. The first was the tribe of the Caledonians in the north; the second was the Irish tribe, who dwelt in the Highlands of Scotland; the third were the people of Galedin, who came in naked vessels to the Isle of Wight, when their country was drowned, and where they had lands granted them by the tribe of the Cymmry. They had no privilege of claim in the Isle of Prydain, but they had land assigned to them under certain limitations; and it was stipulated that they should not possess the rank of native Cymmry until the ninth of their lineal descendants."*

Respecting these tribes we know but little in reality. It is, however, generally admitted, by Celtic writers, that the people here called Caledonians were descendants from the Cymmry, whose fathers, separating from their brethren during the period of their grand emigration towards the west, had settled on some part of the continent of Europe, until war or famine urged them to cross the sea, and seek a refuge in Britain. Further, it is a fact well ascertained that the middle of Scotland was, in early times, one immense forest, named *Coed Celyddon*. In this woody country, these people were placed; and as the root of Celyddon is *cel*, denoting a shelter, or a shade, hence sprung *celt*, *celydd*, *ceiltraid*, and *ceiltwys*, all of which terms are either descriptive of the country or of its inhabitants, as being people of the coverts, or wood men. From the term Celyddon came the Latin Caledonia, with its respective derivatives. The second refuge-seeking tribe are called *Gwyddyl*, or Irish, which also denotes an inhabitant of the woods, or wilds; and is the Welsh name for an Irishman to this day. These people came originally into Ireland from the south of Britain, and colonies also probably came from the borders of Spain and Italy. They were of the original Cymmry stock, and spoke a dialect of the same language; but as they had resided in Gaul, and on the borders of Italy, for some time, their language varied considerably from Cymmraeg, and approximated towards the Latin tongue; and this is the reason that so many characteristics agreeing with the Latin are found in the Irish language, and differing from those of the Welsh. Being forced from Ireland, either by war or famine, the two great causes of emigration in ancient times, Alban, or the Highlands of Scotland, was settled by them, and the present Highlanders are their legitimate descendants. The third tribe mentioned in the Triad are called *Gwyr Galedin*, or the people of Galedin, and the cause of their coming is distinctly stated—the drowning of their country by the sea. Many learned men are of opinion that Galedin is only another name for Holland, which is still tolerably well preserved in the word Guelderland. To this opinion the writer subscribes, because parts of Holland present every appearance of having been overflown by the sea. It is also very probable that these people of Galedin were descendants from the old Cymmry, having diverged from the main body about the Elbe. Of such strag-

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 58.

glers, and their subsequent importance, there are strong traces, from the plains of Tartary to the sea of Denmark, even to this day.* Be these things as they may, it is clear that a part of the Lowlands of Scotland, the Highlands, and the Isle of Wight were assigned, respectively, to the new comers, under the restrictions mentioned. Whether these refuge-seeking tribes, or any part of them, obtained the full liberty of native Cymmry before the landing of the Romans, is a matter of doubt; the writer rather thinks they did not, otherwise they would not so easily have parted with this blessing, and been guilty of treachery to their benefactors by joining the enemy, as is expressly stated.†

In addition to these, mention is made of two other tribes who came to Britain, and who established themselves in it by force of arms. These are the Coranians and the Picts. The Coranians are said to arrive here from the country of *Pwyl*, supposed, by Lwyd, to be Poland; but this conjecture, however plausible, is not sufficiently strong to justify its adoption implicitly. A Triad says that they came here in the time of Ludd, the son of Beli, and brother of Caswallawn, or Cassivellaunus. They must have been a powerful race, for, though surrounded by foes, they succeeded in establishing themselves along the shores of the Humber.‡ The origin of the name is not very clear, though the writer thinks that the people themselves were of the same original family as the Cymmry, only in a remote degree. With regard to the *Gwyddyl Fichti*, Gwyddelian Picts, or Picts of the Woods, they certainly did not come from Ireland, as some have erroneously supposed, because the Triad says that they came to Alban by the sea of Llychlin,§ or the Baltic; for Llychlyn is a general name for the North Sea. We know but little respecting the origin of this people, but they were probably descended from the Cymmry of the Elbe. They are represented in history as being terrible in arms, both against the South Britons and the Romans; and when the Saxons landed, they joined those invaders and became one body with them.

Thus, when the Romans landed there were seven grand tribes in Britain:—the Cymmry, Lloegrwys, Brython, Caledonians, Gwyddyl, people of Galedin, Coranians, and Peithwys, or Picts. In this inquiry, the writer has principally followed the old British Triads; but it is necessary here to remark that, in addition to the tribes mentioned in these singularly-constructed documents, we must also add bands from the Celtic Gauls, and particularly from the Belgæ, who established themselves, more or less, upon the sea-coasts of the south parts of the island. The Belgæ, in particular, became distinguished as a leading tribe or nation. It deserves also to be added that, however these might quarrel among themselves, they bravely united in the first instance against the common foe, and made a deep impression upon the Roman soldiery, though commanded by Cæsar.

* Cambro-Briton, vol. ii. p. 97. vol. iii. pp. 303, 304.
† Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 58. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

But though the above were the general appellations of these tribes, yet the reader should remark that they were subdivided into several small tribes or families, and derived various discriminative names from their local* situations or different pursuits. Every illustrious man became the head of a tribe to his family, and even the ninth in descent from vassals stood in the same honourable situation with respect to his family and descendants.† Thus we may say, there were families within families and tribes within tribes, though all originating from one grand stock, and regularly tracing their descent from the same primeval source. These tribes were also divided into several little states, which were governed by their respective chiefs; but amidst these divisions they yielded obedience to the same laws, and fully enjoyed the same rights and privileges throughout the island.

After the Romans invaded and established themselves in Britain, they divided the country into Britannia Romana, and Britannia Barbara. By Britannia Barbara we are to understand the northern part of Scotland which the Romans did not occupy, and subsequently all that part of the island which was north of the Roman Wall, or the Wall of Severus. Britannia Romana was subdivided into Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæsarensis. The limits of the first were the rivers Trent, Severn, and Dee; the second comprehended Wales; and the third extended from the river Trent as far as the Roman Wall, and even much farther north, until the incursions of the Picts and Caledonii induced Severus to raise a powerful stone rampart, extending from Wall's End, below Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Boulness, below Carlisle. Within these spaces Roman authors and geographers mention many tribes who were formed into independent states. The real situation of several of these is uncertain, nor are the learned agreed respecting their numbers, as some make them to consist of forty nations,‡ whilst others reckon only seventeen in Britannia Romana, and four in Britannia Barbara. Considering the latter to be nearer the truth, the following alphabetical list will be given; and though it may be deemed deficient by some, it may probably afford instruction to others.

Attrebati,§ inhabitants of Berkshire. May not the Roman name be a derivative from the Welsh *attrewyr*, signifying men of the desert, or men who make a desert or a waste? This is submitted with diffidence.

* Thus we say at present the Lancastrians, the Yorkists, the Northumbrians, and the like, when in reality we mean the same people who reside in different parts of the kingdom.

† Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. pp. 294, 295.

‡ Lingard's Hist. of England, who refers for authorities to Ptolem. viii. 2, Ricard. Carin. i. 6. and Whittaker's Manchester, vol. i. p. 91, vol. ii. p. 201. Both Lingard and his authorities are most unquestionably mistaken, and have confounded local names of tribes with independent nations.

§ Baxter and other etymologists derive the name from *attrev* and *attrevad*, describing a habitation bordering upon any range of hills, woods, or a river, which was the case with respect to the *attrevatiaid*.—Ed.

Belgæ, inhabitants of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. The Welsh of Belgæ is *Belgiad*, one that over-runs, a ravager; and the plural is *Belgwys*. These people settled here as a body two or three centuries prior to the Roman invasion, though small parties continued to come over occasionally, even until the Romans gained a footing in the island. The great body already mentioned extended themselves westwardly, and subsequently got a footing in Ireland, under the appellation of *Tirlbogs*. They are supposed to be of the original Cymmry stock, and colonies of them were for a long time settled contiguous to Italy, under the name of Ligurians.*

Brigantes, inhabitants of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland, and the uplands of Northumberland. These seem to have been a numerous and powerful nation, if indeed they were only one. They were subdivided into Parisii, the inhabitants of Deivr and Brynaichs, or Deira and Bernicia. The Parisii were settled upon the Yorkshire coast, north of the river Humber. The name is thought to be derived from the British *parwis*, signifying spear-men, or men accustomed to the spear. The people of Deira, or Deivrwys, occupied the present county of Durham and the adjacent parts, and, if we may judge from the name, were domiciliated, or particularly reduced to order. The Bernicians or Bryneichwys, as the word denotes, were people of the uplands or hills, and resided principally in the western part of Northumberland. Of these people Aneurin speaks in an indignant strain, because they basely deserted the common cause and fought against their countrymen at the battle of Cattraeth. His language is:—

> Ar deulu Brynaich, be eich barnaswn,
> Diliw! dyn yn vyw nis gadawswn.

> Of the tribe of Bernicia, if I had judged you,
> By the flood! I would not have left a man alive.

The word Brigantes is a derivative from the Welsh *brigant*, and denotes a highlander, a depredator. The Brigantes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and the adjacent parts made a noble stand, under Urien and his gallant son Owen, against the Picts and Saxons. They erected those districts into a kingdom, and named it Rheged.† In this part, too, was the patrimony of Llywarch Hen, who was a prince of the country. In consequence of the resistance which the Brigantes of Rheged opposed to the encroachments of the Saxons, and the length of time they maintained themselves there after the other parts of England were conquered, the Saxons called the district *Cymmry's londe*, which is now anglicized into Cumberland.

Cantii, inhabitants of Kent. In this county Cæsar first landed, and met with a warm reception; and had it not been for the treachery of Mandubratius, it is very doubtful whether the Romans could have ever set foot upon the British shores. The Cantii were probably a

* Dr. W. Owen Pughe's Dic. in voc. *Belgiad*.

† Dr. W. Owen Pughe's Llywarch Hen, and Taliesin's poems, addressed to Urien in Arch. of Wales.

mixture from several tribes, among others the Belgæ, who resided in Kent, on account of its contiguity to Gaul, and the local advantages which it offered to traders. It is thought that the word Cantii comes from *ceintwys*, denoting a warlike people, and that again from *caint*, signifying an open field or country subject to battles. The English word Kent is clearly a derivative from the British *caint*.

Cativelanii, inhabitants of Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire. These were evidently some of the Lloegrwys, previously noticed. May not the Latin name be a derivative from the British *cadvlaeniaid*, front of battle men, soldiers of the van?

Cornabii, inhabitants of Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. From the local situation of this nation, it is probable that it was composed of the Lloegrwys and Cymmry, unless we suppose that the Cymmry had gradually spread as low as Staffordshire and Worcestershire. Is not *Cornabii* a derivative from *cornorion*, leading men, and that again from *cornawr*, a leader?

Coritani,* inhabitants of Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. These people have been already mentioned, under the name of Coranians, as settling in the island by force of arms, a little prior to the Roman invasion; and in the Triads they are represented as establishing themselves along the banks of the Humber. If they really occupied the counties mentioned, they must have been very numerous; but the writer is disposed to think that they subsequently amalgamated both with the Brython and the Lloegrwys, and with parts of both these tribes they formed a nation, occupying the territory specified. The Roman invasion, it is well known, destroyed many of those local distinctions which the Britons had established, and caused a mixture of several of the tribes, which otherwise would not have occurred. In some cases this was the effect of necessity, and at others the result of policy.

Danmonii,† inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonshire. The word is also spelt Damnonii. The inhabitants of Cornwall, or Cornish men, have always been considered brave, and a dialect of the Cymmry language has continued to be spoken there until nearly the present time. The Welsh name of Devonshire is Dyvnaint, denoting a country abounding with bottoms and glens; and from what the writer knows of Cornwall, he considers it entitled to a similar appellation, though the Welsh call it Cernyw, signifying a country having a jutting form, which exactly corresponds with the geography of that county. From the Welsh Cernyw came the English Cornwall. The Latin Danmonii or Damnonii is evidently derived from the Cymmry Dyvneintwys, inhabitants of the glens.

Dimetæ, inhabitants of Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire. These were evidently of the original Cymmry stock,

* Dan-Mynydd, signifying a country sheltered by hills.—Camden.

† Some trace this word from *cawri*, giants; hence *gwron* and *gwraniaid*, mighty men.—Ed.

who first landed in Britain, and who spread themselves from the north of England and the south of Scotland, even through North and South Wales. The Welsh of Dimetæ is Dyved, which had once an extensive signification, but the word is now principally confined in its application to the present county of Pembroke.

Dobunii,* inhabitants of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. These seem to have been principally composed of the Lloegrwys. Respecting the derivation of the name Dobunii the writer is ignorant, unless it be from *dowwys*, people who are domicilated, or reduced to order.

Durotriges, inhabitants of Dorsetshire. These were, probably, some of the Belgæ mixed with the Llaogrwys. The root of this name is thought to be *Dyrawr*, impulse; hence, *Dyrorwys*, impulse-men,—men who rush forward with impetuosity and fierceness; or they might have been named *Dyvrdrigiaid*, as inhabiting the water-side.

Iceni, inhabitants of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. They were principally composed of the Brython. Their energy, under Queen Boadicea, is well known, together with its dreadful results. Boadicea also lives in history as the traitress who delivered up Caradog, or Caractacus, into the hands of the Romans, though some assert that Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, betrayed the British chief: others think that the terms Cartismandua and Boadicea were only different names for the same person. Is not the term Iceni derived from the British *Esyntiaid*,† signifying shield-men, or persons wearing large shields?

Ordovices, inhabitants of Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Merioneth, and Anglesea. These were pure Cymmry. In an old map lying before the writer, North Wales is divided between the Ordovices and the *Genuinii*, but he suspects that the word Genuinii is only a corruption of *Gwyneddiaid*, and means the same people as the Ordovices, or the men upon the Deva, or Dee.

Otodini, inhabitants of the sea-coast of Northumberland and Scotland, even beyond Edinburgh. These, also, were of the pure Cymmry stock, and the district which they inhabited they called Gododin. From this British word came the Latin Otodini, which is also spelt Ottodini and Ottadini. After the Romans left the island the inhabitants of the country now under notice took up arms against the Saxons, and resolved to expel the invaders. But they were too confident of victory: they entered the fatal battle of Cattraeth intoxicated: they were defeated, and three only of the chiefs escaped. Aneurin, who was a native of this country and a chief, was in that battle. He retired into Wales, and there wrote a fine poem, called Gododin, to commemorate his friends who fell on that dreadful day.‡

* *Dobunii*, *Dwvn*, and *Dyvnau*, which imply a country abounding in pools and meadows, overspread with waters.—Ed.

† Whether the word was originally pronounced *Ikeni* or *Iseni* requires to be proved before we can arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.—Ed.

‡ Arch. of Wales, vol. i. p. 1, where the poem is printed.

Regni, inhabitants of Sussex and Surrey. These were composed of the Lloegrwys, and some roving bands from the Celtic Gauls. We know not the origin of Regni, unless it be from *Rhegedwys*, men of liberality—liberal men.

Silures, inhabitants of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, and Brecknockshire. These were pure Cymmry, and, of all the Britons, were the bravest. Under their noble prince, Caradog, or Caractacus, they harassed the whole of the Roman power in the island for the space of nine years. The term Siluria is a derivative from the Welsh names, still preserved, of *Essyllwg* and *Esyllyr*, denoting a country abounding with prospects.

Trinobantes, inhabitants of Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Essex. These were, probably, a mixture of Brython and Lloegrwys. Is not the name Trinobantes a derivative from *Trinciaint*, men of the conflict—conflict men?

Besides these, some authors mention the Cenimagni, the Cassi, and the Cangi. Respecting the two former of these little is known, and it is highly probable that they were only other names for some of the nations or tribes already specified. With regard to the Cangi, the writer is disposed to think, with Baxter, as quoted by Warrington, that they were stout young men belonging to each tribe, whose business consisted in protecting the flocks and in uniting against the common enemy when danger required such an union.

In Britannia Barbara were the Caledonii, Horesti, and Attocotii. These were evidently nations formed from the tribes who originally settled there, and to whom allusion has already been made. The Caledonii were settled in the great forest of Caledonia, or Coed Celyddon. These, confederating with their neighbours, under Gwallawg, or Galgacus, bravely opposed the Romans in the shock of arms. The Picts were of the Cymmry stock, and are thought to have come into Britain from about the Elbe: they, probably, resided along the north-east coast of Scotland, extending south nearly as far as Edinburgh. *Picti* is derived from *Peithwys*, denoting people of the desert, people who make waste. The Horesti and Attocotii were, probably, the *Gwyddyl*, who originally came from Ireland, and who were fixed in Alban, or the Highlands. Uniting in part with the Caledonii, it is thought they formed the two petty nations named Horesti and Attocotii. If this conjecture be correct, then the country they occupied were the present Highlands, together with the western coast, extending as far south as the Solway Frith. Mention is made of several other tribes in Scotland, but these seem to be only families of those previously noticed, who obtained their respective names from their local situations, or other circumstances now buried in oblivion.

Thus, according to the Welsh documents, there were seven grand tribes in the island, besides the Belgæ, at the period of the Roman invasion. These were all descended from the Cymmry, either immediately or remotely; and, though they came at various

times, and occupied different parts of the island, they all spoke dialects of the same common language and enjoyed similar rights and privileges. When the Romans landed they found these tribes divided into independent states. Of these there were seventeen in Britannia Romana, and four in Britannia Barbara, making in all twenty-one. In consequence of peculiar habits, local situations, and other circumstances of a similar nature, each of these was designated by a different name. These names the Romans generally preserved, only a little Latinized, but, as a collective body, they called them *Britanni*, or *Britons*.

AN

ESSAY*

On the several Invasions of Britain, and their Effects on the Character and Language of the Inhabitants.

In prosecuting this interesting inquiry recourse will be had to the ancient historical Triads of Britain, because these possess much valuable information, and have been remarked for their accuracy in almost every case where proof has been obtained from other sources; they, also, allude to many invasions of Britain by various bodies of people at different times; and they classify these invasions, according as the invaders were treacherous or warlike, and as they obtained either a permanent or a local settlement in the island.

Modern historians allude only to four invasions of Britain: those of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; but the documents of the Cymmry, already alluded to, refer to others, some of which were decidedly anterior to those just mentioned; and though their effects on the character and language of the inhabitants were not extensive, yet they certainly were of such a nature as to demand some attention in this inquiry. Unfortunately, we are in want of dates to ascertain the precise periods when some of them occurred; and it is possible, from the peculiar construction of the Triads, that we shall not be able to arrange all of them according to the proper order of events. Repine, however, is useless; for though we cannot enjoy the full radiance of accurate chronology, yet let us hail with gratitude the feeble rays of the star of the Cymmry, which still glimmers upon our mountains, recals our thoughts to times which have passed away, and shows us what our fathers were, and what they suffered from strangers.

The first invasion of Britain was effected by the people of Llychlyn, or of the north, who came over about two hundred years before the Christian æra, and settled on the eastern coast by force of arms. There they remained during three generations; but about the end of that time the native population became so strong, that they drove these invaders into the sea of Germany. On this account the people of Llyhlyn are styled one of the three invading tribes

* This Essay was presented to the Society of the Cymmrodorion, by the Rev. William Probart, in 1826.—Ed.

"that came into the isle of Britain and departed from it."* The motive which induced this horde of barbarians to invade this country, and the circumstance which enabled them to remain here so long, are stated to be the following.

A Scandinavian chief, named Urb Llewyddawg, or Urb, with the mighty host, maintained a friendly intercourse with the Britons, and came over in the time of Cadial, son of Eri, to request assistance for the Northern Cimbrii. He brought with him only his servant, named Mathuta Vawr. Anxious to obtain all the aid possible, he stipulated with the Britons that they should let him have as many men as he should bring with him into the different states in succession. Ignorant of the doctrine of geometrical progression, the natives accepted the terms and were outwitted; but soon perceiving that they had made a most serious mistake, a compromise took place, and Urb obtained sixty-three thousand men. With this army, containing the flower of the island, he sailed away to oppose the enemies of the Northern Cimbrii. None of this host ever returned home, but they settled, it is stated, on the confines of Greece, and chiefly in the districts of Galas and Avena,† supposed by some to mean Galatia or Gallogræcia. They were thence named in the Triads as one of "the three emigrating hosts of Britain." By the departure of this chosen body of men, the remainder of the inhabitants became greatly enfeebled, and were unable to resist the invasion of the Llychlynians, or to expel them from the country until three generations had passed away.

These invaders were hardly expelled before the Coranians or Coritani‡ landed in Britain, and effectually established themselves along the southern banks of the river Humber and the adjacent parts. These are supposed to be of Asiatic origin, and to have belonged to the primitive stock of the Cymmry, though in a remote degree. They are represented as invading this country in the time of Lludd, son of Beli, and brother of Caswallawn, or the Cassivelaunus of Roman authors. If so, their arrival in Britain may be fixed at about seventy or eighty years before the present æra. Should it be demanded why the native Britons allowed these invaders to settle in the country, the answer is to be found in the facts of the natives being so greatly weakened by the army which Urb led out of the country, and in the losses which they had sustained in their struggles with the Llychlynians before they were able to drive them over the sea.

About the same time a strong body of Irish, under the command of a chief named Ganvel, invaded North Wales, and maintained their footing there for the space of twenty-nine years. Roused with resentment at this aggression, the celebrated Caswallawn, or Cassivelaunus, marched against them, and, by the shock of arms, drove them nearly all into the sea.§ The struggle was so terrible and decisive, that a dreadful pestilence arose from the putrified bodies of the slain, which is noted as one of the three frightful

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 58. Triad 8.
† Idem. p. 59. Triad 14.
‡ Idem. p. 58. Triad 7.
§ Idem. p. 58. Triad 8.

plagues of the Isle of Britain.* The expulsion, or rather destruction, of these invaders took place a little before the landing of the Romans.

The Picts landed in North Britain, and settled on the eastern coast of Scotland. The time of their coming is uncertain, and little was known respecting them until the Roman power declined in the island. They are mentioned in the Triads as coming to Britain over the Baltic sea;† and it seems pretty evident that they were of the original Cymmry stock, though probably corrupted by staying in the northern parts of Europe behind their brethren, and intermixing with strange tribes, whose customs and peculiarities they in a measure acquired. Owing to these circumstances, they were viewed as enemies by the Britons, and treated as hostile strangers who invaded the country by force of arms.

To these we must add the Belgæ, a large body of whom came over about one hundred years before the Christian æra, gained a footing in the country, spread themselves along the southern coasts of the island, and finally settled in Ireland under the name of Firlbogs. Of these the Triads make no mention, but sufficient proofs exists respecting their residence in the country.‡ Whether they came by mutual agreement or by force of arms is not stated. The latter supposition is the more probable, because the natives were evidently jealous of all new comers, and the Belgæ, if of the same family as the Cymmry, could only be considered so in a remote degree. As a corroboration of this suggestion, the Triads only mention the Lloegrwys, Brython, people of Celyddon, an Irish colony, and the people of Galedin, as tribes who came over in peace and were received by the native Cymmry in a friendly manner. All others were deemed as intruders and invaders, whose ulterior views were hostile to the rights, privileges, and policy of the original settlers. Various means were adopted either to expel them from the country or to bring them into proper subjection; but as so many of them landed in the island, nearly at the same time, the efforts of the natives frequently failed, and they were obliged to suffer what they could neither prevent nor properly remedy.

With these notices of the early invasions of Britain, it now becomes necessary to pause, in order that we may ascertain, as far as possible, the effects which they produced upon the character and language of the inhabitants. The ages which have rolled away since these invasions occurred, combined with the want of proper historical documents, prevent us from fully ascertaining the effects alluded to; but from considering all the circumstances with attention, we are of opinion that these invasions did affect the character of the natives in one particular: *they changed it from peaceful to warlike.* We are told by the Triads that the Cymmry were originally lovers of peace and tranquillity; and that, in order to secure these blessings to themselves, they left the Tauric Chersonesus, the

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 59. Triad 12. † Idem. p. 58. Triad 7.
‡ Dr. W. Owen Pughe's Dic. in voc. *Belgiad* et Cæsar.

rich and lovely* country of their fathers, travelled westward in the midst of great difficulties, and finally reached Britain by crossing the German† ocean. The peaceable dispositions which first induced them to leave their paternal homes accompanied them to this country, where they soon organised themselves into a common wealth, and framed and adopted a code of laws for their own government, which was well suited‡ for a people who were lovers of peace, such as they are represented in the Triads. Having made so many painful sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining these blessings, what must their feelings have been to see their last asylum invaded by hostile bands, and their liberties, privileges, and peaceful retreat threatened with destruction? Doubtless these invasions changed their pacific dispositions into warlike habits, and so initiated them into martial deeds, that they subsequently became formidable to the well-disciplined legions of Rome and produced impressions of respect upon the first soldiery in the world.

We are not, however, to suppose that these invading tribes caused any particular change either in the *general* character or language of the inhabitants. First, because the natives, upon ascertaining that they could not expel the invaders, retired into the interior of the island, and left the sea-coasts to these bold intruders. Secondly, the invaders, though formidable from the different points of the island which they occupied, did not unite together: they merely resided on small and isolated places in this fine country, and neither conquered the natives on the field of battle, nor brought them into subjection by political intrigues. Thirdly, most of the invaders mentioned were related to the native Cymmry, though remotely, and spoke dialects of the same common language. These things are admitted by all learned men who have properly studied the subject, and who are competent to decide upon their respective merits. If then, there were little social intercourse between the natives and the invaders; if the latter did not conquer the former, and only occupied isolated parts of the country; and if all of them spoke dialects of the same common and ancient language, it is logical to conclude, that neither the general character nor the language of the old inhabitants was altered or materially affected by these invasions. They certainly made the natives addicted to war: this we have admitted, because a regard for truth required it; but at this point, sincerity obliges us to pause, and to maintain that no other change was effected.

The Roman invasion comes next in order and first in importance, on account of its magnitude, duration, and effects. It took place under Julius Cæsar, the most celebrated captain of the Romans, about fifty years before the present æra of computation; and the Roman general asserts that he invaded this island in consequence of the assistance which the Britons afforded the Gauls in their

* See Mrs. Guthrie's Tour through the Crimea.
† Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57. Triad. 4.
‡ See Dyvnwal Moelmud's Law Triads, Arch. of Wales, vol. iii.

wars with the Roman people.* This statement is confirmed by the Triads, which also mention some particulars not stated by Cæsar, but which are worthy of notice in this inquiry. Caswallawn, or Cassivelaunus, son of Beli, was deeply enamoured of a beautiful lady named Flur, the daughter of Mugnach. This lady was forcibly carried away by Murchan, a Gaulish prince of Gascony, "with a view of presenting her to Cæsar." Deeply stung with the insult offered and animated by the ardent passion of a lover, Caswallawn raised an army in Britain and marched into Gaul. Being supported by his nephews and by the people of the Netherlands and the Boulognese, he collected in all sixty thousand armed men, led them into Armorica, and fought so successfully against the partizans of Cæsar, that six thousand† of the enemy fell in battle, and the beautiful Flur was restored to him. It is also said that he went in a golden car to receive her. But though the campaign was glorious to Caswallawn, it subsequently produced a re-action, which became disastrous both to himself and to his countrymen. His army, from some cause or other now unknown, remained in Armorica, and incorporated themselves with the Gauls, so that Britain was deprived of their energies in the hour of need. In a little time after, Cæsar made his appearance on the British shores, in order to avenge Caswallawn's expedition, when the natives, having unfortunately lost their army, were ill-prepared for any successful resistance. This loss, combined with the treachery of Mandubratius, or Avary, whose name will ever be held in detestation, opened a passage into this country for the common foe. The enemies of the Roman general assert that the beauty of British pearls allured Cæsar over; but this is thought to be only a poetical metaphor, used with reference to the fair lady just mentioned.‡ Thus, as the rape of Helen caused the coalition of the Grecian chiefs and the destruction of Troy, so did the carrying away of Flur induce the Britons to make a fierce irruption into Gaul. The lover overcame his foes, and was gratified with the restoration of his bride, but a furious and overwhelming storm returned upon the innocent natives of this country, and produced concussions so tremendous, as disorganised the old institutions and customs, and ultimately made Britain bow before imperial Rome. After years spent in hard fighting, the Romans finally brought a great part of the island into subjection, either real or nominal. The parts which they subdued, they divided into Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæsarensis. The old inhabitants of Britannia Prima were the Lloegrwys, Brython, Coranians, and Belgæ, who, being more immediately under Roman influence, were soon initiated into their forms, customs, and ceremonies. They wore the togæ; they tasted the luxuries and spoke the language of their masters; they lost their martial character and became effeminate; they were incorporated with these invaders, and became decidedly Roman in

* De Bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 5. † Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 73. Triad 102.
‡ Cambro. Biog. pp. 43, 44.

character, and nearly so in language. In Britannia Secunda, which included all the country west of the rivers Severn and Dee, the Romans did not succeed in introducing either their language or their customs to any very great extent. This province was inhabited by the Cymmry, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, who were the last to lay down arms, and who tenaciously adhered to the character and language derived from their ancestors. The Romans might form roads and camps in this province, and they might ostentatiously name it Britannia Romana; but they were not able to destroy the language, or materially to alter the character of this brave people. Indeed, their government of this province seems to have been rather nominal than real. But by these assertions it is not intended to insinuate that they made *no* impression upon the language of these hardy sons of the mountains. The writings of Taliesin prove that the language was slightly affected by Roman intercourse, as several of the poems of that extraordinary bard abound with Latin words and phrases.

In his address to the wind, the following lines occur, though all which precede and follow in the same poem are pure Cymmraeg.

Marca mercedus
Ola Olumis
Luna lafarus
Jupiter Venerus.

So in his poem, entitled "A View of Past and Future Ages," we have the following lines:—

Ond celvyddyd Panton sempiterna
Pan ddywed tâd Selyv yn psalmodia
Quis tegit aqua superiora
Qui legis scriptura.

Besides these, several instances are to be met with, in his poems, of the occurrence of Latin words, proving that he understood the Latin language, and mixed it with Cymmraeg, either from affectation or necessity.

The Rev. Theophilus Evans, late Vicar of Llangammarch, in the preface to his "Drych y Priv Oesoedd," mentions an ancient MS. recently found in the church of Brynbiga, Monmouthshire, in which Latin and Cymmraeg are curiously mixed together. We know not upon what authority the good vicar states the fact, nor whether the MS. be still in existence; but if the fact be correct, it certainly affords a curious instance of the influence of the Latin upon the Welsh, and the struggle which existed for preponderance. The following are the words of the MS. to which the allusion has been made:—

"Noli cloddi yr ellrhod Caerlleon advocad llawnhaedd Llundain, a bardwr bedd breint apud ty'n ei aro, ty avale; selyv synwybr sumæ sedum usk, val kylche deg kymmede; doctor kymmen, lleua loer i ni llawn oleuni."

This passage, in full Latin, is considered, by the worthy vicar and his learned friends, to be as follows:—

"Noli effodere professorum Caerligionensum, advocatum Londinensem, et judicem sacri privilegii apud fanum aronis et fanum avaloiæ ; Solomonem Astrologem summæ civitatis usk, tenentis circiter decem comotos; doctorem eloquentem, lunam lucidam ni plenilunio lucentem."

Admitting this manuscript to belong to the age stated by our author, and taking also into account the occasional occurrence of Latin words and phrases in Taliesin's poems, it follows that the Latin language did slightly affect, for a time, the language of the inhabitants of Britannia Secunda. This, however, did not continue long; for, no sooner had the Romans quitted the country, than the old language almost immediately recovered its pristine energy and beauty. The ancient names of persons and places, such as Caswallawn, Cynvelyn, Caradog, Prydain, Celyddon, and Essyllwyr, which were in use long before the Roman invasion, "are compounds and derivatives on precisely the same principles that still actuate the language, and are as familiar to us as if they were of recent formation, which proves, to a demonstration, that our language has altered but very little or nothing, and equally demonstrates that it was formed long before the Roman invasion. It appears to have at that time attained to a stability which secured it against all the storms that, through almost two thousand years, have assailed it."* In addition to this judicious remark, it may be added that the language of Taliesin and his contemporaries (orthography excepted) is familiar to Welshmen at this day; and this singular fact proves that, as the Welsh was not particularly affected by the Latin so as to cause any serious alteration in its structure, neither has it undergone any change from those terrible invasions by which the Cymmry were assailed in subsequent periods of their history and political independence as a people.

In that part of Britain named Maxima Cæsarensis, Roman influence was evidently stronger than in Britannia Secunda; but even there it was far from being decisive. The martial character of the natives of this province underwent a considerable change, as they became so effeminate that, at a subsequent period, they opposed but a very feeble resistance against the Picts. But amidst this change of character the old language was not altered. The names of places and rivers still to be met with in the northern counties of England and parts of Scotland, together with the poems of Aneurin, Merddin, and Llywarch Hen, who were natives of this part of the kingdom, and who wrote about the commencement of the Saxon invasion, clearly prove that the language of the old inhabitants maintained its existence and purity, even in the midst of Roman conquests, customs, and influence. This is indeed a singular circumstance, because it is well known that the Romans used every possible method to introduce their own language among every people whom they conquered, and never considered their conquest complete unless this was effected.

* Preface to Arch. of Wales, vol. i. pp. xv. xvi.

From the observations thus made upon the Roman invasion, it seems fair to conclude that the influence of these invaders entirely changed the character and nearly destroyed the language of the inhabitants of Britannia Prima; that it considerably affected the character and customs of the inhabitants of Maxima Cæsarensis, but not the language; and that in Britannia Secunda, the natives retained their original character, though their language was slightly and temporarily affected.

Some learned men have asserted that the present Welsh language has been greatly influenced by the Latin, because it is mixed (say they) with many Latin words. This remark is founded upon observing some words in Welsh, whose orthography, pronunciation, and signification greatly resemble their corresponding Latin terms. But admitting that there is a sameness in some words, what just ground is there for asserting that the Britons derived these from the Romans? Have we not as much authority for maintaining that the Romans borrowed them from the Britons? The old British language is far more ancient and more philosophically formed than the Latin, and greatly superior to it, both in copiousness and energy: and when we consider that these masters of the world did not scruple to borrow freely from the Greek, we have no reason to conclude that they manifested much fastidiousness in adopting such terms from the Welsh as suited their purpose and tended to facilitate the communication of their ideas. But leaving this, may not the words in question be remnants of the first original language, preserved equally both in British and Latin? Are they not in reality fragments of the old antediluvian language which we perceive more or less scattered through all tongues, even those which have had no connexion with each other? That the Britons did not derive such words from the Romans is clear from this incontrovertible fact—in the Welsh language they can be regularly traced to their genuine roots or elementary sounds, and their ideal significations can be easily explained; but in Latin neither the one nor the other can be effected. Illustrative of these positions the following list is annexed, in which the roots to which the Welsh words can be traced are included in parentheses, according to the principle adopted and so successfully applied by our great lexicographer, Dr. W. Owen Pughe, in his admirable Dictionary of the Welsh Language.

LATIN.	WELSH.
Columba,	Colomen *(côl-om)*, A dove or pigeon.
Cornu,	Corn *(côr)*, What projects out, a horn.
Credo, I believe,	Crêd *(cre)*, Belief, faith, religion.
Creo,	Crêu *(cre)*, To create.
Crux,	Croes *(cre)*, A cross.
Ecclesia,	Eglwys *(eg-lwys)*, A church.
Fenestra,	Fenestyr *(fen-estyr)*, A window.
Fides,	Fydd *(fy-ydd)*, Faith.
Fons,	Fynnon *(fwnt)*, A fountain.
Forma,	Furv *(fur)*, Form, order.
Venus,	Gwener *(Gwen)*, Venus, the smile of beauty.
Vir,	Gwr *(gw-wr)*, A man, a hero.

LATIN.	WELSH.
Melleus,	Melus (*mêl*), Sweet.
Minister,	Menestyr (*menest*), A servant.
Perfectus,	Perfaith (*per-faith*), Perfect, complete.
Pons,	Pont (*pon*), A bridge.
Porta,	Porth (*por*), A door, a gate.
Tempus,	Tymp (*tym*), Season, time.
Testis,	Tyst (*ty-yst*), Evidence, witness.

A little before the Romans left the island, or about that time, a horde of Irish invaded Alban, or the Highlands of Scotland, where they securely fixed themselves. These people are named *red* in the Triads, probably either from the colour of their hair or their dress; and their invasion is said to be treacherous, because, under the semblance of peace and friendship with the natives, they combined with the Saxons, and made an attack on the Cymmry through treachery and outrage, taking from them all they could of the sovereign power of Britain.* It cannot be supposed, however, that these invaders caused any change in the character and language of the inhabitants, because they were too few in number to produce such effects by any single efforts of their own; and the probable reason why they are mentioned with the Saxons and Danes as invaders, arose from their treacherous spirit, and from their combining with these to injure the native population.

Upon the departure of the Romans, the Britons were left to themselves, but they had no great cause to rejoice at their independence. They were soon attacked and severely harassed by the Picts, and other northern tribes. These dreadful inroads they were unable to resist effectually, owing to the following causes. First, when the Romans quitted the island, they took with them nearly all the Britons who were in a fit state to carry arms, leaving few in their provinces besides old men, women, and children.† The country being thus drained of its strength was unable to resist a determined foe; and the Picts and Scots, aware of the circumstance, took immediate advantage of this weakness. Secondly, Roman luxury and softness, as has been previously stated, had unnerved the Britons in Britannia Prima, and partly so Maxima Cæsarensis; they were no longer the same men; they fled at the first attack; and left their country entirely exposed to the merciless ravages of these barbarians. A melancholy picture of this state of things is given by the racible and querilous Gildas. In an evil hour, therefore, Vortigern called in the Saxons, who, after repelling the inroads of these aggressors, took up arms against their employers, and, partly by force and partly by treachery, succeeded in conquering the greatest part of the country. This, however, cost them a struggle of nearly one hundred and fifty years; for not one inch of ground was obtained without tremendous fighting; but these facts are well known, and do not properly come within the limits of the present

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 59. Triad 9.
† Idem, vol. ii. p. 58. Triad 8.

Essay. Yet, we may observe, in passing, that if the Britons had shown the same resolution, steadiness, and courage against the Picts and Scots, as they did subsequently against the Saxons, combined with the two former, they never would have had occasion to implore the aid of strangers, and Britain would probably have remained free from the Saxon power. Nations, like individuals, are very frequently governed by circumstances instead of fixed principles; and the same people frequently manifest the noblest bravery at one moment, and the greatest weakness at another. In the grand march of human affairs much depends upon the ability, honour, and patriotism of chiefs, as the great mass of the people are either moved by suitable impulses judiciously directed, or sink into apathy or despair from the inabilities and apathies of their leaders. Vortigern, who was sovereign of the Britons, was unquestionably a man of distinguished ability, but it seems very probable that he betrayed his country for selfish and private gratifications. Leaving these things for future consideration, we are informed that the Coranians, Picts, Scots, and Irish formed an alliance with the Saxons, and became one people. Almost all the Lloegrwys and Brython who did not fall in battle, became subject to the Saxons, either as freemen or as slaves; they lost their original character and language, and became completely Saxonized. All dignity and decorum, all sense of justice and humanity were obliterated with many of them, and they became as brutal as their masters. As an instance of the awful degradation caused by the Saxon invasion, mention is made of one British chief who, joining the Saxons, became a cannibal; for, having tasted human flesh in the Saxon court, he ever after refused to partake of any other. The Triad referring to this circumstance is so curious as to justify its insertion in this inquiry.

"The three disgraceful traitors who enabled the Saxons to take the crown of the Isle of Britain from the Cymmry. The first was Gwrgi Garwlwyd, (literally the *Rough-Brown Dog-man,)* who, after tasting human flesh in the court of Edelfled, the Saxon king, became so fond of it that he would eat no other but human flesh ever after. In consequence of this, he and his men united with Edelfled, king of the Saxons, and he made secret incursions upon the Cymmry, and brought a young male and female, whom he daily ate; and all the lawless men of the Cymmry flocked to him and the Saxons, where they obtained their full of prey and spoil taken from the natives of this island. The second was Medrawd, who with his men united with the Saxons, that he might secure the kingdom to himself against Arthur; and, in consequence of that treachery, many of the Lloegrians became as Saxons. The third was Aeddan, the traitor of the North, who, with his men, made submission to the power of the Saxons, so that they might be able to support themselves by confusion and pillage, under the protection of the Saxons. On account of these three traitors, the Cymmry lost their land and crown in Lloegria; and if it had not been for

such treasons, the Saxons would not have gained the island from the Cymmry."* The Triad succeeding that just quoted also states that Edelfled was a cannibal, and that both he and Gwrgi Garwlwyd were killed by two bards on account of their cannabilism.†

There were, however, some of the Lloegrwys and Brython, and numbers of the Cymmry in the country north of the river Humber, who preferred leaving their paternal abodes to joining the Saxons, and degrading themselves by the brutalities and cruelties mentioned. They retired either to Wales or Cornwall, and were kindly received by the Cymmry. With them they occupied Wales, and the adjacent parts, and preserved their liberty, character, and language, in the midst of the general confusion and dangers which occurred in other parts of the island. The firmness manifested by this handful of brave men made their great bard, Taliesin, to sing, in the midst of all their losses:—

Eu ner a volant,
A'u hiaith a gadwant;
Eu tir a gollant,
Ond gwyllt Wallia.

Their lord they shall praise,
And their language they shall preserve;
Their land they shall lose,
Except wild Wales.

The statement made in the preceding verse has been literally fulfilled, and, what is rather singular, is strictly true. Instead of the Welsh language having been corrupted, or altered, by the Saxon, as some have imagined, the Saxon language has been affected by the Welsh in many of its words; and, if Dr. Johnson had been acquainted with the Welsh language, and had been apprised of this fact, he would not have been guilty of the many etymological blunders which appear in his Dictionary. Neither was the general character of the Cymmry, or old inhabitants, particularly affected by the Saxons, because their manners, dispositions, and customs are still nearly as distinct from those of the English as their language; at least there are shades of difference sufficiently perceptible to ascertain distinctive nationality. This, however, could not possibly exist, if their general character had been deeply affected or materially altered: we, therefore, conclude that Saxon dispositions and manners made little impression upon the great body of the old inhabitants. There is, however, one characteristic trait in that of the present Welsh peasants—a shyness of strangers; but this does not arise from any meanness of spirit, but solely from a recollection of what their unsuspecting ancestors suffered through permitting foreigners to reside amongst them.

During the struggle with the Saxons, and from about the years 383 to 388, a large body of Irish invaded Môn, or Angsea, and

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 65. Triad 45. † Idem. Triad 46.

maintained a permanent residence there until the year 560. At that time, Caswallawn Law Hir, (or Caswallawn with the Long Hand,) in conjunction with Urien Rheged and other chiefs, marched against these invaders, and entirely destroyed them in a great battle. In this terrible action, Caswallawn Law Hir slew Sirigi, the Irish chief, in a personal encounter; and, after this decisive victory, the Cymmry took courage and chased them from every other part of North Wales, so that none remained in the country but such as were made slaves."* But, as no care was taken to inter the slain, a plague arose from the putrified bodies, which was named the "Yellow Plague of Rhos;" and it is said that, "whoever went within reach of the effluvia, fell dead immediately."† Maelgwn Gwynedd, sovereign of the Britons, fell a victim to this pestilence.‡ This invasion cannot be supposed to have had much influence on the character and language of the natives, unless we suppose that the ferocious dispositions of the invaders produced corresponding feelings in the minds of the inhabitants, in consequence of suffering so much from their injustice. The Irish, however, obtained one important advantage from this invasion, as the few who escaped death and slavery succeeded in carrying away Padrig, who, being a sincere Christian and a very learned man, had become head master of the famous college of Illtud. This celebrated Welshman, though carried to Ireland as a slave, was the first to diffuse Christianity among the Irish, and was so successful in his generous efforts that he became their apostle and patron saint.§ His Welsh name of Padrig is now known under the appellation of St. Patrick.

Hitherto we have considered the old inhabitants as occupying all the island either wholly or in part; but now we must view them as confined to Wales and its adjacent territories, still struggling with the Saxons and other invaders, and maintaining a difficult and precarious independence. The Saxons had hardly driven the Britons into Wales, and obtained a permanent settlement in England, than they were invaded, in their turn, by the Danes. By these banditti they were particularly harassed and even conquered. Even the prudence and military renown of Alfred were, for a time, insufficient to arrest their progress, and the Saxons felt and bitterly complained of those evils which they had so unsparingly heaped upon the Britons. The Danes also invaded the Cymmry, and, in their usual way, plundered, burnt, and murdered all before them. Their first appearance in Wales is thus noticed, in the Welsh "History of the Princes:"—"In the year of Christ 795, the black Pagans came first to the isle of Britain from the country of Denmark, and did great evils in England; after that they came to Glamorganshire, and there they murdered and burned many; but, at last, the Cymmry conquered them, and drove them into the sea, after killing great numbers of them; and from there they went to Ireland, where

* Cambro. Biog. p. 244.
† Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 59. Triad 12.
‡ Cambro. Biog. p. 235.
§ Cambro. Biog. p. 278.

they destroyed Rechreyn and other places."* It would greatly exceed the limits of this Essay to transcribe all the notices which exist in the "History of the Princes" respecting their different invasions of Wales and the cruelties they caused; but we may remark that their progress through the country was as rapid as destructive. Like the Tartarian Cossacks, they attacked suddenly and disappeared; and their different invasions of the Principality may be compared to the glare of fiery meteors, which spread terror in their rapid courses and are no more. As these barbarians made no permanent settlement in Wales, they could produce no effect on the language of the inhabitants; nor is it likely that they caused any change in their character, except as the cruelties exercised increased their animosities against strangers, and gave an additional impulse to that violence of feeling which the Saxon invasion had necessarily generated.

The last invasion of consequence was that which the Normans effected under the command of William, Duke of Normandy. The causes which produced it and the consequences resulting, both to the Saxons and the Danes, are too well known to require any illustration of them at present. It will be sufficient to observe that the Normans had no sooner conquered the Saxons, (and this was done in a single battle,) than they began to meditate the destruction of Welsh independence; but ages rolled away before this was finally effected. In vain they made inroads in the country, fought battles, built powerful castles, and introduced the pompous parade of proud chivalry; nothing but the arms of the almost all-powerful Edward I. combined with the greatest craftiness, could effect that which his predecessors had vainly attempted. Leaving this, we may observe that the Norman barons, amidst their castles and their baronial rights, united the highest courtesy of chivalry with the most savage barbarity and infamous cruelty. This union of chivalry and savageness disgusted the great body of the native population, and induced them steadily to adhere to the customs of their fathers. But this was not the case with some of the Welsh chiefs and princes. They were pleased with this chivalrous pomp for various reasons; and, though they viewed these invaders with a jealous eye, and fought many a hard battle against them, they too readily imbibed the brutality of the great Norman lords, and exercised it with wanton cruelty, both upon their dependents and rivals, whether relations or others. Hence it is said of Davydd, son of Owain Gwynedd, who assumed the sovereignty of North Wales, in 1170, that he killed and put out the eyes of those who were not subservient to his will,† "after the manner of the English." The words included in commas are from the historian Caradog, and pretty clearly show the school in which this monster received his education, and how well he imitated his teachers. The writer never reads the history of Davydd without reflecting upon the late

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 474. † Cambro. Biog. p. 79.

Djezzar Pacha, of St. John D'Acre, surrounded by his "marked men."

But whatever degree of ferocity the Normans might introduce into the Welsh character, and however they might mix it up with a chivalrous spirit, they were not able to effect any particular change in the Welsh language. By introducing law-pleadings in Norman-French, and adopting Norman terms in all the pomp of their tournaments, they materially altered the features of the Saxon tongue; but the old language of the Cymmry resisted these attacks with noble firmness, and remained unalloyed by foreign mixtures, either as it regarded its terms or its peculiar characteristics. This assertion is supported by the fact that the language of Taliesin, Merddin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen, is still the language of Welshmen, whether we consider the words used, the terminations of nouns and verbs, the principles of mutation and comparison, and the position and government of words in sentences.

It is a singular circumstance that, in almost every age since the Saxon invasion, the language of the Cymmry has been held up to ridicule by foreigners; that various efforts have been made use of to destroy it; that Welsh bibles have been taken out of the churches and burnt, and English ones introduced in their places; and that the church-service has been used, in many places, in English instead of Welsh, to the great injury of the people; still the language has bravely resisted all these attempts, and yet breathes the same freshness as when the Roman eagle first perched upon our native shores. When the old Bard exultingly exclaimed, "Cymmry vu Cymmry vydd," he might have added "Cymmraeg vu Cymmraeg vydd."

The poet and warrior Gwalchmai, in a spirited ode, addressed to Owain Gwynedd, mentions another invasion by the Irish, Scandinavians, and Normans, who combined their forces for the purpose of invading Wales. It appears that these banditti came in ships of great strength, and effected a landing on the banks of the Menai. There they were met by Owain, and, after a tremendous battle, were completely routed; and, as their vessels grounded during the ebb of the tide, those who escaped from the field of battle could not get away, and were obliged, in the greatest distress, to renew the fight on the sands, until the returning tide freed them from the wrath of Owain. As Gwalchmai is the only person who has recorded this event, it may not be uninteresting to give a version of his spirited ode, premising, however, that no translation can possibly give a just idea of the fire of the original.

"I will extol the generous hero of the race of Rhodri, the guardian of the bordering country, endowed with the characteristics of a noble race, and having qualities for filling Britain's throne: the loftiness of Owain's grandeur will not bow to princes nor hoard up useless treasure.

"Three legions came by the vessels of the flood, three ample and chief of fleets, to attack him: one from Ireland, another, armed with the Scandinavians, rushing forward through the lengthened

main, and the third traversing the seas from Normandy, with monstrous toil, to do him mischief.

"With the dragon of Môn, and his progeny, who were so bold in the slaughter, there were urgent tumult and insulting claims, and before him ran terrible uproar, and ruin, and conflict, and the end of pre-eminence: there was battle upon battle, drenched with gore, and shriek upon shriek, with fierce anguish, and upon Tal Moelvre a thousand banners waved.

"There was slaughter upon slaughter, with swords thick gleaming, and spears clashing upon spears, and onset upon onset rushing impetuously, and Fortune smiling upon her favourite sons: the Menai was without an ebb, from the overflow of rippling gore, and the briny wave was tinged with the blood of heroes. The steel-clad warrior became pale and pained in the rout, and the stragglers, who were cut off, were melancholy before the crimson lance of the chief who rose in arms against England, engaged in battle with her, and overwhelmed her with confusion. May the fame of his all-conquering sword be extolled and amply eulogized in seven score languages!"

From the preceding statements we learn, first, that the original inhabitants of Britain were a quiet and peaceable people,—lovers of arts and industry. Secondly, that they were invaded no less than twelve different times, the principal of which invasions were caused by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Thirdly, that these invasions changed the character of the inhabitants from peaceable to warlike, and, finally, deprived them of a great part of Britain, as well as their independence. Lastly, that these invasions had little effect on their language, which still continues grand, pure, and energetic.

AN

ESSAY*

ON

THE MYTHOLOGY

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS.

By Mr. D. LEWIS.

PRESENTED AT THE LONDON EISTEDDVOD IN 1827.

On the Degeneration from the True Worship.

An investigation into the primary moral causes of degeneration in religious worship would involve an investigation into the origin of all evil, and is at this time unnecessary; as the plain statement of scripture gives us a sufficient reason "they desired not the knowledge of God" to exhibit the devious course in which the alienated heart of man has been propelled by Satanic influence may not, however, be a useless or uninteresting occupation.

The causes of the degeneration from right worship I conceive to be these following amongst others.

A forgetfulness of the omnipotence of God.
A forgetfulness of his universal superintendence.
A forgetfulness of his moral perfections.

* As the whole of this Essay could not be inserted without discarding other valuable articles, the author introduces that part only of Celtic mythology which approximates the most to that of other nations.

The second part contains the mythology of the British isles exclusively, gathered from ancient traditions and the mystical poems of the British bards.

The attempting to represent the invisible God by likenesses of things in heaven and in earth.
The attempting to aid devotion by sensible objects.
The disconnecting religious service from moral obedience.
The preferring the imposed laws and ritual of religious tradition to the antecedent and abiding laws of God.

The cause which I should think perhaps the first to operate proceeds from the attempts to represent the Deity by visible objects: some of the occult parallels which were contemplated in the adoption of particular symbols are very remarkable. Zoroaster imposed the veneration of fire as the purest emblem of the Deity; the Egyptians worshipped the onion, it is supposed because its circular lamina represented the formation of the heavenly spheres; the Greeks portrayed Mercury as a square stone, signifying that the Deity was not to be exhibited; and the ox has furnished many nations with an idol, on account perhaps of its usefulness and harmlessness, but whatever may have been the purposed allusions it is lamentable that the symbols so soon and so exclusively became the object of veneration, leaving this conclusion in the mind of the observer, that scarcely any innovation in religious service can be introduced without accompanying danger to the purity of worship.

The attempt to aid devotion by sensible objects is of course included in the adoption of symbols, with this difference, that the symbols often alluded to particular attributes of Deity, while the cause which we now consider is of universal operation. It is that universal introduction of costly and laborious symbols which, with the intention of aiding piety, wholly excluded it, though I am led to hope, that beneath the masses of corrupt abominations that spread over the whole world, some faint sparks of pristine purity found a sanctuary under God's spirit in some humble and not altogether depraved hearts.

And, lastly, the preferring the imposed rite of worship to the obligation of God's moral law, has operated most powerfully to the demoralization of human nations and the degeneration of religious worship.

Such then are the most evident causes of the fall from truth to error, and the gradual, though certain thickening of light into darkness. Still, amidst the chaos of heathenism, we find many an irradiated point, showing whence such worship has deviated. The Triads which follow this introduction are instances of this, and serve to render the darkness and superstition of their mythology still more astonishing.

THEOLOGICAL TRIADS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

1. There are three primeval unities, and more than one of each cannot exist: one God, one truth, and one point of liberty, where all opposites equiponderate.

2. Three things proceed from the three primeval unities: all life; all that is good; and all power.

3. God consists necessarily of three things: the greatest of life;

the greatest of knowledge; and the greatest of power; and of what is the greatest there can be no more than one of any thing.

ETHICAL TRIADS.

1. The three primary principles of wisdom: wisdom to the laws of God; concern for the welfare of mankind; and suffering, with fortitude, all the accidents of life.

2. There are three ways of searching the heart of man: in the thing he is not aware of; in the manner he is not aware of; and at the time he is not aware of.

3. There are three men that all ought to look upon with reverence: he who with affection looks at the face of the earth; he who is delighted with rational works of art; and he who looks lovingly on little children.

THE BARDIC INSTITUTES.

1. The three primary privileges of the bards of the island of Britain are,—maintenance wherever they go; that no naked weapon shall be borne in their presence; and their testimony be preferred to that of all others.

2. The three ultimate intentions of bardism are,—to reform morals and customs; to secure peace; and to celebrate the praises of all that is good and excellent.

3. Three things are forbidden to a bard: immorality; to satirize; and to bear arms.

4. The three joys of the bards of the island of Britain: the increase of knowledge; the reformation of manners; and the triumph of peace over the lawless and depraved.

5. Without three qualifications no one can be a bard: a poetical genius; a knowledge of the bardic institutes; and irreproachable morals.

6. There are three avoidant injunctions on the bard: to avoid sloth, as being the man of diligence and exertion; to avoid contention, as being the man of peace; and to avoid folly, as being the man of reason.

The Bardic Institution consisted of three orders, the Bards, the Druids, and the Ovates, which will be explained in the sequel.

Tacitus, Maximus of Tyre, and other historians, inform us that the Druids were persuaded that the Supreme Being must be adored in silence and with veneration, as well as with sacrifices, but this original simplicity no longer existed even before the Roman conquest. The Druids, forgetting their former wisdom, addicted themselves to divination and magic, tolerating the horrid practice of sacrificing human victims to Teutates, Hesus, Taranus, Belenus, &c. an account of which is the purport of this Essay.

TEUTATES.

Tiutadeu, Duw ei Tadau, God of the Forefathers.

MERCURY.

" Scipio in tumulum obversus quem Mercurium teutatem appellant."
Liv. lib. 26.

This deity, amongst the Egyptians, was called Thoth, who honoured him by giving his name to the first month of their year. By the Phœnicians he was denominated Τααυΐος, as Philo Byblius informs us, who quotes the following lines from Sanchoniatho, the most ancient of the Phœnician authors:—

Απο Μισωρ Τοαυΐος ος ευρε την των πρωΐων γοιχειων γραφην ον
Αιγυπΐιοι μὲν Θωωρ Αλεξουδρες Θωωθ Ελληνες μέν Ερμην εκαλεσαν.

E Misore natus est Taautos, qui primorum elementorum scripturam invenit quem Ægyptii Thoth et Alexandrini Thouth et Græci Hermes appellaverunt.

We are informed, by Cæsar, that he was worshipped as the principal deity of the Britons.* His office was to preside over transmigration, for, when the souls of the brave and virtuous left the bodies which they animated, they were supposed to be conducted by him to the ætherial regions, there to inhabit new bodies, immortal in their kind; whilst the wicked, the cowardly, and the cruel were excluded the abode of heroes, and condemned to wander, the sport of every wind. It was thought, also, that a hero would not be admitted into the palace of his fathers, unless the Bards had sung his funeral hymn: this was the only essential ceremony on their interment, and, if neglected, the spirit was doomed to haunt the lakes and marshes.

It was their opinion that the soul always preserved the same passions which it possessed during life; and that the aërial mansions offered no other enjoyment than what they had preferred when living; the fair sex were likewise considered to preserve their charms, as well as to be subjected to the same caprice as when on earth. Neither had death any power to dissolve the ties of blood, for the shades of the dead, it was supposed, took part in the happy or unfortunate events which befel their friends, and they imagined that the souls of the fathers descended from the clouds, on the eve of any great enterprize, to foretel their good or ill success, when, if they did not appear, they at least gave notice by some omen. At

* Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus sunt plurima simulchra; hunc omnium inventorem artificium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasq. habere vim maximam arbitrantur.

Mercury is their chief god; of him they have many images; they account him the inventor of every art; he is their guide and conductor in all their journeys, (hence Duw-taith); and to him belong both merchandize and gain.

the death of any great personage they were persuaded that the souls of departed Bards sung round his phantom on its passage to the aërial regions, three successive nights being the time allotted for it.

The Druids rejected the idea of an infernal region, as may be seen in the following passage fram Lucan, lib. i. 790:—

> The Druids now, while arms are heard no more,
> Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore:
> A tribe who, singular, religion love,
> And haunt the lonely covert of the grove.
> To these, and these, of all mankind, alone,
> The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown;
> If dying mortals' dooms they sing aright,
> No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;
> No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
> Nor seek the dreary, silent shades below:
> But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
> And other bodies in new worlds they find.
> Thus life for ever runs in endles race,
> And, like a line, Death but divides the space;
> A stop, which can but for a moment last;
> A point between the future and the past.
> Thrice happy they, between their northern skies,
> Who (that worse fear) the fear of death despise:
> Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
> But rush, undaunted, on the pointed steel!

As I have above stated the opinion of the Druids respecting transmigration, that the souls of the wicked, the cruel, and the cowardly did not descend to the infernal regions, but were doomed to wander on the surface of the earth, to be the sport of the elements, so, likewise the Jews believed concerning the wicked and the Gentiles, as we find in the 9th Psalm, ישבו רשעים לשאלה. *Impii revertuntur ad Orcum:* The wicked shall return to Orcus; which signifies that their souls shall return to earth, according to the Saronical doctrine. I would here remark that Teutates is the same with Pluto, and Orcus,* whose descendants the Druids called themselves; thus he is styled Duw Tad, Teutates, God of our Fathers, or Father God.

The Greeks did not portray Mercury anciently in the shape of a youth with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand,† but without hands or feet, being a square stone, signifying that the deity could not be represented by any similitude, or under any figure whatever; which opinion was in accordance with that of the Celts in honouring such stones as symbols of the Omnipotent.

* ארקא, Orca, Earth. The caverns of Mount Ætna were supposed, by the Sicilians, to contain the souls of the wicked, and denominated τυ ολυ πυλοφ (the gates of darkness); but the Teutonic word "hell" is taken from Hecla, a volcano in Iceland. Vid. Step. Jacobin Præfat. ad Sax. Gramat.

† Mercury exchanged the chelyn (a lyre) for the caduceus of Apollo. It is rather singular that chelyn and telyn, the latter signifying a harp in Welsh, are nearly of the same sound.

> Ερμης σον πρωτιστα χελην τεκλην οτ ασιδον.
>
> Mercurius prior ipse chelyn facit arte canorum.

Kermaud Kelstach* was the name of Teutates amongst the Irish; and the bishop's see of Clogher took its name from a symbol-stone which was covered with gold, (cloch aur, golden stone,) on which stood Kermaud Kelstach, the chief idol of Ulster.

Human victims were offered at the altars of Teutates.

Teutates horrensq. feris altaribus Hesus.—*Lucan, lib.* iv.

The Druids had, likewise, in their forests, void spaces consecrated to religion and religious ceremonies, where they buried the treasures taken from the enemy, and where they sacrificed their prisoners; sometimes they enclosed them in a colossal statue of willows, and, surrounding them with combustible matter, consumed them with fire. But these retreats were afterwards destroyed by Suetonius Paulinus, as we are informed by Tacitus, in lib. xiv.:—"Suetonius Paulinus caused these retreats in the Isle of Anglesea to be pillaged; a garrison was established over the vanquished, and the groves cut down, which, by them, were dedicated to sanguinary and detestable superstitions; for there they sacrificed captives, and upon their altars, as an oblation, spilled human blood, and in order to discover the will of the gods, they consulted the entrails of men; practices of cruelty by them considered holy."

None could enter these woods unless he wore a chain, the symbol of his dependence on the Almighty, and of the supreme power which the Divinity has over him. The most celebrated forests among the Gauls were those of the country of Chartres, of Toulouse, and Marseilles; in these retirements were held the schools of the Druids, but these colleges all agreed in acknowledging their inferiority to the Druids of Britain in science and wisdom.

ESUS, HESUS,† OR HEUS.—MARS.

Esus was the Celtic Mars, and derived his name from עזיז, *Eziz*, strong or mighty. The Celts, being a warlike race, regarded him as the god of battle, and offered human victims at his altars, which were formed of quadrangular stones of immense magnitude, emblematical of strength, solidity, and power. It was the constant practice, also, on the eve of any warlike engagement, to make vows to this god, which were religiously observed, as we are distinctly informed by Cæsar, in lib. vi.:—"To the god of

* Toland, of the Celtic religion.

† Another name for Esus was He or Hu, which signifies intrepidity, an attribute of the god of war, as well as an essential qualification of 'r Hu-vil-wr (warrior), a compound of Hu (intrepid) and vilwr (a soldier). The word rhyvel (war) probably derives its name from yr Hu, the god of battle.*

* It is not improbable, that the word hu-vilwr was of more antient date than Rhuvel, the prefix R joined to Hu forms Rhu, and the numerical vil (1000), afterwards changed into wel, is added to describe the action in a similar manner to nouns formed from the hiphil tense of the Hebrew. The most antient name for war was Brythwch.

battle, (i. e. Hesus,) if they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose, and it is common, in many provinces, to see these monuments of offerings piled up in consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens that any show so great a disregard of religion as either to conceal the plunder or pillage the public oblations, and the severest punishments are inflicted on such offenders."

Esus is mentioned in Daniel, chap. xi. v. 38, as the god of forces, "But in his estate shall he honour מעזים (translated) the god of forces." Lucan, also, in lib. i. 778, describes him in the following lines:—

> And you, where Hesus' horrid altar stands,
> Where dire Teutates human blood demands,
> Where Taranis, by wretches, is obeyed,
> And vies, in slaughter, with the Scythian maid.

Hu Gadarn, as mentioned in the Triads, is but an imperfect tradition of the divinity Hesus; for the ancient Britons rejected the opinion which attributes to the gods a human origin, in this as well as in many other points, seeming to resemble the Eastern Magi.

Hu is said to have instructed the Cimbri in agriculture, before their emigration from the summer country; and having led them, settled them in Britain.

Hu Gadarn's Uchain Bannog* drew the Avanc out of the Lake Llion, so that it burst out no more. Hence these lines, by a poet in the fifth century,—

> Ath gyvarchav Huys gwn
> Gwr ai ysgwydd yn angen
> Niver gwr pan yw dy ychain.

"Hail, Huys gwn! a shield in necessity, with thine oxen a host."

Almost every people had their Mars: Diodorus says that the original Mars, to whom is ascribed the invention of arms, and the art of ranging the troops, in order of battle, was Belus, called Nimrod in the Scriptures: he was invested with supreme power, and was afterwards, by his descendants, created a divinity. This, among the ancient Britons, was reckoned an inferior one, and was called Belatucadro, Bela, Duw Cadwyr, Bela, the god of warriors. Odin, the Thracian monarch, was frequently, by historians,

* The literal translation of Uchain Bannog is, twin oxen of the buffaloe species, with which Hu Gadarn drew out the Avanc, (now generally supposed to be an amphibious animal like the beaver,) and thus prevented the recurrence of that great calamity, the bursting of Lake Llion, which overflowed all the country, and drowned all the inhabitants except Dwy-van and Dwy-vach, and by these was the island re-peopled. Triad 12. This, like all other traditions, is but an imperfect notion of the deluge, the Avanc was, doubtless, metaphorically used as the Spirit of the Waters, and Hu Gadarn's Uchain Bannog might have represented the earth's rising above the level of the seas, so as to form an irresistible barrier against such a calamity in future.

styled the Hyperborean Mars; but he, like Belus, was of human origin. But the Grecian ἄρης is derived from the Hebrew word אדיר, strong, terrible, and is of synonymous meaning with the Celtic Hesus.

Ancient monuments generally represent Mars under the figure of a man extremely robust, armed with a helmet, pike, and shield. The Celtic Esus, sometimes, like Mars Silvester of the Romans, is delineated as clearing the ground, which is an attribute of the god of battle, for war carries civilization in its train. This is proved by the discovery of an ancient piece of sculpture under the choir of the cathedral church of Notre Dame, at Paris, in 1711, and, as related by Montfauçon, exhibits Hesus in the act of felling trees and of clearing the ground.

In fine, two great reasons for supposing that this god occupied a very prominent and, indeed, the most prominent place among their divinities are, first, the almost undivided attention which, for the most part, was paid to the training and equipment of the warrior; and, secondly, the distinguished honours which were paid to them, not only by the bards, but which were supposed to attend them after death, a brief description of which may not prove irrelevant to the subject or uninteresting to the reader.

At the head of a warrior they placed his sword and twelve arrows, whilst the corpse was extended on a bed of clay at the bottom of a grave, six or eight feet in depth, the extent of his tomb being afterwards marked with four stones. It was the received opinion, that the moment a warrior ceased to exist, the arms in his house were covered with blood, and that his spectre went to visit the place of his birth, and also that it appeared to his dogs, which, at the sight of it, made a dismal howling. It was likewise supposed that the brave and virtuous were received with joy into the aërial palaces of their fathers, and that there were different mansions in the palaces of the clouds, the principal of which were assigned to merit and courage, and this was a great incitement to the emulation of their heroes.

The British warriors were painted with woad,* which gave a blueish cast to the skin, and made them look dreadful in battle. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that "the Welsh made use of light arms, which did not impede their agility, small breast-plates, bundles of arrows, and long lances, helmets and shields, and, very rarely, greaves, plated with iron. The lances of Merionethshire were very long; South Wales excelled in the use of the bow, and North Wales for its skill in the lance, so that an iron coat of mail could not resist the stroke of a lance thrown at a small distance.

The Britons had five different kinds of war-chariots:—

Benna, hence *y ven*, at the present day a two-wheeled carriage.

Petoritum, from *torri*, to break, used in charging the enemy, drawn by four horses.

Carrus, a species of vehicle without wheels, and drawn along the ground, made use of in those parts where wheeled carriages would be useless.

* Cæsar, lib. vi.

Covinum, a carriage armed with sithes.

Essedum, a war-chariot, mentioned by Cæsar, and afterwards adopted by the Romans.

Rheda, a carriage with four wheels, to harass a retreating enemy.

The Campus-Martis of the Britons was called Cadlas, where the following exercises were practised :—

Sæthu, archery.

Chwareu clé a tharian, fencing with the sword and buckler.

Chwareu clé deuddwrn, fencing with the two-handed sword.

Chwareu fon ddwybig, playing with the quarter-staff.

The claymore of the Highlanders of Scotland was no other than the cledd mawr, clémawr of the Welsh.

Marchogaeth, horsemanship. In former times the greatest attention was paid to equestrian exercises, as a necessary qualification to warlike expeditions.

Their war-machines were called, Mangau, Mangolau, and Magnelau; Mangyrau, Mangenen, (diminitive,) from Maen, (a stone,) and gyrry, to throw or drive.—*Balistæ Lapidum*.

Llavnaior was a spear seven feet long, the blade of which was seven inches in length and two inches in breadth. This weapon was in use as late as the time of Owen Glyndwr.

Rhoddlraf ei safwy, ni syll ai olwg
O olud nas rhoddwy.

Cynddelw.

Ni thraethai na welal Cynon Celain
Yn Seirchlawg satwyawg.

Aneurin.

TARANUS, TARANYDD.—JUPITER.

The worship of Taranus was the most solemn of any that was paid to the heathen deities; it was likewise the most diversified, as each nation changed their religious ceremonies at pleasure.

The Druids, as we learn from Lucan, offered human victims to him: "Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."

He was considered sovereign of the æthereal expanse, supreme ruler of thunder, and regulator of the seasons; fire, wind, rain, and hail were supposed to be subservient to his command. The ancient Britons entertained nearly the same ideas respecting Taranus, as the Greeks did in regard to Ζευς Βροντλαιος, or Jupiter the Fulminator, as described by Homer, "His head covered with clouds, shaking all Olympus with a nod; in his hands he holds the thunder; by his side is Respect and Equity; before him are the two cups of good and evil, which he distributes to mankind." He adds, that "his thunder was composed of three parts of hail, three of rain, and three of wind; with these were mixed terror, lightning, noise, and wrath."

Almost all nations had their Jupiter, and each people gave him a particular name; the Æthiopians called him Assabinus; the Gauls, Taranus; the inhabitants of the Lower Nile, Apis; the Arabians,

Chronos; the Assyrians, Belus; the Phœnicians בעל-רעם, Baal Ram, god of thunder, from רעם, the servile ת prefixed forms תרעם, or תרען, taran; hence the Welsh word taran, thunder, and the name of the deity, Taranis. Again, we trace the same word in the German, donner; hence donnerstag, die jovis, in the ancient Suabian, ther, thorsday: hence the English Thursday.

Jou,* (Welsh,) young, was the most ancient name of Jupiter, for he was the youngest of Saturn's children; hence Dydd Jou, (Welsh,) Thursday at the present day; in the course of time pater, or father, was added to it, whence was formed Joupater, or Jupiter.

Iou and the sun were worshipped at the same altars, which we likewise find was the case among the Greeks, as may be learned from Plato,† who believed them to be the same.

At Caerlleon vawr (Chester) was found an altar with the following inscription:—

I. O. M. Tanaro
T. Elpius Galer
Præsens Guna
Pri. leg xx.v.v.
Commodo ET
laterano
Cos
V. S. L. M.

Jovi Optimo Maximo *Tanaro*‡ T. Elpius Galerius Præsens Gunacēi principulus leg. xx Valeriæ Victricis commodo et laterano consulibus votum solvit lubens merito.

Thus we see that Taranis was worshipped, amongst the ancient Britons, by the name of Ioü, which may be proved from names of places still bearing an etymological part of the appellation of this deity. The most ancient town of the Silures (South Wales) was called Jupapania, or Iou-papan, at present Caerdydd, from the

* The radical words au, eu, iu, ou, and ui, in the ancient British tongue expressed light, fluidity, water, the Deity, as well as youth. The servile letters D, G, S, T, were afterwards prefixed by all nations to the above elementary words, but the original signification was preserved, thus Δεως, Duw, Diu, and Dydd; Dies and Deus, in Latin, signify both God and day. The Phrygians prefixed T to iu, hence Tiu, God in their language. The Armoricans prefixed G or J, Geu or Jou, which signifies both Jupiter and youth. This is an undeniable proof of the antiquity of the Welsh language, which at present is fast approaching the same fate as its sister the Cornish.

† Εις Ζευς, Εις Αιδης, Εις Ηλιος, Εις Διονυσος.

Jupiter est idem Pluto, Sol, et Dionysius.

Jupiter, Pluto, the Sun, and Dionysius, (or Bacchus,) were the same. Amongst the Greeks, before the time of Homer and Hesiod, their mythology was simple and clear, but from that period it became confused by their poetical fictions.

‡ Tanaro. That this altar was erected by a people unacquainted with the ancient British is evident from the word Tanaro, which ought to have been written Tarano, from *taro*, to strike, and *taran*, (thunder,) in Welsh, even at the present day, besides the authority of Lucan, who writes Taranis.

worship of Duw-Iou; as was, also, Caligulam, a town in Westmoreland, now called Kirkby Thor, from Cal, (a grove,) now Gallt, and Iou, or Gou, Jupiter.

The altars of Taranis, or Iou, were called Cromlechau; by these altars, as in the centre of the circular temples, there commonly stands a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a pedestal to the idol Criumcruach, or Taranus: and thus, from the word Cromlêch it is that, in the oldest Irish, a priest is called Criumthear, and priesthood Criumthead, which are so many vestiges of the ancient religion.

There is a Cromlèch in the parish of Nevern, in Pembrokeshire, where the centre stone is still eighteen feet in heighth, by the side of which there lies a broken piece, ten feet in length, which it would require more than twenty oxen to draw; there is, also, another at Bodouyr, in Anglesea, of great size. The most celebrated in Ireland was Crumcruach, which stood in the midst of a circle of twelve obelisks, on a hill in Brefin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Leitrim; it was, also, covered with gold and silver, whilst the smaller figures about it were of brass; which metals, both of the stones and statues, became everywhere the prey of the Christian priests, upon the conversion of that kingdom.

There is also a Cromlèch in the parish of Llanbadarn Trev-Eglwys, Cardiganshire, of great size, and, by pieces of metal having been found in its vicinity, as well as by the marks imprinted on the stone, it is probable that this was also covered with gold, or some other metal; and, by the place bearing the name of Cnwccyn-Aur, (the Golden Tumulus,) this conjecture is not altogether unfounded.

Sacrifices were offered at these altars, in order to propitiate the wrath of the Deity, or in gratitude for favours which had been bestowed upon them. Human victims were deemed absolutely necessary to avert the displeasure of the supreme gods; and this belief was not peculiar to the Celts, for we find that at one time it was nearly universal. Strabo, lib. i.*

Malefactors, amongst the ancient Britons, were invariably slain at the altars of their gods, and afterwards embowelled, and from the intestines the Druids pretended to predict future events. This horrid custom gave rise to the peculiar oaths used amongst the peasantry of South Wales even at this time, "*dratto 'ch pervedd,*" and many others of the same description.

The temples of the Druids were composed of a circle of stones, which has already been described, and were called *kerrig* or *krug*,

* Dionysius informs us that human victims were first offered to Saturn:—"Fama est antiquos Saturno veluti Carthagine antiquam urbs evertentur et ut fit apud Celtas hos etiam tempore et in aliis Hesperias nationes sacrafacere solitos in quibus homines cæderentur."

"It is said the nations were wont to sacrifice human victims to Saturn, and that this was the practice at Carthage before that city was overturned, as it is even at this day amongst the Celts and other western nations."

signifying a heap of stones. It is highly probable that from this the Teutonic nations took their *kirk*, corrupted by the English to *church;* a conjecture by no means unlikely, since the place of worship and interment amongst the Celts bore the same appellation long before the introduction of Christianity, and, indeed, from time immemorial.

BELENUS.*

Bâl-Huan.—The Sun.

Βελον Ηλ. Ηλιος.—Haul. Cret. Αϐελιος.

APOLLO.

Βελιν δὲ καλυσι τυτον σεβουσι τε υπερφυως Απολλωνα εἶναι εθελοντες.

Ipsum autem Belin vocant et eximie colunt Apollinem esse voluntes.—*Herodian*, lib. viii.

The worship of the sun was not only the most ancient, but likewise the most universal of any in the world; it was at first the prevailing religion of Greece, and was propagated over all the sea-coast of Europe, thence extending itself into the inland provinces. It was established in Gaul and Britain, and was probably the original religion of this island, which the Druids, in after times, adopted. It was worshipped by the Egyptians under the names of Osiris and Horum; by the Ammonites under that of Moloch; and by the Persians Mythras.

The sun was particularly adored in the isle of Rhodes, the inhabitants of which raised to its honour a colossal statue of brass a hundred feet high, which became one of the wonders of the world, and was overthrown by an earthquake.

The Britons, like the ancient Indian race, worshipped the sun under the form of erect, conical, and pyramidal stones, the symbols of the solar rays; these altars were called meini in the Ancient British, and the same word is made use of in Levit. xxvi. 30, חמני, hameini, which Arius translates into altars of the sun.

In the church of Birsa, near which stands a very remarkable obelisk, at the west end of the island called Pomona, on the mainland of Orkney, there is an erect stone with the word Belus inscribed on it in ancient characters.* There are also, in the highlands of Scotland, and in the adjacent isles, as well as in Ireland, England, and Wales, numberless obelisks or stones, set up perpendicularly, some thirty, some twenty-four feet in height; others higher or lower; and this sometimes happens where no such stones are to

* By the Phœnicians it was called בעל-שמין, Baal-Sameem, Lord of the Heavens.

† Mr. Brand's Description of Orkney and Zetland.

be dug. In most places of Ireland, the common people believe these obelisks to be men transformed into stones by the magic of the Druids; this notion is also prevalent amongst the vulgar in Oxfordshire, respecting roll-wright stones, and in Cornwall of the harlers.

There is a very remarkable obelisk in the parish of Barvas, in the island of Lewis, in Scotland, called the thrushel-stone, being above twenty feet in height, and almost as many in breadth; in the same island there is a Druidical temple; the circle consists of twelve obelisks, each about seven feet high, and distant from one another six feet. In the centre stands a stone thirteen feet high, in the perfect shape of the rudder of a ship; directly south from the circle there rises four obelisks running out in a line, there are likewise two more such lines, one running due east, and the other to the west; the number and distances of the stones being, in these wings the same; so that this temple, the most entire that can be, is at the same time both round and winged; but to the north there reach, by way of avenue, two straight ranges of obelisks of the same size and distances with those of the circle; yet the ranges themselves are eight feet distant, and each consisting of nineteen stones, the thirty-ninth being in the entrance of the avenue. This temple stands astronomically, denoting the twelve signs of sidi, or the zodiac, and the four principal winds, each subdivided into four others, by which and the nineteen stones on each side of the avenue, betokening the cycle of nineteen years. Mr. Toland pronounces it to have been dedicated principally to the sun, and subordinately to the seasons and the elements, particularly to the sea and the winds, which appears by the rudder in the middle. In the largest island of Orkney, commonly called the Mainland, there are likewise two temples, where the natives believe, by tradition, that the sun and moon were worshipped.

In the time of Gregory* of Tours, there was one of these temples remaining on the top of Belen's Mount, between Arton and Riom, in Auvergne.

The practice of showing a reverential regard to stones and fragments of rocks prevailed also in many other countries; it was usual, with much labour, to place one stone upon another for a religious memorial, the stones thus placed were poised so equally that they were affected with the least external force; these rocking stones are found in other parts of the world, besides France and Britain, and wherever they occur we may esteem them of the highest antiquity; all such works are generally referred to the Celts, but they were the operations of a very remote age, perhaps at the period when the Celts bore the name of Titans, worshippers of the sun. The ancients distinguished these stones, erected with a religious view, by the name of amber, signifying sacred, in the ancient British: the Grecians called them Πετραι Αμβροσιαι.

Stonehenge, perhaps the most ancient monument in the world of

* Extat nunc in hoc loco, etc.—*Gregor de Gloria Confess.*

the kind, is composed of these amber stones, hence the next town is called Ambrosbury. Maen Amber, near Penzance, in Cornwall, still retains its original name.*

One of these moving stones is to be met with in the island of Amoy, (perhaps a corruption of Amber,) belonging to the Chinese empire; but the one remaining at Poictiers, in France,† supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all in the British isles, being sixty feet in circumference, and poised in such a manner as to puzzle the most enlightened mechanics. Mr. Maurice‡ quotes the passage cited by Diodorus from Hecateus, which relates to Abury. Diodorus cites thus, "There is an island to the north, or under the Bear, beyond the Celtæ, little inferior in magnitude to Sicily, in which the Hyperborean race (as the Greeks denominated those nations that were situated north of the Straits of Hercules) adored Apollo, as the supreme divinity; that in it was a magnificent consecrated grove, with a circular temple, to which the priests of the island frequently resorted with their harps to chaut the praises of Apollo, who, for the space of nineteen years, (the astronomical cycle of the Druids,) used to come and converse with them; and what is more remarkable, they could show the moon very near them, and discover within mountains and heaps of caverns."

Crugiau, or vast mounds of earth, and likewise heaps of stones, called, in the primitive language, Carneu, sacred to Apollo, are to be met with all over Britain; they are generally situated on an eminence, and every carn is so disposed as to be in sight of another; they are round in form, and somewhat tapering, or diminishing upwards: on the summit, however, there was invariably placed a flat stone. On the carn, called Crug-y-dyrn, in the parish of Trelech, in Carmarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is three yards in length, five feet wide, and from ten to twelve inches in thickness; the circumference of this carn at the bottom is sixty yards, and it is above six yards high.

In process of time, these Carneu served every where for beacons, as they stood remarkably convenient for this purpose, but originally they were designed for fires of another nature, which were in honour of Belen, or Bâl-huan, by which name they designated the sun. On May-eve,§ the Druids made prodigious fires on those Carneu, which, being every one in sight of each other, afforded a magnificent spectacle to the whole nation. There were two fires kindled, the one on the Carn, and the other on the ground by the side of it, between

* The different kinds of Druidical monuments, or rather the three principal kinds of them, are celebrated in the following Triad. Tair Gorchwyl gadarn ynys Prydain; Codi Maen Cetti; adeilaw gwaith Emrys; athyrru cludair Gyvrangon. The three mighty labours of the island of Britain are; raising the stone of Cetti; erecting the work of Emrys; and heaping the pile of Cyvrangon, viz. 1st. a rocking stone; 2d. the temple at Stonehenge; and, 3d. a carn, or Belineal heap.

† Chevreau Mémoires d'Angleterre, page 380.

‡ Mr. Maurice's Indian Antiquities.

§ The first day of May is, by the aboriginal Irish and Highlanders, called Bealteine (tan Bâl) to this day.

which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrificed were to pass: hence the proverb in Wales at the present day, rhwng dau dân, (between two fires); in Ireland, ittir dha theine Bheil, (between Bel's two fires,) meaning one in great difficulty, not knowing how to extricate himself.

On the eve of the first of November, there were also such fires kindled, accompanied with sacrifices and feasting. On the aforesaid eve, all the people of the country extinguished their fires, in order to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire anew in their houses, which, for the ensuing year, was to be lucky and prosperous. They were to pay, however, for their future happiness, whether the event proved favourable or not; but if any man had not cleared with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the Carneu, nor were any of his neighbours permitted to let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of excommunication. The Celtic nations, likewise, kindled other fires on Midsummer-eve:* these Midsummer-fires and sacrifices were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth now becoming ready for gathering; as those on the first of May † were that they might prosperously grow; and those on the last of October were a thanksgiving for finishing their harvest.

The Druid that officiated at the Carneu was called Carneach, a name that continued to signify a priest in Irish in Christian times; but in the Isle of Man, and in Armoric, a priest is still called Belog, ‡ the servant of Bâl, or Bêl, and priesthood Belegiaeth.

Certain feasts of Apollo amongst the Greeks were called Carnea, which were borrowed from the Celtic tribes, which was likewise the name of Apollo, surnamed Carnus, and from him May was called the Carnean month, perfectly answering with the Druidical ceremony on the first of May. It is highly probable that the Greeks learnt these things from some of their travellers in Gaul, or perhaps from the Phocean colony at Marseilles. At these Carnean feasts, there were prizes awarded to the victors in music and poetry among the Greeks: so, also, the distribution of prizes to the most successful poets was no less usual among the Gauls and Britons: amongst the latter, these festivals have been revived under the patronage of the Cambrian nobility, and bear the name of *Eisteddvodau*, or convocation of the bards; they are of the highest antiquity; and Cæsar, after speaking of the Arch-Druid of Gaul, says, that § "the Druids, at a certain time of the year, assembled in a consecrated grove in

* Fire-worship prevailed at one time either more or less over the whole world, which may be known from the names of places ending in *tau*.

† On the first of May, there is still a prevailing custom in some of the midland counties, to go out before sun-rise and cut branches of oak, which are decorated with flowers, and fixed over the doors of their houses, and not to be displaced by any hand, save that of Time. There is also a strong belief that dew gathered on this day is infallibe in all cutaneous diseases, and for this purpose it is collected and preserved in bottles throughout the year.

‡ Balog. See Mabinogion.

§ Sii (Druidis) certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur considunt in huro consecrato.—*De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. 13.

the country of Carnutes, which is reckoned the middle region of all Gaul."

The sun is called Grian in Irish; Greanach in the same language signifies *long haired*, which is a natural epithet of the sun in all nations. In the neighbourhood of Edinburgh was formerly dug up a stone with the following inscription:—

Apollini
Granno (*i.e. sun*)
A Lusius
Sabina
Nus
Proc
Aug
V. S. S. L. M.

(*Votum susceptum solvit lubens meritò.*)

The worship of the sun maintained its ground in this kingdom until the light of the Christian religion dispelled the chaos of heathenism, and introduced the knowledge of the true God; but still it is difficult to eradicate an inveterate superstition; for the vulgar at this day, in the Hebrides, never visit the ancient sacrificing and fire-hallowing Carneu, but they walk three times round them, *gyda'rhaul*, according to the course of the sun.*

It was customary at these carnfires for the lord of the place, or some other person of distinction, to take the entrails of the sacrificed animal in his hands, and walk barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceased, and to carry them to the Druid who waited at the altar; if the nobleman escaped harmless, it was reckoned a good omen, and was welcomed with loud acclamations; but if he received any hurt, it was doomed unlucky, both to the community and to himself. This custom was likewise in use among the Umbrians† and Sabines, who were of Gallic extraction, and reckoned, by all authors, the most ancient people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Greek colonies. Virgil introduces one of that family forming a design to kill Camilla, and thus praying for success to Apollo:—

O, patron of Soracte's‡ high abodes!
Phœbus, the ruling power among the Gods;
Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine,
Burn on thy heap and to thy glory shine!

* This custom is mentioned by Pliny, who says that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the Romans, turned to the left in their religious ceremonies; for, as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turned about from east to west, according to the course of the sun.—Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 28. cap. 2.

† "Sane umbros gallorum veterum propaginem esse." Marcus Antonius refert in lib. 12. Æneid. ante fin.

‡ The mountain Soracte (now monte di San Sylvestro) was in the Sabine country, in the district of the Faliscans, about twenty miles to the north of Rome, and on the west side of the Tiber; on the top of it were the grove and temple of Apollo, and also his carn.

By thee protected, with our naked soles
Through flames unsinged we pass, and tread the kindled coals;
Give me, propitious power, to wash away
The stains of this dishonouable day.
Æneid. lib. 11, Dryden's Version.

The Autumnal fire is still kindled, in North Wales, on the eve of the first day of November;* and is attended by many ceremonies, such as running through the fire and smoke; each casting a stone into it; and all running off at the conclusion, to escape from the short-tailed sow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water; each throwing a nut into the fire, and those that burn bright denote prosperity to the owners through the ensuing year, but those that turn black and crackle betoken misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any are missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in; these, besides many others which we have not room to enumerate in this Essay, are so many vestiges of the Druidical superstitions.

Apollo was the god of medicine; the Druids also cultivated this science, and the most implicit confidence was placed in their judgement, as the people were persuaded they knew the influence of the stars, and could look forward into futurity. The sages, at first so reputed, and so worthy of that respect, concluded by giving in to astrology, magic, and divination,† hoping by these means to increase their credit and authority, as they had perceived that the people were more delighted with the marvellous than the truth. They had a perfect knowledge of botany, and their manner of collecting some of the plants was mixed with many superstitious practices. Pliny relates the collecting of the plant Selago, which was to be plucked without the use of an instrument, and with the right hand covered with part of the robe, the plant then was to be shifted rapidly into the left hand, as if it had been stolen: the person collecting it must be clothed in white, having the feet bare, and having previously offered a sacrifice of bread and wine. Vervain was collected before the rising of the sun; on the first of the dog-days, after having offered to Apollo an expiating sacrifice, in which fruit and honey were employed: this plant, when gathered in the manner mentioned, was thought to possess every virtue, and was a sovereign remedy for all disorders. But the most solemn of all their ceremonies was that of gathering the mistletoe of the oak: they

* On the 2d of November, on Allhallow-tide, it is now a common practice, amongst the farmers in Herefordshire, to make a festival, and a general finishing of their wheat-sowing. There is a large plum cake prepared, of which all the household partake. Apples are threaded on a string, like beads, and hung before the fire to roast, pans of spiced cider are placed before them to drop in; toasts are drank to the plough, and to other agricultural implements; wishes made for the prosperity of the newly-sown seed, and the day ended with the greatest merriment.

† Meyrick Hist. of Cardig.

traversed the forest with the greatest care in search of it, and congratulated each other when, after painful researches, they had been able to discover a certain quantity of it. This plant could only be collected in the month of December, and on the sixth day of the moon; this month and the number six were sacred among the Druids;* it was always on the sixth day of the moon that they performed their principal acts of religion. On the day appointed for the ceremony of gathering the mistletoe, they went in procession towards the place where the plant was to be found; when they arrived at the foot of the tree, it was ascended by the chief of the Druids, who cropt the mistletoe with a small golden pruning knife, it was then received by the Druids with the most profound veneration, and deposited in the sagum, *sách*, (a sort of white mantle); after this they sacrificed two white bulls, and offered prayers to the Deity, that he would be pleased to attach to this plant good fortune, which would diffuse itself to all those to whom it was distributed. This distribution took place on the first day of the year: a remnant of this superstitious practice still maintains its ground in the kingdom.

ONVANA, ONUAVA, FYNON,

Goddess of the Ocean.

Divona, Celtarum lingua fons addite divis.—*Ausonius.*
Divona, fountain of the gods in Gaul.

The Britons rendered divine honors to Ovana, the divinity that presided over the ocean, rivers, and fountains. There was a curious piece of ancient sculpture, in the country of Tours, in France, of which the Abbé Banier, in his Mythology, has given us a short account: it was placed over the gate of the Hôtel-Dieu of Claremont,

* Even at the present period, in some parts of Herefordshire and Shropshire, there is particular reverence paid to the ox, and all his wants and comforts strictly attended to. In his stall, is carefully secreted a sprig of the mountain-ash, as a charm against witchcraft. If an ox is refractory, it is believed some evil is at hand, and if one falls down in the yoke, it denotes death. On Christmas-eve there is a large cake made by the mistress of the family, and a wassail-bowl, of cider and spices, prepared by the master; these are decorated and borne in triumph to the stall of the leading ox; the ceremony is attended by all the household, the males arranged on one side, the females on the other; the mistress then places the cake on the horns of the ox; the master stirs the bowl, and drinks off a flagon with this toast:—

"I drink to the ox from his hoof to his horn!
"I drink to the ox that treads out the corn!
"We'll drink deep of the flagon whilst we are here,
"And God send us all good luck through the year!"

The cup goes round, and if, in the mean time, the ox chews his cud placidly, it denotes good: but if he bows and looks wildly, it is a sign of ill. If the cake should fall from the horns on the side of the females, they carry it off with great rejoicing, as an omen of their sovereign rule throughout the coming year.

and represented Onvana, the Celtic divinity; it had the figure of a woman's head with wings displayed above, and two large scales arising out of the side of the head near the ear; this head was encompassed with two serpents, whose tails were hidden beneath two wings: some thought that the head, which was set off with a beautiful contenance, was that of Medusa; others, certainly nearer the truth, that of Dagon, or Derceto; but the true meaning of this hieroglyphic is said to have been Onvana.

OGMIUS.—HERCULES.

The following passage is taken from Lucian respecting the Gallic Hercules:—

"The Galls call Hercules in their country Ogmius, but they represent the picture of this god in a very unusual manner: with them he is a decrepid old man, bald before, his beard extremely grey, as are the few other hairs that are remaining; his skin is wrinkled, sun-burnt, and of such a swarthy complexion as that of old mariners; so that you would take him to be Charon, or some Laertes from the nethermost hell, or any thing rather than Hercules; but though he be such thus far, yet he has withal the habit of Hercules, being clad in the skin of a lion, holding a club in his right hand, a quiver hanging from his shoulder, and a bent bow in his left hand; upon the whole it is Hercules. I was of opinion that all this was perversely done, in dishonour of the Grecian gods, by the Gauls, to the picture of Hercules, revenging themselves upon him for having formerly overrun their country, and driving a prey out of it, as he was seeking after the herd of Geryon, at which time he made incursions into most of the western nations. But I have not yet told what is most odd and strange in this picture; this old Hercules draws after him a vast multitude of men, all tied by the ears. The cords by which he does this are small fine chains, artificially made of gold and electrum, like to most beautiful bracelets, and though the men are drawn by such slender bonds, yet none of them thinks of breaking loose, when they might easily do it; neither do they strive in the least to the contrary, or struggle with their feet, leaning back with all their might against their leader; but they gladly and cheerfully follow, praising him that draws them: all seeming in haste, and desirous to get before each other, holding up the chains, as if they should be very sorry to be set free; nor will I grudge telling here what of all these matters appeared the most absurd to me. The painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the chains, the right hand being occupied with a club, and the left with a bow, he made a hole in the tip of the god's tongue, who turns smiling towards those he leads; I looked upon these things a long time admiring, and doubting, and sometimes chafing with indignation; but a certain Gaul, who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he showed by speaking Greek in perfec-

tion, being one of the philosophers, I suppose, of that nation, said, I'll explain to you, O! stranger, the enigma of this picture, for it seems not a little to disturb you. We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that Mercury is speech or eloquence, but we attribute it to Hercules, because he is far superior in strength to Mercury. Do not wonder that he is represented as an old man; for speech alone loves to show its vigor in old age, if your own poets speak true:—

> All young men's breasts are with thick darkness filled;
> But age, experienced, has much more to say,
> More wise and learned than untaught youth.

"Thus, among yourselves, honey drops from Nestor's tongue; and the Trojan orators emit a certain voice, called Liriassa, that is, a florid speech; for, if I remember right, flowers are called Liria.

"Now, that Hercules, or speech, should draw men after him, tied by their ears to his tongue, will be no cause of admiration to you, when you consider the near affinity of the tongue with the ears. Nor is his tongue contumeliously bored; for I remember, said he, to have learnt certain iambics out of your own comedians, one of which says, "The tips of Prater's tongues are bored;" and, finally, as for us we are of opinion that Hercules accomplished all his achievements by speech, and that, having been a wise man, he conquered mostly by persuasion: we think his arrows are keen reasons, easily shot, quick and penetrating to the souls of men, which you have in the expression of winged words. Thus spoke the Gaul."

In addition to the above story of Lucian, I shall insert one of Parthenus Nicæus, which, if true, is intimately connected with the Celtic tribes. It is said that "Hercules, as he drove away from Erythra,* the oxen of Geryon had penetrated into the region of the Gauls; and that he came as far as that of Bretannus,† who had a daughter, called Celtina. This young woman fell in love with Hercules, hid his oxen, and would not restore them. Now, Hercules, being desirous to recover his oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, an intimacy commenced, and, in process of time, there was born to them a son, (named Celtus,) from whom the Celts are so denominated."

Diodorus likewise relates the story of Parthenius; but, without naming Bretannus or Celtina, he says, "A certain illustrious man, that governed a province in Gaul, had a daughter exceeding the rest of her sex in stature and beauty; who, though despising all who made court to her, being of a very high spirit, yet fell in love with Hercules, whose courage and majestic person she greatly admired. With her parents' consent she came to a right understanding with this hero, and had a son, not unworthy of the pair

* Now Cadiz.

† This is a presumptive proof that Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain, in Gaul; and that from Gaul the original inhabitants of all the British islands are descended.

from whom he sprung, either in body or mind. He was called Galates, succeeded his grandfather in the government, and, becoming renowned for his valour, his subjects were called Galatians,* after his name, and the whole country itself Galatia."†

It is well known that, in old time, nations had recourse to Hercules, and, in latter ages, to the Trojans, for their origin; but let Antiquity herein be pardoned, if she disguises truth with the mixture of fable, in order to render the commencement, either of a city or a nation more noble and majestic.

ANDRASTE. *YR ANDRAS.*

MINERVA BELISAMA.

By the ancient Britons this goddess was designated under the following names:—Y Vall, Mam y Ddrwg, Y Vad, Y Ddu Hyll, and Y Wrach; she was accounted the Goddess of Victory; and, according to the historian Dio, Queen Boadicea invoked her aid against the Romans, previous to the battle in which she was defeated.

Καὶ ἡ Βουδικα την χειρα εστ' ουρανου ουρατεινται ειπε χαριν τε σοι
Εχω. Ο Ανδραστη, καὶ προσεπικαλουμαι σε γυνη γυναικα.

Bondouica manibus in cœlum extensis dixit gratias habeo tibi. O Andraste, teque mulier, mulierem invoco.

This goddess was worshipped, by the Picts and Saxons, under the name of Andate, by whom, according to some, she was first introduced amongst the Celts. Others are of opinion that she was the same with Astarte, or Astaroth, of the Phœnicians, and supposed mother of all the deities; she was also esteemed the same as Luna and Selene, and represented as the queen of Heaven, and the same as Juno, who was sometimes worshipped under the symbol of an egg, so that her history had the same reference as that of Oinas, or Venus Armata, Y Vad Velen of the Britons.

Venus pollet magna quadam vi et victorias semper reportat.

It is a common saying among the peasants of South Wales, at the present day, to a person in a violent passion, "Mae rhiw Andras arno chwi; aliqua Andrasta te obsidet; et Pwy Andras."—"What! Andras possesses thee."

She was likewise called Minerva Belisama, as mentioned by the learned Bochart. Ynys Malen, the Isle of Minerva, at present called the Island of Mull, derived its name from the worship of Minerva Belisama; Minerva's horse, or Pegasus, was called March Malen, which gave rise to the proverb:—"A gasgler dan varch malen dan ei dor yr â."—"What is got on the devil's back is spent under his belly."

* Galli. † Gallia.

Strabo observes that the Britons worshipped Ceres and Proserpine above any other. Sir Henry Spelman concludes from thence that this gave occasion to reckoning by nights* and winters, and that the winter was particularly consecrated to the infernal goddesses, because they had a fancy that in this season the seeds of every thing owed their preservation to their care.

MINISTERS OF THE GODS.

THE DRUIDS.

Derwyddon or Drudion.

The word Druid is derived from the Celtic word Derw, which signifies an oak; and as oaks were called Saronides, so likewise were the ancient Druids, by whom the oak was held so sacred. Hence Diodorus Siculus, (lib. 5,) speaking of the Priests of Gaul, styles them,

Φιλοσφοι. θεολογοι,—περιττως τιμωμενοι, ους ΣΑΡΩΝΙΔΑΣ, ονομαζουσί.

By Aristotle, Solon, and many others before them, the Druids are described as the wisest and most enlightened of men in matters of religion. So great was the idea entertained of their knowledge, that Cicero styles them the first inventors of Mythology; and Julius Cæsar, who in general admired only splendid virtues, could not refuse them the tribute of his esteem, so much was he astonished at their knowledge and manner of living. I shall insert in this place his own account of them:—"The Druids preside in matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpert the will of the gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them; and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises, touching an inheritance or the limits of adjoining estates, in all such cases they are supreme judges. They decree rewards and punishments; and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls, because such as are under this prohibition are considered impious and cruel; all men shun them and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office. The Druids are all under one chief, who possesses the supreme authority in that body. Upon his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeds; but if there are several candidates of equal merit the affair is determined by plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to an issue. Once a year

* The space of time which the Latins call septimana and two septimanas the Welsh term wythnos (eight nights) and pymthev nos, i. e. fifteen nights.

they assemble at a consecrated place, in the territories of the Carmites, whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits depending flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institution is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul;* and even at this day such as are desirous of being perfect in it travel thither for instruction. The Druids never go to war; are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes of their own accord to follow that profession, and many are sent by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution, for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing, though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons; to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar, and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to be neglected had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims that the soul never dies, but after death passes from one body to another, which they think contributes greatly to exalt men's courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach likewise many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods."

A more copious account of the Druids cannot be admitted within the narrow compass of an essay on heathen mythology.

THE BARDS.

You too, ye Bards, whom sacred rapture fire
To chant your heroes to your country's lyre,
Who consecrate, in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain,
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.

Lucan, lib. i. 748.

Εισι δέ παρ αυλοις καὶ ποιηταιμελῶν ους Βαρδους ονομαζουσίν.

There are amongst them melodists whom they call Bards.—*Diodorus.*

Ουτοι δέ μετ' οργανων τᾶις λυραις ομοιων αδοντες ους μὲν υμνουσιν, ους δὲ βλασφημοῦσι.

These (Bards) sing with their harps to the praise of some and to the censure of others.—*Diodorus.*

The bards celebrated the praises of heroes in verses, which they sung and accompanied upon the harp. In such high estimation

* Among the Britons, saith Tacitus, you will find the religion of the Gauls and the people possessed of the same superstitions.

were their verses held that they were sufficient to immortalize. They did not confine themselves to pronouncing the eulogium of heroes; they had likewise the right of censuring the actions of individuals who swerved from their duty. The bards were divided into three orders or degrees, priveirdd, posveirdd, arwyddveirdd.

The first were chronologers, the second heralds, and the third comic or satyrical poets. Bardd Telyn was the chief harper in the island, and was maintained in the king's palace. The bards made hymns for the use of the temples, composed and managed the music, but did not officiate as priests, neither did they belong to the body of the Druids, as has been erroneously stated by Pezron and others.

The bards had a secret by which they knew one another, and it has been supposed by some that *masonry* is bardism in disguise.

THE OVATES.

The Ovates were such as cultivated the arts and sciences, and, therefore, to this order belonged artists and mechanics of every description.

A Comparison between the Magi and the Druids.

Both were equally respected in their different counties, and were always consulted in matters of great importance.

Magi.	*Druids.*
The Magi rejected the opinion which attributed to their gods a human origin.	The Druids did likewise.
The Magi governed the state.	The Druids did likewise.
They wore white vests and forbid the use of ornaments of gold.	The Druids did equally so.
They believe the immortality of the soul.	As also did the Druids.
The Persians worshipped fire.	The Druids maintained a perpetual fire in their forests.
The Magi paid their adoration to water.	The Druids did the same.

From these resemblances we may reasonably conclude that the religion of the Magi and that of the Druids had the same origin.

AN

ESSAY

ON

WELSH GENEALOGIES,

And their Use and Importance in former Times.

THE predilection of the Welsh for long pedigrees has been proverbial, and the great care which they have bestowed in preserving them from very remote times has been frequently noticed with no small surprise. There is, indeed, no peculiarity by which the natives of Cambria have been more distinguished from the inhabitants of other countries, and especially down to two centuries ago, than by the great attention which they have given to the registering of their pedigrees, and the apparent ostentation with which they trace their descent through long lines of ancestors. This has been so remarkable a trait in their character, that they have, in consequence, been often held in derision; and it is considered by many, even at this day, as a national foible of very general prevalence, it having been observed that a Welsh gentleman will climb up by the ladder of his pedigree into princely extraction; and that it may be said men are *made* heralds in other countries, but *born* so in Wales. But there will be less cause for surprise that an attachment to genealogical distinction should prevail among the inhabitants of the Principality, if it be considered of what importance an authentic register of their lineage and extraction was to them in former times, with respect to their social and civil capacities.

The Welsh seem to have formerly subsisted as a nation much in the manner of the Jews, or of the ancient Swiss or Scots, being divided into tribes or clans, under distinct independent chiefs, who were regarded as the *penteulwoedd*, or heads of the tribes respectively, and were designated kings, princes, or *uchelwyr*, or nobles,* according to their rank or importance. To an individual of Cambria, in the higher classes of life, his pedigree constituted the

* John Salisbury, in his Book of Pedigrees, says, that the princes of *Powis* were lords paramount of both *Maelors*, *Nanheudwy*, &c.; and that the descendants of *Tudor Trevor* were their barons, called *Uchelwyr* (or nobles) in old MSS. *Lewis Dwn*, on the origin of the word *Baron*, says, that when Fitzhamon and his knights had taken possession of Glamorgan, finding the natives styling their several chieftains, *Brenin* Morganwg, *Brenin* Gwent, *Brenin* Dyved, &c. signifying *King* of Glamorgan, *King* of Gwent, &c. they composed a word in their own tongue, "*Baron*," with the same signification, meaning a man of rank. *Brennus*, who sacked Rome, 388 B.C. being a Gaul, was probably so called by the Romans by mistaking his title of rank for his proper name.

charter of his privileges, the voucher of his rank and dignity, and the title-deed of his estates. Nor was it of much less importance to those of the meaner classes, inasmuch, as a man of low degree, by being enabled to prove his British descent for a specified number of generations, was entitled to the protection and all the privileges of a free-born Briton. As estates were entailed upon the legal representatives of the family, and could not be acquired otherwise but by gift from a prince—by marriage—or the fortune of war, (being seldom or ever transferred by sale,) they were considered, in some respects, as unalienable, and could only belong to those who could prove their birthright and inheritance. It surely, then, cannot be deemed anything extraordinary that the Welsh should feel an interest in preserving the records of their descent, and be somewhat elated in displaying their pedigrees; and it should seem that those who, in consequence, hold them in derision, are incapable of estimating their feelings upon a subject which was to them originally of so much importance.*

But a predilection for long pedigrees has not been exclusively peculiar to the Welsh: all the nations of antiquity, of whom minute particulars are recorded, seem likewise to have paid no small attention in preserving an account of their descent through long series of ancestors. With regard to the *Romans*, we are informed that *Julius Cæsar*, when commemorating, in his speech, his deceased aunt, *Julia*, gloried in deriving her maternal extraction from the ancient kings of Rome, and her paternal descent from the immortal gods. And, as to the *Greeks*, it is observed that there is scarcely one of Homer's heroes who does not show himself well versed in his pedigree; thereby proving that genealogical knowledge was a subject which occupied no small share of their attention; and, though we may smile at the boast of their descent from the gods, yet we may infer from it the importance which individuals attached to the antiquity of their origin. The care of the *Jews*, in this respect, while their civil and ecclesiastical polity remained, is manifest to the most cursory reader of the sacred scriptures, of which several whole chapters are occupied with but little more than mere lists of names.

It is likewise remarkable that the *Greeks*, the *Jews*, and the *Britons* trace their pedigrees in the same manner, viz. by naming the particular individual first, then his father, grandfather, great grandfather, &c. in regular succession, with the word *son*, or an equivalent term between each. With respect to the *Greeks*, we have the pedigree of the Persian emperor, *Xerxes*, thus recorded by Herodotus:—"Xerxes, (son) of Darius, of Hystaspes, of Arsames, of Armneos, of Teispes, of Cyrus, of Cambyses, of Teispes, of Archæmenes." In many parts of the sacred scriptures

* The number of Welsh pedigrees registered in the Herald-office is—

Clarencieux side	6550
Norroy ditto	1223
Total	7773

similar pedigrees of *Jewish* individuals are given: thus *Joshua*, in designating *Achan*, who had acted criminally, in secreting spoils taken from the Canaanites, calls him "Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah;"* and the form is carried to a much greater length by the holy evangelist St. Luke, who states our blessed Saviour to have been, as "was supposed, the son of Joseph, who was the son of Heli, who was the son of Matthat, who was the son of Levi," &c. up to "the son of Adam, who was the son of God."†

As to the Welsh, Mr. Pennant, in stating the descent of Mr. Evan Llwyd, gives what he terms "a genuine copy of a British pedigree" as follows:—"Evan, ab Edward, ab Richard, ab Edward, ab Davydd, ab Robert, ab Meurig Llwyd o Nannau, ab Meurig Vychan, ab Ynyr Vychan, ab Ynyr, ab Meurig, ab Madog, ab Cadwgan, ab Bleddyn, ab Cynvyn, prince of North Wales and Powis."‡

Individuals among the Welsh were universally distinguished by the names of their father, grandfather, &c. attached to their own with *ab* (the abbreviation of *mab*, a son) intervening between each, until the reign of Hen. VIII. when Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield, and president of the court of the Marches of Wales, sat on a Welsh cause, and being wearied with the number of *abs*, in the names of the persons called on the jury, directed that the individuals of the panel should add only their father's name or cognomen to their own, or assume their place of residence for a surname; and thus, Thomas *ab* Richard *ab* Howel *ab* Ieuan Vychan, of Mostyn, was at once reduced to "Thomas Mostyn." Since that time the *ab* has been, in many cases, lost in the surnames adopted in consequence of the above-mentioned regulation; thus, *Prŷs*, or *Pryse*, is used for *ab* Rhys—Powel for *ab* Howel—Bowen for *ab* Owen—Bennion for *ab* Einion, &c. The Gealic and Irish *mac* is synonimous with the Welsh *mab*, (a son,) and is similarly prefixed to form permanent family surnames in North Britain and Ireland, as *Mac*donald, *Mac*kinnon, *Mac*leod, &c. *Mac* for *mab*, in its simple form, has, for a length of time, grown obsolete in Wales; but that it was once used in that sense is evident, for we still retain it, though somewhat varied, in the word *mac*wy, a youth.

When the Welsh began to adopt surnames, many heads of families took the names of their houses, estates, or places of abode, a practice most popular in North Wales, where the following surnames were assumed:—*Glyn*, of Glyn—*Tanad*, of Aber-*Tanad*—*Penrhyn*, of Penrhyn—*Carreg*, of Carreg—*Madryn*, of Madryn—*Coedmor*, of Coedmor—*Bodwrda*, of Bodwrda—*Kyffin*, of Kyffin—*Trevor*, of Trevor—*Pennant*, of Pennant—*Blayney*, of Blaenau, &c. &c. Others, whose mansions were not so eligible for surnames, adopted whatever the names of their fathers happened to be, and

* Josh. vii. 1. † Luke, iii. 23—38.
‡ Pennant's Wales, last edition, vol. ii. 276.

fixed them as permanent appellations in the family, a mode which was received with the most general approbation, and more especially by the inhabitants of South Wales. A man named John, whose father's name was William, called himself John Williams; and hence arose the numerous families, unconnected with each other, of Johnes—Williams—Thomas—Evans—Richards—Roberts, and many others. It proceeds from the same cause that the surnames in Wales are generally the same as the Christian names in common use. This adoption of surnames, on either of the principles laid down, or any other, was not carried into effect all at once, at the time it was first proposed, but, on the contrary, took place gradually. Indeed, the degrees by which its progress has been carried forward has been very slow; and the reluctance to innovation is so rooted in the minds of the Welsh, that the modern system has not yet been established among the lower classes in every part of the Principality.*

It may be observed that as the *Welsh* sometimes named the place of the residence of what is called "a link" in the pedigree, as in the foregoing "Meurig Llwyd o *Nannau*, and Llewelyn ab Ynyr o *Iâl*, Gwaethvoed o *Geredigion*, &c.; so the *Greeks*, in like manner, said "Ctesiphon (the son) of Kephalo, of *Aphidna*;" "Apollodorus (the son) of Pavion, of *Acharne*," &c. And the Jews likewise said "Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, of *Anathoth*;" and sometimes mentioned the name of a distinguished officer, on a similar occasion, as "Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of *Judah*; and Josiah, the son of Josedeck, the *High Priest*." It may be further observed that the *Jews* generally traced their pedigrees up to one of the sons of Jacob; so the Welsh trace theirs to some one of the princes of the country, or some distinguished character, which closed the pedigree; for, having gone so far, it was afterwards easy to continue it to a greater length, and to the highest extent, similar to the pedigree already mentioned of our blessed Lord. Thus the ancient princes of South Wales derive their descent:—Rhys, ab Gruffydd, ab Rhys, ab Tewdwr, ab Einion, ab Owen, ab Howel Dda (or the good), ab Cadell, ab *Rodri Mawr* (or the great.) And thus the princes of North Wales from the same common ancestor:—Llywelyn, ab *Jorwerth*, ab Owen, ab Gruffydd, ab Cynan, ab Iago, ab Idwal, ab Meurig, ab Anarawd, ab *Rodri Mawr*. Giraldus Cambrensis observes that the Welsh bards and minstrels, or reciters, have the genealogies of their princes recorded in their ancient books, and also retained them in their memory, from *Roderic* the Great, above mentioned, to "B. M." which has been by some persons, in derision of Welsh pedigrees, interpreted "*Beata Maria!*" but signifies "*Beli Mawr* (Belinus Magnus) the father of the celebrated Cassivelaunus, who opposed Julius Cæsar, on his invading Britain, and who lived about a century prior to the Christian era.†

The striking co-incidence in these several particulars, respecting

* Malkin's South Wales, vol. i. 90.

† Hoare's Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. ii. 262.

their pedigrees between the Britons and the most renowned nations of antiquity, is a very strong argument in favour of their co-existence, and their occupying a contiguity of situation at some remote period, as the custom already mentioned cannot be satisfactorily accounted for in any other way.

The very great attention which the Welsh continued, for ages, to pay to this subject is strongly evinced by referring to the particulars of the descent of Henry VII. king of England, who, finding that the antiquity of the rank of his grandfather, Owen Tudor, was called in question, directed a commission to the abbot of Valle Crucis, Dr. Owen Poole, canon of Hereford, and John King, Herald at Arms, to investigate the pedigree of his ancestors. These commissioners, assisted by John Leiav *(parvulus)*, Gutyn Owain, Gruffydd ab Jeuan ab Llywelyn Vychan, and others, bards and heralds, collected the genealogy of Owen Tudor; and, by their return, which specified the several links, showed that Owain ab Meredydd ab Tudur, which was the legitimate and national name of Owen Tudor, was lineally descended, by issue male, saving one female link, from Brutus in *one hundred* degrees—from Vortigern in *thirty* degrees—from Rodri *Mawr* in *seventeen* degrees—from Coel Godebog in *thirty-one* degrees—from Beli Mawr in *forty-one* degrees, and from John, king of England, in *seven* degrees.* By the same and similar documents it could be shown that his Majesty, King George IV. is descended from *Cadwaladr*, the last king of the ancient Britons, who died at Rome, A.D. 668, in *thirty-seven* degrees, and that he is right heir, in lineal succession, to the British, Cambro-British, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, English, and Scottish kings.†

In the latter part of the eleventh century, Gruffydd ab Cynan, prince of North Wales, Rhys ab Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, and Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, prince of Powis, made diligent search after the arms, ensigns, and pedigrees of the ancestors of the nobility and kings of the Britons. What was then discovered in any papers or records was afterwards, by the bards, digested and arranged in books; and they ordained *five* royal tribes (there being only *three* before), from whom their posterity to this day can trace their descent; and, also, *fifteen* special tribes, of whom the gentry of North Wales are for the most part descended. The *five* regal tribes and the respective representative of each were considered as of royal blood. The *fifteen* common tribes, all of North Wales, and their respective representatives, formed the nobility, and were lords of different districts, and also bore some hereditary office in the prince's palace. Their precedence, as it stands, is very uncertain, and not governed by the dates; the three latest of them were created by Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd, who began his reign in 1169, and by his nephew, Llywelyn ab Jorwerth, his successor. The form of their investiture has not been recorded.‡

* Appendix to Wynne's History of Wales, p. 331.
† Yorke's Royal Tribes, p. 84.
‡ Vaughan's British Antiquities Revived, p. 44.

Gruffydd ab Cynan ranks first among the five royal tribes. He recovered the government of North Wales from Trahaiarn ab Caradog, at the battle of Mynydd Carn, near the boundary of the counties of Brecon and Glamorgan, and died in the year 1136.

The founder of the second royal tribe was *Rhys ab Tewdwr*, in whom the legal succession of South Wales was restored. With Gruffydd ab Cynan he shared the victory of Mynydd Carn, and the fortunes of that field set them both on their hereditary thrones. Rhys died in 1091, in an unsuccessful battle at *Hirwaen Wrgant*, near Merthyr Tudfyl, in defending his territories against his rebellious countrymen, aided by the Normans.

Bleddyn ab Cynvyn stands at the head of the third royal tribe. He had a title to Powis, in female succession, from his great grandmother, Angharad, the grandaughter and heiress of Mervyn, to whom his third portion had been gavelled by his father, *Rodri Mawr*. It was the powerful interest of Harold, Edward the Confessor's successful general, in his Welsh expeditions, that set Bleddyn on the throne of North Wales, on the fall of his half-brother, the puissant Gruffydd ab Llywelyn. To these he finally added South Wales, colouring his claim thereto with the title of his mother, Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Meredydd ab Owain, formerly prince of that province. After a reign of twelve years he fell by the hands of Rhys ab Owain ab Edwin, and the chieftains of Ystrad Tywi, leaving behind him a character, not very common in those days, of blood and rapine.

Jestyn ab Gwrgant, lord of Glamorgan, was the founder of the *fourth* royal tribe, and was descended from the renowned Caractacus, (the Silurian chief, who held the Roman army, in Britain, at bay for sixteen years,) in the twenty-ninth generation. Jestyn lost his country by his own unprincipled conduct and the treachery of his ally, Einion ab Cadivor, who brought in Fitzhamon and his twelve Norman adventurers, and fell a just sacrifice to his treachery aad ingratitude against his sovereign, Rhys ab Tewdwr.

The fifth royal tribe was *Elystan Glodrydd*, prince of the country between the Severn and the Wye, called *Y Ferlys*. He was the son of Cuhelyn ab Ivor, by Rhieingar, daughter and heiress of Grono ab Tudyr Trevor. His wife was Gwenllian, the daughter of Einion ab Howel Dda; and it is said that he was godson to his namesake, Athelstan, king of England. He lived to a great age, and was slain in a civil broil, at Gevn Digoll, near Welshpool, about the year 1010.

The precedence of the fifteen special tribes of North Wales is variously exhibited by different writers. Some lists are arranged without any plan, either of priority of creation or contiguity of location. Others begin with *Hwva ab Cynddelw* and his neighbouring tribes of *Mona;* the second lot includes *Cilmin* and his compeers of *Arvonia;* then, about seven lords are stationed within the bounds of the present counties of *Denbigh* and *Flint;* and last, "though not the least," *Ednowain ab Bradwen* brings up the rear for the district of Meirion.

On the supposition that precedence should be governed by priority of creation, here follows the arrangement of an accomplished herald, whose name is not attached to his list.

1. *Braint Hir*, chief of the tribe of Is-dulas, in Rhôs, has his creation dated in the year 650, in the reign of his uncle, *Cadwallon*,* who found his nephew useful in his wars with the Saxon Edwin, king of Northumbria. *Braint* is represented as the son of Nevydd, ab Geraint, ab Caranawg Gloewddur, ab Rhychwin Varvog, of Dolwen, in Rhôs; and so on to Caradog Vreichvras, one of Arthur's knights.

2. *Marchweithan*, head of the tribe of Is-aled, in Rhyvoniog, was created about the year 720, in the reign of *Rodri Molwynog*. This peer had his residence at Llys Lleweni, in Dyfryn Clwyd, and was son of Tangwel, ab Lludd, ab Llew, ab Llyminod Angel, ab Pasgen, ab Urien Rheged, about the year 500.

3. *Cilmin Droed-du*, founder of the tribe of Uwch-Gwyrvai, in Arvon, about the year 843, in the reign of his cousin-german, *Rhodri Mawr*. He is reported to have resided at Glyn-llivon; and was son of Caradog, ab Gwriad, ab Elidir, ab Sandde, ab Alcwyn, ab Tegyd, ab Gwair, ab Duwg, ab Llywarch Hen, the venerable patriarch of British bards.

4. *Maelog Grwm* was lord of Llechwedd Isav and Creiddyn about the middle of the ninth century, in the reign of *Rhodri Mawr*. He was son of Cwnws ddu, ab Cillyn Ynad, ab Peredur Teirnoe, ab *Meilir eryr gwyr gorsedd*, and so on to Cunedda Wledig.

5. *Collwyn ab Tangno*, of Caer Collwyn, now Harlech, lord of Ardudwy, Evionydd, and part of Lleyn, lived about the year 877, in the reign of Anarawd ab Rodri Mawr. His grandchildren were men of power, and gave much trouble to their lawful prince, Gruffydd ab Cynan. Collwyn, as above, was son of Tangno, ab Cadvael, ab Lludd, ab Beli, ab Rhun, ab Maelgwn Gwynedd, the *Maglocunas* of the querulous Gildas.

6. *Marchudd*, lord of Abergeleu, and head of the tribe of Uwch-Dulas, lived at Bryn-fenigl, in the reign of Idwal Voel, about the year 913. He was son of Cynan, ab Eilvyw, ab Mor, ab Mynan, ab Ysbwys Mwyntyrch, ab Ysbwys, ab Cadrod Calchvynydd, and so on to Coel Godebog, the father of Helena the empress.

7. *Ednowain Bendew*, the stock of the tribe of Tegengl Ysceiviog, is represented as the son of Conan, son of Gwaethvoed of Powis, and to have lived in the reign of Llywelyn ab Seisyllt, about the year 1015. He dwelt at Llys Coed y Mynydd, on the pass through the Clwydian hills, between Caerwys and Bodfari.

* In some lists, *Braint Hir* is brought down to the age of *Anarawd ab Rodri Mawr*, about the beginning of the tenth century; but our herald, whom we follow in this arrangement, says

"* * * *Briennus* habet cognomine *longus*
——————— regisque Britanni
Cadwallon fuit ille sororius atque satellea"——

8. *Edwin ab Grono*, ab Owain, ab Edwin, ab *Howel Dda*, was stiled Brenin, or King of Tegengl; and lived at Llys Edwin, or Llys Llaneurgain, in Northop, about the year 1050, in the reign of Gruffydd ab Llywelyn ab Seisyllt.

9. *Eunydd*, surnamed Gwerngwy, was son of Morien, ab Morgenau, ab Gwerystan, ad Gwaethvod of Powis; and lord of Dyfryn Clwyd and Ystrad Alun, about the year 1061. Bleddyn ab Cynvyn was his near relative, and had procured a match between Morien (Eunydd's father) and Gwenlliant, the rich heiress of Rhys ab Marchan. Gwenlliant had seven townships for her portion; and prince *Bleddyn* gave his nephew *Eunydd*, as a counterpoise, seven other townships, in Gresford, Bromfield, and Tegengl.

10. *Hedd Molwynog*, chief of the tribe of Uwch-Aled, was son of Gredyv, ab Tegynyd, ab Llawr, ab Llawvrodedd varvog, ab Alun, ab Alser, ab Tudwal glof, ab Rodri mawr; and lived at *Henllys*, in Llangerniw, in the reign of Gneffydd ab Cynan, about the year 1079.

11. *Nevydd hardd* stands as the founder of the tribe of Nant-Conwy, who lived at Creignant, near Llanrwst, about the year 1137, in the reign of Owen Gwynedd. His descent is variously represented; some tracing his to Cwnws ddu, ab Cillin Ynad, of the same race as *Maelog Grwm*, the tribe No. 4; others say, that Nevydd was son of Ivor, ab Ysbwys Garthen, ab Jestyn varchog, ab Cadwgan, ab Elystan Glodrydd, the fifth royal tribe: this line is more free from anachronism than the other.

12. *Hwva ab Cynddelw*, head of one of the tribes of Mona, lived at Prysaddved in that island, in the time of Owain Gwynedd, about the year 1150. He unites with the other tribes, Gweirydd ab Rhys Goch, and Maelog Crwm, in tracing his pedigree up to Cwnws ddu, ab Cillin Ynad, and so on to Cunadda Wledig.

13. *Gweirydd* ab Rhys goch is the founder of another Anglesea tribe, called "*Llwyth Mon ac Arllechwedd.*" He lived at Caerdegog, in Talebolion, in the reign of Davydd, ab Owain Gwynedd, about the year 1170. It has been already observed that he traces up, with Hwva and Maelog, numbers 4 and 12 to *Cillin Ynad.*

14. *Llywarch ab Bran* is the stock of the *third* tribe of Môn, called *Llwyth Menai.* He lived at Trev Llywarch, near Holyhead, in the reign of Owain Gwynedd, his brother-in-law, for their wives were sisters, daughters of Grono, ab Edwin, of the tribe of Tegengl. In company with his neighbour *Gweirydd* he dates his creation in the same year, 1070; and, in unison with his distant relative Hedd Molwynog, he traces his pedigree from Alan, ab Alser, ab Tudwal Glof, ab Rodri Mawr.

15. The last created tribe was that of *Ednowain ab Bradwen*, called "Llwyth Dolgellau," in the reign of Llewelyn ab Jorwerth, about the year 1194. This chieftain's residence was at Llys Bradwen, the ruins of which still exist in the township of Cregenan, in the parish of Celynin. He derived his descent from Cynvarch, ab

Madog Madogion, ab Sandde, ab Llywarch hen. Here he unites, seventeen generations back, with Cilmin Droed-du.

From what has been said, in a former page, on the authority of Mr. Robert Vaughan, in his "Antiquities revived," that the princes Gr. ab Cynan, Rhys ab Tewdwr, and Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, made diligent search after the arms and pedigrees of the nobility and kings of Britain, and ordained *five* royal and *fifteen* special tribes: it cannot be inferred that these three princes acted in concert upon the occasion, for Bleddyn had slept with his fathers eight or ten years before the son of Cynan had recovered the diadem of his ancestors by the battle of Mynydd Carn: and that Rhys ab Tewdwr should co-operate with Gruffydd in forming and privileging fifteen special tribes, is not at all probable; for, if he had, would not Deheubarth, the province of Rhys, have come in for its share of special tribes as well as Gwynedd, to which they were exclusively assigned? The most probable conjecture then may be, that the formation and classification of tribes was the gradual work of the *Arwyddveirdd* (herald bards), sanctioned by their provincial Eisteddvodau, and assented to and confirmed by the reigning princes, from time to time. It may be further supposed that applications were occasionally made to the president of the Eisteddvod, by such of the nobility and gentry as were desirous of having their arms and pedigrees ascertained, sanctioned, and registered. Thus, each applicant would have his pedigree traced to the most renowned and popular chieftain among his ancestors, who, thenceforward, would be considered, retrospectively, as the founder of his tribe. To the want of such application may be attributed the omission of several eminent and noble families in North Wales in the list of special tribes; and whose descendants are, to this day, both numerous and highly respectable. Had there been, at any period, an unity of design and princely co-operation, Gwynedd and Powis would have extended the number of their special tribes from *fifteen* to at least *twenty;* and Dyfed, Morganwg, and Gwent, might have registered an equal number, if not many more. Gwynedd and Powis Vadog engrossed the whole of the fifteen special tribes; but it should not hence be inferred that the other more extensive and populous provinces of the principality had no tribes, for they had them, from time immemorial, under different denominations, though not methodically arranged, nor even numbered. Instead of the North Wales term *llwyth*, a tribe,—in South Wales they had *penteulu*, head of a family; *pencenedl*, head of a clan; *cyff-cenedl*, stock of a tribe; *cyf-ach*, stem of a lineage, &c. In order that this Essay be not too much crowded with mere lists of names, the *Penteuluoedd Deheubarth*, or Tribes of South Wales, including Dyved, Gwent, and Morganwg; with such heads of tribes in Gwynedd and Powis as are not included in the fifteen already specified, will be enumerated and classified in the Appendix, to which the reader is referred.

It was in consequence of the importance which the Welsh attach

to their descent, in connexion with the provocation he had received, and his natural vehemence and energy of character, that *Owain Glyndwr*, after having successfully defended his paternal estate from ravage and sequestration, advanced a claim to the principality; to which, by his descent from Llywelyn ab Gruffydd's daughter, he had an hereditary right. And it was this right, satisfactorily made out by genealogical records, that disposed so great a portion of the gentry, and the commonalty almost universally, to espouse his cause, and ultimately rendered him the terror of England for many years.

The importance which the Welsh attached to their pedigrees, and their anxiety that they might be accurate, is evinced by the means used for securing their authenticity. It is evident that the most effectual means of securing such an object would be the appointing of a set of men, whose immediate duty would be to give their exclusive attention to it. Accordingly, there was a class of the bards, who were obliged, by the laws of their country, to qualify themselves to examine and ascertain the claims of individuals who applied for privileges on account of their kindred. For this purpose, the *Arwydd-vardd*, or Genealogical Bard, was an officer of national importance; one of whose principal duties was to attend to the birth, marriage, or death of every person of high degree or descent, and to register the pedigree of his family. The *cerdd voliant*, or song of praise, was written during the life of his patron, and extolled the merits of him, whom it was intended to celebrate: but the *marwnad*, or elegy, was required to contain, truly, and at length, the genealogy and descent of the deceased from his *eight* immediate ancestors; to notice the several collateral branches of the family; to commemorate, in elegiac strains, the surviving wife or husband, with her or his descent or progeny; to register them in his books, and to deliver a copy to the heir, in order that it might be preserved among the archives of the family. It was, likewise, to be produced by the bard on the day month after the funeral, when all the principal branches of the family and their friends were assembled in the great hall of the mansion-house, and then recited in an audible and distinct voice for the approbation of the company; after which it was carefully deposited in the monimental chest, and from thence considered as the best evidence of descent.

To recompense the bard for his trouble, he had a stipend out of every plough-land in the country. His other office was to make a perambulation once in every three years, to the houses of all the gentlemen in the country, which was called *cylchclera*, the bard's circuit; in which, beside other things, he had to correct and arrange pedigrees, and make entries in their registers of what had happened during the intervals; he entered in their books the armorial bearings which each family had a right to use; and corrected, or at least forbad those who assumed them improperly, from continuing them. It may be observed that these bards were an order of men who, from their habit of life, and respectability of

character, and the nature of their pursuits, were fully qualified for executing their trust, and preserving this branch of knowledge uncontaminated with error. *Truth* was by them accounted the most sacred of virtues, and therefore the greatest confidence was placed in them that they would not lend themselves to propagate any known, or premeditated falsehood, to serve the ends of other men's interest or ambition; or as a cloak for their own. Such an order of men, therefore, patronized by the princes of the land, forbidden from following any other profession, and who had a high character to maintain, would, doubtless, execute their office with fidelity and diligence, and, accordingly, the most implicit credit was given to their authority, not only by their immediate cotemporaries, but by all succeeding generations.*

The bard who made an heraldic tour to partake of good cheer at gentlemen's mansions during the festivals, used to carry with him a small roll of illuminated parchment pedigree, to assist his memory, in reciting the deeds of illustrious persons, among the ancestors of those he visited. The person of the bard was protected by royal authority; he had his lands free; dined at the king's table, drank out of the king's cup, and wore a gold ring to distinguish his rank.† The rings used on such occasions appear, from the many specimens of ancient rings still in existence, to have borne a seal, and gave authority to the person wearing it, to ratify deeds and contracts with others. The office of the bard must consequently have been considered of no small importance to that state of which it formed so essential a part; for it was by his decision the claims of precedence were adjusted, and the rights to property prescribed.

These provisions were quite sufficient to secure the desired object in peaceable times; but as this, in common with all other arts of peace, must have met with many interruptions by foreign invasions and internal feuds, it became necessary, during tranquil intervals, occasionally to summon the bards together to *Eisteddvodau*, or bardic congresses, to make a review of the ancient genealogical records, and accommodate them to the existing state of the illustrious or distinguished families. Such a congress was held by prince *Gruffydd ab Cynan*, who, after much research, and patient investigation, and with the aid of the bards of the day, arranged the nobility of his princedom into several classes. Dr. Powell, in

* "There are three sortes of mynstrells in Wales, the first sort named *Beirdd*, which are makers of songes and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onlie great skill and cunning is required, but alsoe a certain natural inclination and gift, which in Latin is termed *furor poeticus*. These do also keep records of gentlemen's armes and pedegrees, and are best esteemed and accounted amonge them."—Powell's Hist. of Wales, p. 171.

† A ring-worn has always been considered as a badge of dignity. When the prodigal son returned to his father's house, in a mean and forlorn condition, he is represented as having a *ring* put on his finger. *Luke*, xv. 22. For a similar purpose, Pharaoh put his *ring* on Joseph's hand. *Gen.* xli. 42. And Ahasuerus his, first on Haman, and afterwards on Mordecai's; and in each case, it served for a token that the receiver was honoured with the confidence, and invested with particular powers by the sovereign. *Esth.* iii. 10. viii. 2.

his history of Wales,* bears testimony to the existence of genealogical records in his time.† Speaking of Seisyllt (Cecil) he says—"These petegrees and descents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and evidences, whereof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike thereunto appendant, manisfestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth thereof, which remain at this day." Some of the Welsh heraldic registers are still extant, and are either named from the places where they were originally deposited, as the *Cotterell* book in Glamorganshire; or from the name of some of the most celebrated heralds who contributed to them, as "*Llyfr Llewelyn Ofeiriad*," or the Book of Llewelyn the Priest, now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. Such records were kept in the chief mansion of the district, and transferred by the *Arwydd-vardd* to his successor, who continued to enter the deaths and births as they occurred. Although the Welsh bards were discouraged and suppressed at different times by the English monarchs; yet for honour's sake, to record and blazon English achivements and to marshal and conduct their pageantries, it was found necessary to revive this class in England; and, about the year 1340, the Herald's College was instituted. They have retained their primitive occupations, dignities, and titles; and as the chief of them was formerly stiled *king* of the bards, so the three principal English heralds are termed *kings* at arms, and the others like the *Arwydd-veirdd*, provincial.‡

In the triadical laws, ascribed to Dyvnwal Moelmud, are several regulations respecting the office of the bards in registering pedigrees, and the privileges which were attached to it. It is declared that one of the privileges of the sessions [bardic] was the preserving faithfully the memory of pedigrees, marriages, lineal descent, privileges, and duties of the Cymry; and when required by the municipal sessions, to publish what was necessary and obligatory in the legal form of notice and publication. Also, that there were three privileged professions with complete privilege, that is, to five acres of land, and professional fees to each person who was of approved knowledge and practice in his profession, exclusive of, and in addition to, the land due to him as a native Welshman. These professions were, bardism—mechanics—and study, or book-learning. Each of these had a right to five acres, in consideration of his profession, he being in character and practice of the one or the other, with the approbation of a learned teacher of the profession. There were three who, from being vassals or aliens, became *free-men*,—a bard, a mechanic, and a scholar, and had a right to five free acres; but although the individuals in right of their professions were free, their children were to return to their parents' original state, whether vassals or aliens. By the same laws, treating of the three orders of bardism, the chief bard is described as a bard of full privilege, who had acquired his degree and privilege of a bard

* P. 147. † A.D. 1584.

‡ Jones's Brecknockshire, vol. i. 109, 110. Meyrick's Cardiganshire, xii. xiv.

of session, by regular instruction of an approved teacher, whose office was to take cognizance of arts and sciences; and also to record such events as interested his country and nation,—as families, marriages, pedigrees, armorial bearings, divisions of land, and the rights of the Welsh territory or nation. One of the three branches of erudition, as to language, was the knowledge of book and letter, and reading and writing the Welsh language correctly, and keeping book memory of the three subjects of the records of the bards of Britain; namely, pedigrees of rank by marriage, descent of estates, and actions and information worthy of record. Also, one of the three things to prevent causes of error in the adjudication of property, is declared to be *the keeping of regular descent*, rank, and respectable marriages, and of the partitions of land, and the circumstances connected with them; and it is observed that it was particularly regulated and enjoined, as their duty, that the bards of session, privileged in degree, should keep record of descent, and rank, and of partition of land. And one of the three duties incumbent on the learned men, who were the instructors of the tribe, was to preserve a faithful record of privileges, duties, kindred, pedigrees according to reputable marriages, of honourable deeds, and every thing of superior excellence of country or clan done in court, civil or religious, in peace or war.*

The great care and attention which the Welsh paid to their pedigrees, and the honours and rewards bestowed on those whose office it was to preserve them, imply that no small importance was attached to them, and that they were deemed of considerable use. And although some of the objects which they had in view in registering them have been already incidentally noticed, yet, as the proposed object of the essay particularly refers to their "use and importance in former times" it seems appropriate that they be more distinctly mentioned and discussed.

And, first, it may be observed, that as the Jews were anxious for the preservation of their pedigrees, all their landed property, however alienated, being to return to the heirs of the original proprietors every fiftieth, or jubilee year;† so the Welsh were influenced by circumstances of a similar kind, as considerable privileges were attached to, and might be legally claimed by, such as could trace their descent of British extraction through a certain number of generations. And it has been observed that genealogies were preserved as a matter of necessity, under the ancient British constitution. A man's pedigree was to him of the first importance, as thereby he was enabled to ascertain and prove his birthright, and claim the privileges which the law attached to it. Every one was obliged to show his descent through nine generations, in order to be acknowledged a free native, by which right he claimed his portion of land in the community. He was also affected with respect to legal process in his collateral affinities through nine degrees,

* Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society, vol. i. pp. 106, 112—115, 121, 137.
† Levit. xxv. 11—16, and Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, b. iii. c. 10.

("*ir nawved aeh*") for instance, every murder committed had a fine levied on the relations of the murderer, divided into *nine* degrees; his brother paying the greatest, and the *ninth* in relationship the least. The fine thus levied was in the same proportion distributed among the relatives of the victim. A person beyond the *ninth* descent formed a new family; every family was represented by its elder, and these elders from every family were delegates to the national council.*

The more particular causes "why genealogies should be preserved and recorded" among the Welsh, have, in the title page of an old book of pedigrees, been specified to be the following *five*, viz.—

1. To ascertain legal marriages.
2. To certify the right of property in land and earth.
3. To judge of the qualifications of jurymen; as the three motives to perjury are, partiality towards relatives—bribery—and fear of retaliation.
4. On account of hatred and manslaughter.
5. On account of right to armorial bearings; for, if a man goes to serve his prince, and wishes to bear arms according to his rank, it would be degrading to him to apply to the herald for arms suitable to his dignity, whilst he is possessed of family arms of his own,—for this would imply that he is a recent sprout.†

The foregoing causes clearly prove the use and importance of pedigrees to the Welsh in former times; and, although the original necessity for their preservation has been long since done away, yet they sufficiently account for our ancestors displaying them with no small enthusiasm, and repeating them with considerable pleasure.‡

As the Triadical Laws of *Dyvnwal*, already referred to, make frequent mention of pedigrees, and are the legal documents on which the importance attached to them was founded, it is deemed that such importance cannot be better shown than by referring to these documents themselves, which declare the necessity there was for the preservation of the degrees of descent as far as the *ninth* generation, both by free-born Welshmen to retain their privileges of birth, and by foreigners and their descendants to obtain similar privileges, when they had been resident a sufficient number of generations to claim them.

They declare that every Welshman, by birth, had *three* native rights:—1st. The cultivation and tenure of five free acres of land

* Meyrick's Hist. of Cardiganshire, xvi. 67.

† "Llyma y pum achos sydd i gadw achau.
1. O blaid priodasau teilwng.
2. O blaid etifeddiaethau tir a daiar.
3. O achos—o achos tri pheth a bair tyngu anudon, Cariad—Gwerth—ac Ofn.
4. O blaid cas a galanasdra.
5. O blaid arvau: canys od â gwr yn rhaid y brenin, a chael gradd val y perthyn iddo ddwyn arvau; govyn arvau ir hores nid yw gymmhesur i voneddig, os bydd arvau iddo ev ei hun. A hymy vyddai cydnabod nad oea bonedd iddo yn ei wlad."—*Llyvr Achau Treveilir yn Mon.*

‡ Cambro Briton, vol. iii. p. 484.

in his own right as a native Welshman; and the offspring of a sojourner or foreigner in the fourth degree of worthy marriage, that is to say, the great grandson was included. 2d. The use of defensive arms and armorial bearings, if a Welshman of undisputed and honourable descent, but not otherwise. 3d. And the right of voting under the protection of the chief of the tribe; which a male attained when he had a beard, and a female when she married. They also state that vassals were of three descriptions, neither of which attained the rank and privilege of a native Welshman until the *ninth* generation:—1st. A reputed son, that is, a son denied in a lawful manner by his father, or by injunction of law, because he was not born in regular wedlock, or, moreover, was born contrary to the law, and privilege of country and tribe. 2d. A man who forfeited his patrimony by decree of law, as a penalty of misdemeanour, or criminal conduct, which deserved it. 3d. A stranger or foreigner who fixed his residence in Wales. The reasons for the regulation are mentioned to be,—1st. To prevent treachery from foreigners and their offspring. 2d. To prevent foreigners from obtaining possession of the lands of native Welshmen. And, 3d, To prevent celibacy, and the irregular and illegal propagation of offspring by fornication and adultery. Hence, mercenary foreigners and their offspring, a disowned reputed son and his offspring, were held to be in the same predicament to the *ninth* generation; and every foreigner and vassal was to be under the oath and pledge of the lord of the district, and his lord proprietary. That is to say, the lord proprietary was to take the vassal under his protection, and give him land in his vassalage; and a stranger was to be subject to his will until he obtained the privilege of a native Welshman, in the fourth degree of his offspring, by worthy marriage with Welshwomen by descent. The son of a grandson of a foreigner would gain the freedom of a native Welshman, provided his father, grandfather, great grandfather, and the original foreigner, had each of them married a native Welshwoman. These intermarriages, duly performed, would reduce the term of the foreigner's vassalage from *nine* generations to four. The freedman would take possession of his land, that is, his tenure of five acres, his professional rewards, and every other privilege common to a free-born Briton; and still more, all the freedman's ancestors, as many as would be then alive, would be emancipated in his right.

One of the three kinds of national professions of the Welsh people, was family employments; and it was the duty of the chief of the tribe to oblige the chiefs of family to see that the latter were taught to all the family to the *ninth* degree of relationship. The three employments of a gentleman were arms, horsemanship, and hunting; neither of which were permitted to any but a Welshman by descent: and the three original rights of every Briton, by descent, were,—1st. A freehold possession, without restriction, of five acres of land. 2d. A right of determining the constitutional law of the country, under protection and in right of the chief of his clan. 3d. A right of going whither he would, without loss of

privilege, unless when in actual service of his country, or of a court of law.*

The three crimes that caused the son of a criminal person to forfeit his inheritance, and fall into the caste and unprivileged state of an alien to the *ninth* generation, or till, by a *fourth* man, he could obtain seizin by respectable marriages as before related,—were killing the chief of his tribe, killing his proprietary lord, and killing his representative.

It was an indispensable requisite to a voter, that he be a Welshman by descent, without default, total or partial, in his pedigree; to a chief of a tribe, that he be the eldest of those who have had the use of his natural powers in his tribe to the ninth degree of relationship; and to a family representative, that he be a Welshman by descent, with perfect natural powers.

One of the three appropriations of land was by priority of verdict; that is to say, by the first verdict in a court being given in favour of the proprietor of the land, he being a Welshman by regular descent; and that proof thereof could be shown as far as the recurring terms of ancestry. The ancestry of a man was stated to be his father, grandfather, great grandfather, and so on to the *ninth* degree; and these were, by a common name, called *gerni*.†

By the laws of *Howel Dda*, which were somewhat different from the Triadical Laws of Dyfnwal, whoever wished to claim land by pedigree and tribe, was to show his pedigree to the stock from whence he traced it, and if he was the *fourth* in lineal descent, he was the hereditary proprietor. If a man resided abroad, he could retain his title until the ninth descent, whatever time he might come to claim his property; however, if the *ninth* claimed the estate, the title was lost. The king's vassals, who were placed on the king's waste lands, became proprietors in the fourth of their lineal descendants; and the vassals of freeholders became hereditary proprietors in the fourth generation, provided they had occupied their lands all the time.‡

The fine for murder was on the family of the murderer, in the following proportions; one-third fell on the murderer, and his father and mother if living; of which two parts were to be paid by the criminal, and the third by his parents; of which third the father was to pay two parts, and the mother one. If the murderer had children, and they of age, the son was to pay two-pence, and the daughter one penny, and he was to pay as much as they both. Of the two parts imposed on his family, one-third of it was charged on his mother's family, and the two parts on that of his father. The murder-fine could not be levied further than the seventh degree of relationship.

In the Triadical Commentaries, annexed to the Laws of *Howel*, is given the outline of a pedigree, from which a person was enabled

* Transactions of the Cymmrodorion, vol. i. p. 110–117.
† Transactions of the Cymmrodorion, vol. i. p. 117, 143.
‡ Robert's Laws of Cambria, p. 180.

to know the distinction and signification of his "ancestors, his heirs, and his children." A person's *ancestors* were his father, grandfather, and great grandfather; his *co-heirs* were his brother, and his first and second cousins; and his *heirs* were those who proceeded from his own body, as his son, grandson, and great grandson. If a person studied this scale of pedigree, and one died who was included therein, such a person knew who was to possess the land of the defunct according to law; for, unto the third degree of the pedigree, one could claim a share of the land in the court of the Comot, or of the *Cantrev*. Beyond this degree there could be no appropriate share of land whilst there were heirs; therefore, any claim by pedigree and stock, from the third degree outwards, was to be submitted to the decision of the sovereign court, which was called the highest court of appeal. If a proprietor suffered a non-proprietor to hold land against him through three degrees of his ancestors, such proprietor was not to be listened to, because the matter was for ever settled. But, if the proprietor were in another country, for lawful causes, and did not return until the ninth generation in his lineal descendant, his claim was to be attended to as before mentioned.*

As, therefore, the descent of property and the various privileges, which are stated with great minuteness and often repeated in the ancient laws of Cambria, *altogether depended on the degree of relationship* which the claimant could produce, the importance which the Welsh, in former times, attached to their pedigrees is clearly accounted for. And, although the necessity of preserving the records of descent does not remain, as heretofore, in its full extent, yet surely the Welsh may, notwithstanding, be still permitted to repeat their pedigrees without derision; inasmuch as the study of genealogy has its utility, when the fame of their ancestors confers lustre on their descendants, and is an incentive to virtue and noble actions. It has been observed that the descent of posthumous fame is the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise; and whoever attempts to decry hereditary honours does a serious injury to society. People will not be disposed to look forward to futurity who never look back to their ancestors; if a pride is felt in contemplating their wisdom, their virtues, or their valour, no small inducement is effected to imitate their examples; and the gratification will not be diminished when the hope is indulged that our good name will become the inheritance of our descendants.

Indeed, genealogies have been and are of no small importance, not only to one nation, or a few individuals, but all mankind have been and are particularly interested in the attention paid to this subject by the Jews. To them a promise was given that the sceptre was not to depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh came. This prophecy has been accomplished, and the pledge of truth then given has been redeemed by the appearance

* The scale of kindred is inserted in Transactions of the Cymmrodorion, vol. i. p. 319.—Ed.

of the promised Shiloh. The wisdom of the Creator has taken all necessary care and used all needful means to satisfy the minds of the unprejudiced, touching the certainty of Jesus of Nazareth being the promised Messiah. For these ends our Saviour's genealogy, carefully recorded in the sacred Scriptures, clearly evince him to be of the house and lineage of David. Every other valuable effect of genealogy must be subordinate to this; there are, however, several uses attending the registering of genealogical descent which might be mentioned, of considerable importance to individuals congregated into nations and communities for the preservation of their rights and privileges. The valuable records which the Welsh possess, in this respect, are of no small importance, as well towards clearing and illustrating history as in establishing the just disposition of property, and in supplying the deficiency of parish registers, which, until very lately, afforded the antiquary, the lawyer, and the historian but very trifling assistance. An instance happened, not many years ago, even in Wales, for want of proper attention having been paid to the subject, that many months elapsed, and above one thousand pounds were expended, before a claimant could establish his relationship of second cousin to a deceased intestate. They were not such imperfect parochial records that reclaimed a British peerage to lord Huntingdon, or reinstated the family of Dymock in the championship of England, nor conferred the Home-Lacy estates on Sir Edwin Francis Stanhope, Colonel Burr, and their coheirs; with respect to which last mentioned, it was once thought there would be a necessity of opening the burial-vaults of the family to search for inscriptions to prove the title of the claimants.

The antiquity of genealogical records and the necessity which existed, in former times, for preserving them having been already displayed at some length, it may not be altogether foreign to the subject to inquire whether they can be considered as affording any matter of real utility in the present day. If the study of genealogy could serve no higher purpose than merely to assist the professional herald in the proper emblazonment of arms, (though that has its use in preserving the gradations of our social scale,) it would lose much of the importance which historians and antiquaries attach to it. But it may be made apparent by a few instances which shall be adduced, that the knowledge of genealogies and family connexions can be brought with advantage to assist in throwing light upon some dark portions of our Welsh history, which, as they are narrated in our chronicles, are confused, and frequently inexplicable:—

1. The history of *Arthur*, as given by Geoffrey, of Monmouth, and the romances of the middle ages, is attended with such extraordinary circumstances, and his character so magnified beyond proper bearing and proportion, that some have even doubted the reality of his existence. By the historians, who have almost all drawn their materials from that source, he is stated to be of *Armorican* descent, the son of *Uthyr Pendragon;* and many extravagant things, inconsistent with his probable situation, are related of him.

On the other hand, *Arthur* is described, by our native bards, who

were his cotemporaries, as a brave and patriotic Briton, without any exaggeration of praise or appearance of fable. Thus he is also exhibited in the Triads, an authority highly estimated by those who have searched deeply into British antiquities.

Thus the historians and our native authorities are completely at variance with regard to Arthur. Now, what assistance can be derived from our genealogical records towards unravelling this maze of conflicting opinions? They seem to be conclusive as to the country and lineage of our British hero. They speak of him as the son of *Meirig ab Tewdrig*, prince of Siluria, the present counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecon, the brother of *Anna*, the wife of Llew ab Cynvarch, the uncle of *Medrod*, the traitor, and the twentieth, in regular descent, from Brân ab Llyr, the father of the celebrated Caractacus. "It is a curious circumstance, (saith the learned author of the Cambrian Biography,) tending to corroborate this statement, that in some copies of the Genealogies of the Saints, *Anna*, who was the sister of Arthur, is called 'the daughter of *Meirig ab Tewdrig*;' and, in another, she is said to have been the daughter of *Uthyr*." *Meirig ab Tewdrig*, therefore, and *Uthyr Pendragon* were identically the same person. *Uthyr* (wonderful, terrible, &c.) may have been an assumed epithet, for the purpose of rousing enthusiasm in his followers for the emergency, and *Pendragon*, the title of his office of *generalissimo* among the British princes. What further adds to the credibility of the account given in genealogical records of the lineage and country of Arthur is, that many Welsh families, in the present day, trace their pedigrees to *Urien Rheged*, *Llywarch Hen*, &c. cotemporaries and fellow-warriors of the British hero: and there are still to be found, in various parts of Wales, names of places and traditionary notices which point them out as their peculiar country and the undoubted scenes of their actions.

2. The history of *Rhys ab Tewdwr*, and the several combinations of conspiracy against him, among his countrymen, afford another instance where the study of genealogy will be found of much service.

On the disasters which befell the elder branch of the family of *Howel Dda*, *Bleddyn ab Cynvyn*, protected by the Saxon Harold, acquired a preponderance of power among the Welsh princes. *Cadwgan ab Bleddyn*, after the death of his father, on account of his descent from *Angharad*, the daughter of *Meredydd ab Owain*, who had some time before been prince of South Wales, (though not by a just title, that being in *Tewdwr*, his brother Einion's son,) had pretensions to the sceptre of Deheubarth. At this time, on the death of *Rhys ab Owain*, whose reign was short and troublesome, Rhys ab Tewdwr unexpectedly made his appearance, after a long absence from his native land, to put forward his claim to the right of his family. His character for courage and prudence stood high, and the justness of his title, as the eldest lineal descendant of *Howel Dda* being admitted, he was received as the legitimate prince of South Wales by the general voice of the people.

The sons of *Bleddyn ab Cynwyn*, although they could not withstand the torrent of public opinion at the time, were determined not to abide by it. They had strengthened themselves with family connexions on every side. *Trahaiarn ab Caradog*, who had assumed the sovereignty of Gwynedd, was their near relative,—their sister *Denys* was married to *Jestyn ab Gwrgant*, prince of Glamorgan,—and Cadwgan ab Bleddyn had attached to his interest a powerful family in Dyfed, by marrying *Elliw*, the sister of *Cadivor ab Collwyn*, lord of *Blaen Cuch* and *Elved*. We find, therefore, that, ere long, the sons of *Bleddyn* raised so sudden an insurrection against *Rhys* ab Tewdwr that, being unprepared to resist it, he was obliged to retire to Ireland for safety. He was enabled, however, through the kindness of *Sutric*, king of Dublin, who had married his sister *Nest*, to return with a force sufficient to recover his principality. *Rhys* met the sons of *Bleddyn*, and their adherents, shortly after his landing, at *Llechryd*, on the Teivi, where he completely defeated them, *Madog* and *Rhiryd* being slain in the action, and *Cadwgan* with difficulty escaping. Before he scarcely had time to rest, and enjoy the fruits of his victory, another insurrection burst out against the courageous veteran, by the means of *Llywelyn* and *Einion*, the brothers of Cadwgan's wife, their uncle, *Einion ab Collwyn*, and other friends of their family. Rhys was again victorious, and *Llywellyn* and his brother fell, whilst the elder Einion fled to *Jestyn ab Gwrgant*, a near connexion, by marriage, into the family of Bleddyn, and, consequently, the bitter enemy of *Rhys ab Tewdwr*. We need not follow *Einion* and *Jestyn* in their subsequent dastardly and unpatriotic conduct,—their calling in the Normans to assist them in crushing the venerable Rhys, and so sacrificing their country to their own personal revenge, is an historical fact too well known, and that which has ever stamped the character of the base actors with the blackest ignominy. If we consult the brief historical chronicles of those times, they supply us with a mere dry detail of a few leading facts, and seldom carry their inquiry to the spring and motive of actions; a knowledge of genealogy, however, and of the relationship existing between families, will lead us, as in the history just reviewed, to the probable reasons for some transactions of moment which, otherwise, would be clouded with obscurity.

One other instance may be adduced, and though it applies to a character not of public importance, yet it is interesting, so far as it shows the use of genealogical records in throwing light upon certain portions of national history. *Sir Roger Vaughan*, of Bredwardine, who married *Gwladus*, the daughter of *Sir David Gam*, is known to have been, as well as his father-in-law, a zealous partizan of the house of *Lancaster*. They both followed *Henry* the Fifth into the field of Agincourt, and there both lost their lives in bravely defending (as it is said) the person of the king. In the course of a few years, however, the family of this Sir Roger Vaughan became strong adherents of the house of *York:* his son of Tretower, who is supposed to have been present with his father at the battle of

Agincourt, receiving large grants from *Edward* the Fourth; and his grandson, of the same house, beheaded, by order of Jasper Tudor, for having retained Chepstow-Castle in favour of the Yorkists.

A reference to the pedigrees of the *Vaughans*, the *Games*, and the *Herberts* will at once account for this dereliction of family attachment. The aforenamed *Gwladus*, the daughter of Sir David Gam, the mother of Sir Roger Vaughan, of Tretower, married for her second husband Sir William Thomas, of *Rhaglan*, by whom she had William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the close friend and adherent of Edward the Fourth. In consequence of that connexion the houses of the Vaughans, the Games, and Pembroke became firmly united in political attachment, and moreover called one another cousins, to the ninth succeeding generation. Herbert exerted continually his interest at court to increase the property of his elder brother, Vaughan, by procuring him grants from the crown.

As genealogical records are useful in clearing some historical doubts, so history may return reciprocal aid in correcting misstatements which have crept unawares into some ancient pedigrees.

From the necessity which has been shown to exist, in ancient times, for preserving the true descent of families, and, consequently, the care taken by the *Arwydd-veirdd*, whose peculiar office it was to record them, it may be reasonably concluded that the numerous genealogical accounts now existing, being either copies or extracts from those drawn up in the first instance by the *Arwydd-veirdd*, possess, on the whole, considerable claims to authenticity. It is known that all the productions of the bards, historical as well as poetical, underwent a revision at the periodical meetings, called *Eisteddvodau;* and there is little doubt that, as long as those meetings were held under the auspices of the native princes, the records were, in a great measure, free from errors: adherence to truth, or "*Gwir yn erbyn y Byd*," being a cardinal maxim of the bardic order.

Now, however, several errors can be detected which, in the course of ages, have crept into our pedigree-books. Some of these discrepancies are ascribable to the carelessness of transcribers, and others to the mistakes of modern genealogists. There are instances of incorrectness found in them at times which render them inconsistent with true chronology; but those may be accounted for by supposing that some intermediate links are omitted which, indeed, by comparing different copies, is often proved to be the case. The circumstance of certain distinguished persons and heads of tribes bearing similar names, has caused confusion in some pedigrees.

Thus, *Gwaethvod*, of Powis, the ancestor of *Bleddyn ab Cynvyn*, and *Gwaethvod fawr*, of Porth y Fynnon, lord of Ceredigion, are taken by some genealogists for the same person, and even the sons of the one are, as it were, kidnapped and given to the other, in some manuscripts. But that they were two individuals, lords of different districts, and living at different periods, is evident from historical vouchers. *Bleddyn ab Cynvyn*, when he was killed by the chiefs of *Ystrad Tywi*, in the year 1072, was in the advance of

life, for his grandchildren, Grono and Llewelyn, were arrived at the state of manhood, having, in the following year (1073) attempted to avenge his death. *Bleddyn* was third in descent from *Gwaethvod*, of Powis, being the son of Cynvyn ab Gwerystan, ab *Gwaethvod*, *of Powis*. This Gwaethvod, on the common calculation of chronologers, must have flourished about the year 950. *Gwaethvod, of Ceredigion*, certainly lived a century later, for his son *Ednowain* was suffragan of Llan Badarn, near Aberystwyth, in the year 1188, when Giraldus Cambrensis visited that place with Archbishop Baldwin in preaching the crusades.

The interest with which the Welsh view the ancient mansions of their country, and many a neglected spot marked by few features to attract the attention of the passing stranger, is increased tenfold by a moderate knowledge of genealogy. It is from their genealogical records that the Welsh learn that the lofty sentiments and friendly panegyric on Cardinal Wolsey, which are supposed to have elicited Catharine's forgiveness to her greatest enemy, were really uttered by *Piers Gruffydd*, of Caeruys-hall, and not by Cromwell, to whom they are erroneously attributed in some of Shakspeare's plays. *Gruffydd* is represented by Shakspeare to have justly deserved the high and flattering eulogium paid him by the queen.

> "After my death I wish no other herald,
> No other speaker of my living actions,
> To keep mine honour from corruption,
> But such an honest chronicler as *Gruffydd*.
> Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,
> With thy religious truth and modesty,
> Now in his ashes—honour."*

Gruffydd was a domestic member of the royal court, and was, therefore, appropriately selected by Shakspeare to sustain his part in the dialogue with her majesty. The Welsh are thus enabled, by reference to their *MSS.* to restore the identical name chosen by the author of the original play, whence his less intelligent editor has displaced their countryman. And it affords the author of this essay much gratification in adducing another proof of the historical accuracy of the celebrated Bard of *Avon*.

By such records, and by traditional evidence, of which much remains among the mountaineers, the Welsh can tell who once occupied their ivy-mantled towers, their ancient manors, and such of their mansions as are desolate, and whose foundations are but faintly marked by detached and shapeless masses of stones and rubbish. To the unprejudiced antiquary and the travelled tourist such knowledge is always interesting, when good authority is annexed to the information; and on this point satisfactory evidence might be obtained were the scattered particles of genealogical knowledge, as subsisting in Wales, collected and arranged by men of talent and erudition, whose respectability of character and ability would inspire full confidence in their skill and fidelity. And

* Henry VII. act iv. scene 2.

it affords the author of this Essay no small pleasure to observe that the Cymmrodorion Society have been instrumental, by their liberal encouragement, to call the attention of their countrymen to this interesting, but hitherto neglected, subject.

CENINEN DY'GWYL DEWI.

APPENDIX.

Of the Heads of Families, from whom many trace their Descent, but were not included in the fifteen special Tribes.

THE five royal tribes were pretty equally divided among the several provinces of the Principality: 1. Gruffydd ab Cynan, in North Wales; 2. Rhys ab Tewdwr, in South Wales; 3. Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, in Powis; 4. Jestyn ab Gwrgant, in Gwent and Glamorgan; and, 5. Elystan Glodrydd, in the marches of England and Wales: but the fifteen tribes belonged exclusively to North Wales and that portion of Powis which lies north of the river Dee. However, many heads of families, apparently of equal rank, were excluded from the quindecimvirate, among which were the following:—

1. *Brochwel Ysgithrog*, a prince of Powis, in the latter part of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century. He is recorded to have commanded the British forces at the unfortunate battle of Chester, in consequence of which defeat the religious fraternity of the monastery of Bangor, on the Dee, were cruelly massacred by the unprincipled Ethelfrid, at the instigation, it is said, of Augustine, the Monk, the Apostle of the Saxons. Brochwel's descendants are numerous at this day.

2. *Rhirid Vlaidd*, or Ririd the *Wolf*, was sister's son to Meredydd ab Bleddyn, prince of Powis, about the middle of the twelfth century. He is honoured by some genealogists as the founder of the eleventh tribe, instead of *Nevyddhardd*, who, they say, was degraded for being accessary to the murder of the son of prince Owen Gwynedd, whose name was Idwal, ab Cwm Idwal in Snowdon. Rhirid is represented as being lord of Penllyn, Edeyrnion, Pennant, Melangell, the township of Bryn, and to which is added the titular barony of the *Eleven-Towns*, in Shropshire.

3. The descendants of *Tudor Trevor* are denominated "the tribe of the marches," *(Llwyth y Mers)*, and they maintain their stations to this day in the counties of Flint and Denbigh. He lived in the former part of the 13th century. In right of his mother, Rhieingar, he succeeded to the titles and estates of Caradog Vreichvras, the second of that name, which were chiefly within the present counties of Hereford and Brecon. His father, Ynyr ab Cadvarch's estate

lay upon the marches of Shropshire and Denbighshire, where his descendants are still numerous. Some genealogists have placed him among the fifteen tribes instead of *Maelog Grwm*.

Many more might be enumerated, who claim similar descent; but most of them are branches from royal and noble stocks already named, or from collateral ones uniting in some remote stem.* As all the tribes of the earth centre in the patriarch Noah, so all the tribes of Wales, with perhaps a very few exceptions, unite, if not in *Cunedda Wledig*, in the fourth century, yet in his ancestor, *Beli ab Manogan*, the father of the celebrated *Cassivelaun*, seventy or eighty years antecedent to the Christian era. It is observable that four, if not the *five* royal tribes, and the *fifteen*, without exception, have their pedigrees traced up to this monarch. In him all subjects of note, of Cambrian extraction, meet their princes.

2. *Penteuluoedd Deheubarth; or Founders of Tribes in South Wales.*

1. *Urien*, prince of *Rheged*, in the north of England, in the latter part of the fifth century. His victory over the torch-bearing *Ida*, king of the Northumbrian Angles, on the field of *Argoed* Llwyvain, is celebrated by his domestic bard, Taliesin. Deserted by fortune in the North, he sought retirement in South Wales, where he had the districts of Cydweli, Carnwyllon, and Is-Cennin, situate between the Swansea and Carmarthen rivers, allotted to him by the reigning prince. Several families of the present day trace their descent from him.

2. *Brychan*, son of Aulach, son of Cormac, one of the supreme kings of Ireland, by Marchell, daughter of Tudyr, prince of Garthmadthrin, whom he succeeded about the year 400, and from him the name of the district was changed to Brycheiniog, now Brecknock.

3. *Ithel*, king of Gwent, descended from Caradog ab Jestyn ab Gwrgant, and slain by the men of Brecknock.

4. *Gwaethvod vawr*, lord of Ceredigion, by Morvydd, daughter of Meurig, king of Gwent, had numerous issue, viz. 1. Cadivor ior Ceredigion; 2. Cynan, arglwydd Tagana; 3. Rhydderch, argl. Gwinvai; 4. Æddan, argl. Grismwnt; 5. Gwyn, argl. Castell Gwyn; 6. Bach, argl. Ysgynvraith; 7. Cyndryd, argl. Sangenydd; 8. Cynnillin, argl. y Cwm; 9. Ednowain, esgob Llanbadarn; 10. Cristian, Abades Tal y Llychau.

5. *Gwynvardd Dyved*, ab Argoel Lawhir, great grandson of *Liwn hen*, Tywysog Prydain. He was the father of Cuhelyn vardd, who flourished in the eighth century. Many families trace their descent from him. Some genealogists will have *Gwynvardd* to be the son

* Such as the following:—Gwyddoro Garanhir, Cadrod Calchvynydd, Mael Maelienydd, Rhys ab Marchan, Cowryd ab Cadvan, Llywarch Howlbwrch, Jorwerth hirvlawdd, Ednyved Vychan, Helig ab Glanog, Llywelyn aur dorchog, Ithel velyn o Ial, Idnerth Benvras, Sandde hardd, Einion ab Seisyllt, Madog Gloddaith, Owain Brogyntyn, Celynin, Cynvyn hirdrev, &c.

of *Pwyll pendevig Dyved*, a name well adapted for a romantic tale.

6. *Cadivor vawr*, lord of Blaen Cuch.

7. *Cadivor ab Dynawal*, lord of Castell Howel, son-in-law of Rhys ab Tewdwr, and descended from Tudwal Gloff ab Rodri mawr.

8. *Sir Arawn ab Bledri*, ab Cadivor fawr, lord of Gwydigada and Elved, in Carmarthenshire. Arawn was a knight of the Sepulchre, an order of knighthood which began in Palestine in the year 1092.

9. *Aleth*, regulus of Dyved.

10. *Meirig*, king of Dyved.

11. *Meirig*, king of Gwent, father-in-law of Gwaethvod vawr.

12. *Morydd*, regulus of Ceredigion in the ninth century.

13. *Llywelyn ab Gwrgant*, king of Dyved in the twelth century.

14. *Cadwallon ab Madog ab Idnerth*, of Maelienydd, about the year 1160.

15. *Meirig Goch*, lord of Caio and Cil y Cwm.

16. *Gronw Goch*, lord of Llangathen.

17. *Gruffydd ab Llywelyn voethus*, lord of Llangathen.

18. *Davydd vongam*, descended from Tegwas velyn, lord of Hwlfordd.

19. *Rhys ab Llywelyn*, of Llystun, in Cemmaes, descended from Gwynvardd Dyved.

20. *Gruffydd*, lord of Llansadwrn.

21. *Howel*, of Llandingad.

22. *Cadwgan* Grach o Garrog.

23. *Einion Sais*, ancestor of Sir David Gam, &c.

24. *Hywel Melyn*, of Elved.

25. *Llywelyn Dalran*, descendant of Ednowain ab Bradwen, the 15th tribe of North Wales.

26. *Llywelyn ab Gwilym*, Vychan of Emlyn, descended from Ednyved Vychan, and so on to *Marchudd*, the sixth tribe of North Wales. He was possessed of Emlyn and Cryngæ, in Pembrokeshire, and Dol Goch, on the opposite side of the *Teivi*, in Cardiganshire. He was the patron as well as the uncle, by the mother's side, of the celebrated Davydd ab Gwilym, stiled the Ovid of Wales, in the 14th century. *Llywelyn* fell by the hand of an assassin, and the catastrophe is pathetically lamented by his favourite bard, in a long elegy he wrote upon the melancholy occasion.

> "Llaw olchwawg varchawg *Llewelyn*—vo'th las
> I'th lys deg yn *Emlyn*!—
> Llai yw'r dysg, medd llawer dyn,
> Llwvr o'th ol llyvr a thelyn."
> See a *Collection of D. ab Gwilym's Poems, No.* 232.

27. *Bleddyn ab Maenyrch*, lord of Brecknock, descendant of Brychan, as well as of Caradog Vreichvras. He was the last of the British race who exercised royalty within the territory of Brycheiniog, for he was dispossessed of it by Bernard Newmarch, slain in the

attempt to defend his own property, and buried in the abbey of Ystrad Flur, founded by his brother-in-law, Rhys ab Tewdwr.

28. *Moreiddig Warwyn*, son of Idio Wyllt, and cousin of Bleddyn ab Maenyrch, married Catharine, widow of Thomas, lord Lacy, of the Golden Vale, in Herefordshire.

29. *Idio Wyllt*, or Idio the Wild, said to have been the son of an Earl of Desmond, in Ireland, by Nest, sister of Rhys ab Tewdwr. He followed the fortunes of that fugitive when he returned from that island, to recover the Principality of South Wales. His uncle rewarded him with the lordship of Llywel, for his services in checking the progress of Bernard Newmarch. To strengthen himself in his new possessions, he married Elen, daughter of Drumbenog, and niece of Bleddyn ab Maenyrch, lord of Cantrevselyv.

30. *Gruffydd Gwyr*, or Griffith of Gower, had possessions in that isolated part of Glamorgan, and many families in that district continue at this day to bear the arms of Gruffydd's great-grandfather, Bleddyn ab Maenyrch, viz. sable, a cheveron between three spears' heads argent, their points imbued with blood proper.

31. *Caradog ab Gwilym*, lord of Tal y llyn.

32. *Rhys Goch*, of Ystrad Yw.

33. *Seisyllt ab Dyvnwal*, married Gwladus, sister of Lord Rhys, of South Wales. He, with Jeva ab Seisyllt, ab Rhirid, of Gwent Uwchcoed, seized Abergavenny in the year 1172.

34. *Trahaiarn Vychan*, lord of Llangors, assassinated by William de Breos.

35. Jorwerth ab Owain, ab Caradog, ab Gruffydd, of Caerllion, dispossessed of his territory by Henry II. on his passage through Wales to Ireland in the year 1172.

36. Caradog, Madog, Howel, and Rhys, sons of the infatuated Jestyn ab Gwrgant, had each a portion (rhan y gwas o gig yr iar) of what had been once the undivided royalty of their ancestors, when Robert Fitzhamon made a division of that fine country among his own knights of fortune and the British chieftains who had assisted him in the subjugation of their own country. These sons of Jestyn, together with Einion ab Collwyn, Robert ab Seisyllt, and Ivor ab Cadivor, or Ivor bach, had each their allotments, and each of them are respectively considered as *penaethiaid teuluoedd* among their descendants.

37. *Rhys ab Meredydd*, lord of Towyn, about the year 1450; his hospitality in thus catachretically described by his favourite bard, Davydd Nanmor:—

* * * * *

" Pe bai gan mil yn ddilys
O erydr rhiv ar dir *Rhys*;
A thri chan' gwinllan a gwin,
Ac yn malu gan' melin—
Pe bai'r ddaiar yn vara,
Neu vlas dwr yâl *Osai* da,
Yn ei wledd rhyvedd barhâu
Dwr a daiar dri diâ 1."

* * * * *

INQUIRIES

FOR

ULTIMATE ETYMOLOGY AND THE PRIMITIVE LANGUAGE.

By Dr. J. MORGAN.

1. What language, of those come to us, has the best claims to be considered the most ancient, or the primitive one, is an interesting question, and one that has never been philosophically considered.

I would presume to open this discussion with assuming, as a rule, what appear to be two dictates of common sense, as well as philosophic aphorisms, namely, that the language which has most affinity to others in general, has the best claim to be considered the primitive one; and that, secondly, if there be one of unknown date and origin, that is decidedly more closely related to other languages in general than any other is; its claims to be considered the primitive one are equally decided. I have of late years glanced at the languages of Europe in general, as well as at the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit, &c. and found that the Cornish, now almost extinct, was Welsh, not much corrupted; that the Armoric of France, now spoken by five millions of people, is a dialect of the Welsh; and so are the Walloon and Wendi; and the Irish, in both Ireland and Scotland, are dialects of the Welsh; and the affinity between the Welsh and Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Chinese, and ancient Teuton is striking; and the language spoken in England, from the arrival of the Saxons to the Norman conquest, had many Welsh words in it, which are either omitted or obscured in the present English; and we who understand both languages see that much of the present English is directly or indirectly from the Welsh. Take for example Luke, i. 7, as it was before the Norman conquest, and hy naerdon nan bearn, in present Welsh *ac uddunt nud oedd blant*; for them the Elizabeth waes imberende, *canys yr Elizabeth oedd an peraidd*;* and hy on hyra dazum butu

* *Peri*, to cause, with the negative *an* prefixed, as the radical of berendi is.

ford oedun, *a hwy yn hwyra ddyddiau* . . . . *fawr oedrum ; fawr oedum* is not only Welsh but the adjective is correctly inflected; see the *Latona*. The whole verse, therefore, demonstrates that the language of England, about the ninth century, was a jargon of barbarised Welsh, not intelligible to the present English nor Saxons. In fact, the whole chapter, to be found in Johnson's Preface to his Dictionary, abounds with Welsh words, but wonderfully barbarised, which proves that the Britons were not subjugated by the Saxons, but divided, and the traitorous natives united with the Saxons; and hence the Anglo-Saxon language of Bede. Facts so totally unknown in the world, that we see nothing is too improbable to be looked for; no, not that the proof is still extant that the Welsh, the language of the ancient Celts, is the mother language of those come to us. Hence we may freely investigate the subject: that the Armoric is but a dialect of the Welsh is ascertained and proved by the labours of the Celtic, now Royal Society of France. Much labour has been incurred to find out affinity between Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but with little success. The Greek and Latin have evident affinity, but the Hebrew has little to either; but the affinity between the Welsh and each of the three is evident and abundant. See Pezron and Dr. Pughe's "Outline of the Character of the Welsh." The affinity of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic has been examined and ascertained; but the affinity of the Sanskrit to the Welsh is incomparably greater than to any other language; and Dr. Johnson discovered that either the Teutons had borrowed words from the Latins, or the Latins from the Teutons, or both had them from a common original. See the words in the Preface to his large Dictionary, and they are notoriously Welsh, but barbarised. And many words are the same in Chinese and Welsh, *ciw*, chicken; *dyn*, man; *lle*, le, place, are examples. Many words are the same in Welsh and in the ancient Syriac; and the Polish and Russe have evident affinity to the Welsh. To conclude the remarks which I intended to suggest in this section, it is clear and evident, to those who examine and compare these languages, that much more affinity exists between the Welsh and each of them than between one another; between the language of the most secluded nation in the world and the rest, than between one another. But, as this affinity cannot be attributed to contiguity and national intercourse, how are we philosophically to account for it, without supposing the Welsh to be the mother language from which all the others are derived?

2. Which is the mother language whence others are derived? And what constitutes the best diagnosis or criterion of derivation from it?

I hold that the best criterion of derivation imaginable is that different languages in general should retain some peculiarity of a language of unknown date, as the mutation of Hebrew, Welsh, Irish, or Armoric, contained in the beginning of their words; or the augment of the Greek, Sanskrit, Welsh, or German, and that this is a conclusive proof which is the mother language of those come

to us; and the absence of all traces of the mutation of other languages will double that proof. Hence we must look for the peculiarities of some old language in others before we object or speak of ultimate etymology.

The Hebrew alternation of letters is chiefly in the verbs and in the future tense of them, for the prefixed נ (nun) to form the preterite of the (niphal) conjugation, and prefixed ה (he) to form hiphil and hophal, and the prefixed הת, (hith) to form the hithpahel conjugation, present additions which would enable us quickly to recognize any language from the Hebrew. The Welsh alternation of letters regularly obtain in the adjectives, nouns, pronouns, and verbs beginning with mutable letters, but not in other words; see p. 157. And the Welsh augment, *a*, &c. is preserved, in Hebrew, in the pihel and pual conjugation, as alamead, I will diligently learn, and alumad, I shall be diligently taught; but it is *e*, in Greek in the imperfect tense, first and second aorists and pluperfect tense, &c.

Here follow examples of the mutations of the Welsh:—*Câth, châth, gâth, nghâth.* From *cath*, cat, English and Irish; katz, Teutonic; katos, Greek; câtus, Latin. From chath, Welsh, comes chat, French. From gath, gata and gato, Spanish. The peculiar mutation of the Welsh is evident in these words, and, without the aid of that language, we could not see the identity of the name of the animal in the different languages. It was once denied, indeed, in debate, that *châth*, from which the French word chat comes; and that *gâth*, from which the Spanish words gata and gato come, were Welsh words, and, consequently, that *ci â châth*, dog and cat, and *ci neu gath*, dog or cat, are Welsh words! But, for such minds, argument is of no use.

Camell, Welsh, camello, in Spanish, camel, English, camelus, Latin, kamelos, Greek, chameau, French, and gamal, Hebrew, is a second similar example; for the French retain the first substitute of the Welsh, and the Hebrew the second. The Welsh word camyll identifies the animal.

Caru, to love, in English, mi agarais, I loved; hence, agape, love, in Greek, and mi a'u caraf hwy, I will love them; a and au are the augments to the Sanskrit, to make out the imperfect preterite tense, like the Welsh, the Welsh mutations of sounds are preserved in Irish, Armoric, &c.; it is not, therefore, a modern innovation, the perfect and pluperfect tenses and the second future of every verb are made out, in Welsh, with *wedi*, from *gwedi;* and so in German, but that *gwedi* is mutilated to *ge*, in German; and amabo and amabam, &c. in Latin, are from *anwyl*, and *buo* and *byddof*, in Welsh; for what is amabam but *anwyl buo*, and amabo but *anwyl byddaf?* But the perfect and pluperfect tenses of the Latin are from wedi, amavi from *w* and *i* of the Welsh, added to anwyl, beloved; credidi takes the *d* and *i* from wedi, to form the perfect tense; these are Welsh peculiarities retained in different languages, but I know no Hebrew peculiarity retained by any language. Everybody knows that the Celtic, at first called Gomeri, preceded the Latin and other languages in Europe.

Cariad is a Welsh word that may serve further for an example: *cariad, chariad, gariad, ngheriad,* from *cariad,* caritas and carus, in Latin. From *chariad,* charitas, Latin; charité, French; charity, English. From gariad, gradh, charity, in Irish. Another example is furnished by the Welsh word *gwastraffu;* hence gwastare, in Italian, but *wastraffu,* in the infinitive mood of the Welsh; hence waste, in English; vastare, Latin, for the Romans had no w sound; a wastraffoedd preter-imperfect tense, in Welsh; hence awestan, in Saxon. We clearly see the identity of the languages by means of the Welsh in this word and their derivation from it. *Taran,* Welsh; hence tonitru, in Latin; tonerre, French; *tharan,* first substitute, in Welsh; hence, thunder, English; thunder and thunor, Saxon; *daran,* second substitute, in Welsh, and forming the accusative case; hence, dender, Dutch. Three, thick, thin, &c. are similar examples to the preceding one from tri, tew, teneu, as the words are in Welsh.

Every body knows, that understands Welsh, that *taran,* shock, or thunder, and all relative words, are Welsh, as *târ,* impulse; *taro,* strike; *tori,* break or tear; *tardd,* a break out; *tarddu,* to break out, or sprout. Es donnert, it thunders, German, from *adaronoedd,* it thundered, in Welsh.

Three is *tri,* in the nominative case, in Welsh, and hence tres, in Latin; trois, French; τρεις, in Greek; thri, in the first substitute, in Welsh, as *ei thri;* and hence three, in English, and thrice, Saxon; but *dri,* as *ei dri,* in the second substitute, in Welsh; and hence dry, Dutch, and drey, German.

Tew, w, radical, and tiw, Irish.

But, in the first substitute, *thew,* and hence thick, in English and Saxon; dew, in the second substitute; and hence densus, in Latin, and dick, in Dutch.

Teneu, thin, in the radical form, in Welsh, and tenuis, Latin, but theneu in the first substitute; and hence thin, in English and Saxon; deneu, in the second substitute, in Welsh; and hence dunn, in Dutch.

Scribo, Latin, and γραφω, Greek, I write, are of the same meaning; hence, is there any language from which both may have been derived? is an interesting question. Ysgcrifennu is the Welsh of it, and the identity of this and the Latin word scribo, and scribe, in English, is evident. And yscrifennu is from *ysgrafu,* scrape, grate, or scratch, and *pen,* head or end; hence *ysgryfennu* is to scrape with a pen, or an end; and *ysgrafu* is from crafu, in Welsh, but infinitive mood grafu, and hence grapho, in Greek. Here, then, we see the Welsh origin of the Latin and Greek. They were not formed one from another but separately from the Welsh; and the appearance is that γεγραφω is *gwedi grafu* of the Welsh, and this seems the origin of the syllabical augment of the Greek language in general, and of the *ge* to make the perfect, pluperfect, and second future tense in the modern German, which is not the language of the ancient Germans as much as it is the language of the ancient Teutons;—the Gauls of Cæsar and Diodorus, beyond the Rhine.

3. It is a matter of daily observation, that, in the end, and not in

the beginning, and generally in the vowels and not in the consonants, people, with partial knowledge of languages, corrupt words: hence derived languages must be generally the same as the mother in the first letter, and often so in the second and third, in words of synonymous meaning; therefore, if we find words the same in their beginning in different languages, in consequence of retaining the peculiar mutation of the Hebrew, Welsh, or Erse, though in a confused condition; or in consequence of retaining the Greek, Welsh, or Sanskrit augment, or the German "ge," as in the preceding examples, we certainly know they are derived from the language whose peculiarities they retain; and if that, or those peculiarities, constitute the identity of that language and others, and their affinity, one to another, the proof of that language's being the mother is doubled. Hence why do people not look at the synonymous words of different languages, in order to see whether their original identity and ultimate etymology are not still to be found in some old language?

The Welsh is undeniably the medium of identity between the languages, as showed in the preceding examples, and we look in vain for this identity in any thing but in the Welsh literal mutations, and it is equally vain to look for any traces of the peculiarities of any language among them but of the Welsh.

4. If we find the orthography of this language in others, and every letter sounded in it, while the use of some of the letters is unknown to other nations, this, it is evident, must be the orthography of the first. Hence we should look for the orthography of an old language in modern ones. Accordingly *fair* is so spelt in English and Welsh, and so pronounced in Welsh, but pronounced *fare* in English. The word is an integral part of the Welsh language, it must have originated before the use of money, when trade was carried on by bartering, for such is the meaning of the word in Welsh. *Cnoc* is so spelt and pronounced in Welsh, and it is spelt knock in English, but pronounced *noc*, here then is Welsh orthography, but the pronunciation corrupted. *Cnap* is so spelt and pronounced in Welsh, and it is spelt knap in English, but pronounced *nap*. *Gnoi*, the infinitive mood of *cnoi*, is naw of the English, but spelt *gnaw*. Pœnæ is so pronounced in Welsh and so spelt in Latin, but pronounced pene in Latin; here then is the orthography of the Welsh in different languages, which must be of Welsh origin. But I need not confine myself to solitary words in speaking of Welsh orthography in different languages, for what use is the LL in the beginning of words and elsewhere in them, in Spanish and French? the *hl* of the Saxons, *stl* of the Romans, *phth* of the Greeks, *tsl* of the Irish; letters that will not sound together without the interposition of vowels, and consequently must be designed to indicate the Welsh aspirate sound of *l*, as the meaning of words containing them show; they are, therefore, a kind of barbarous orthography that refer to the Welsh. The *hl* of the Saxons, and *ll* of the Spanish and French are indeed correct Welsh orthography, for the primitive letter stands for the primitive sounds,

and doubling that letter is the Cadmean plan to indicate the relative sonorous sound; but adding *h* to it is the Latin plan, and erasing the dogash is the plan in the use of the Hebrew characters, but making some addition to the primitive letter is the means employed in some old British characters to indicate the relative aspirate, because more easily done on a wand than any other. What is the *dh* of the Danes and *th* of the Saxons, and indeed of all the Gothic dialects, and the *ch* of the English, French, and Latin, but Welsh orthography, and the proper use of which is now unknown to the continental nations? The Spaniards and French now pronounce one *l* as *i*; a consonant as a vowel! the English pronounce *c* and *ch* alike! and the French *ch* as *sh*! It should be known to all that the primitive simple sound always makes the radical in Welsh, and its relative sonorous sound the first substitute, the *l* excepted, as the ancient Saxon orthography shows; and I address myself to no person who is ignorant of these facts.

5. If words common to a language of unknown date and origin, and to modern languages, be compounded of more simple words in that, but not so in these, this is a conclusive proof of the priority of that and of the derivation of these from it. Hence, if we wish to learn any thing of etymology and derivation we must ascertain whether words which are common to different languages are compounded of more simple ones in any of them. *Carcer* in Latin and among outlandish people in Wales, but properly *carcher* from *car*, and cheryd, strong wall, correction; traduce English, traduco Latin, *traddygu* Welsh, or *traddycu* as in South Wales, from traed feet and dygyd bring; to bring under feet as the Welsh words signify. *Buystfil* Welsh, beast English, beste French, and bestia Latin, are evidently the same word, for they are used in the same sense; *bwystfil* is, however, from *bwyta* and *fil* in Welsh, and is in English eater of thousands. Apollon, father of all extent in Welsh, from ap father in Welsh, ab in Hebrew, abba in Syriac; *oll*, all, in English, *on* extending out or extent. *Sirion* and *Elion* in the books of Moses, solace of the first cause and the omniscient first cause; Pythius the eternal, another name of Apollo, from *pyth* eternal in Welsh: Cynthius the First, another name of Apollo, from *Cyntaf* First, in Welsh, as the orthography of the word shews. Jeios in Greek, the name of Jupiter, from the Welsh word *iau*, (related to Jôu the First Cause, Jôr the Eternal, Jôd ever,) yau is related to iasu pervading; ias, pervading substance, all Welsh words; but iau is iou of South Wales, hence jovis of the Latins, dyddiou, dies jovis of the Latin, for the Creator put the universe in motion on the fourth day of the week, see Gen. i. 14—19, and *Pythagoras*. *Taceo* Latin, from taw, imperative mood of *tewi*, and *sôn tawson*, the synonymous word in Welsh.

6. If an old language contains sounds which people speaking the modern languages cannot utter, because not contained in theirs, we must admit these to be derived from that, and not the contrary,—because a part can be derived from a whole, and not a whole from a part. The Welsh language contains elementary sounds that are

not in other languages, as indicated by *ll*, *dd*, *ch*, *th*, *u*, *au*, *ugi*, *aw*, *yw*, *chw*; but other languages contain no elementary sound not to be found in Welsh, in unequivocal orthography. The Welsh, therefore, is a whole of the sounds that constitute human speech; but every other language wants some of them. Hence the Welsh cannot be derived from any of them, nor from any of its known and acknowledged dialects, as the Armoric, Wendish, Walloon, Biscian, &c. confessedly are; for none but the Welsh retain the asper sound of *l*, or possess a key for the Spanish and French *ll*, and for the Saxon *hl*, and the Armoric has admitted the hardened and vitiated sound of *s* into it, and the character *z* to express it, so foreign to the Cadmean and Latin alphabets, but the Irish has not. It would be silly to doubt that the Welsh is the mother of all the Cumean dialects, since it is ascertained that the Armoric is a dialect of the Welsh; and since it is not denied that the Armoric is the oldest language on the continent of Europe; and since it is ascertained that the ancient Teutonic was a dialect of the Welsh.

7. An erroneous hypothesis, however imbibed, may be known from a just conclusion in respect to any subject, as many of the facts occurring to the memory from time to time are found inconsistent with that, but harmonize to support this. They unite in a focus to support the truth, but not what is not so; for in support of the former, only accidental coincidences can occur, but the order of cause and effect concur in support of the latter. But as the memory will not retain a sufficient number of relative ideas, the aid of writing is necessary to accurate conclusions. Every acknowledged fact harmonizes with the supposition that the Welsh is the primitive language, but not with the supposition that any other is. The most ancient geographical names are Welsh; the principal terms in heathen mythology and in the books of Moses are Welsh; the different alphabets are Welsh analytic alphabets, and they teach the grammatical construction of the language, as those know who are acquainted with the alphabets and the Welsh inflections. Languages have every appearance of being derived from the Welsh, as we saw in the second aphorism, but the Welsh has no appearance of being derived from any existing language; and, confessedly, the Armoric is a dialect of the Welsh, but not of the Irish, and the Armoric is older than any language on the continent of Europe.

8. Testimony that is become a public record, in respect to property, rights, or facts, and that stands unrefuted and uncontradicted, is authority, and conclusive in support of any assertion or position, till that testimony be invalidated by a person who is not a party for nor against the position which the testimony was adduced to support, otherwise everything will be suspended between assertions and contradictions; but any modern accounts of ancient events, however well put together, any farther than supported by quotations from the ancients, is to be rejected and scouted: no language but that of the Britons was ever said by the ancients to be the natural language of a nation. Implication and rational inference, however, from acknowledged facts, are to be respected, and discarding their

consecutive bearing is a distinguishing mark of ignorance, or of the want of candour. Hence we must inquire whether the Romans and Greeks have not acknowledged the reception of customs of civil life, as well as their philosophy and theology, from the Celts; and these theirs from Britain: and whether all nations have not left it recorded that they were indebted to strangers (whose history is, perhaps, not come to us) for civlization, letters, and philosophy; and whether the marks of priority are to be found in favour of an old language, of unknown date, mentioned in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; and the marks of derivation in all others come to us. And if the affirmative be the case, and the oldest geographical terms, many names in heathen mythology, and many words in the books of Moses, be integral parts of this language, and the Hebrew, Cadmean, and Latin alphabets be analytic pictures of it, and the nation have an alphabet, confessedly their own, on the same principles, and containing the same scheme, I know not how to avoid the conclusion that this is the primitive language, especially if all facts harmonize to support this idea, and that be the testimony of a well-informed person of another country, among the ancients, long before the Christian æra.

According to accounts, the Greeks were civilised by the Titans, and, in some degree, before, by the Pelascians; the Egyptians by Thoth, and, a second time, by Apis; the Chaldeans, by Belus, or some stranger. Hecateus, of Abdera, kept by the Ptolemies, of Egypt, at their court, on account of his superior knowledge, left it recorded, and others, also, have done the same, according to Diodorus Siculus, that the Hyperboreans, in an island in the sea, over against Gaul, spoke their own natural language, and such a thing was never said of any other language. Plato said that the Hyperboreans had an alphabet of their own, very different from that of the Greeks. Cornutus, the Stoic, declared that the Greeks borrowed most of the names and attributes of their deities from the Celtic language; and we see, by looking at the words, that this declaration is true; nevertheless, some people assert the contrary. —See O'Halloran's History of Ireland and Enfield's History of Philosophy. "Philosophy," Aristotle tells us, "did not go from the Greeks to the Celts, but from the Celts to the Greeks." And Cæsar says that discipline (but philosophising in Diodorus Siculus) rose in Britain, and that the youths of the continent in the time of Cæsar, who wished fully to study it, still went thither for the purpose. See Dr. Enfield's Translation of Cæsar's Commentaries. "Claude Duret, Archiepiscopum Toletanum quendam, in eo opinione fuisse notat, quod alphabetum et consequenter etiam lingua Gothicum fuerit omnium prima, et literæ antiquissimæ, quas Deus ab exordio rerum Adamo, primo parenti nostro, dederit."—See Joh. Nicolai Finucii Marburgensis De Origine et Pueritia Latinæ Linguæ. But whether the Goths, perhaps the ancestors of the present Wendi, on the Elbe, in Germany, who still speak a dialect of the Welsh, were Welsh, or, in other words, Celts, shall be answered by Tacitus, who informs us that the Goths and Osi were

known, from their language, &c. to be Gauls and Pannonians: and Cæsar says, "Tertiam, qui ipsorum linguæ Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur." But the Armoric, confessedly, is a dialect of the Welsh, but, of course, was originally the Welsh itself. We, therefore, learn, not only by consecutive deduction but by implication, that, according to the Archbishop of Toledo, the Welsh alphabet was the first in the world, and, consequently, the Welsh language also, and that given to Adam. But on so important a point history is not satisfactory, hence facts must be examined, and that is the object of *Pythagoras*. Dr. Shaw, in his Preface to his Gaelic Dictionary, says, "the Gaelic is the language spoken before the deluge, and, probably, the language of Paradise." Now the fact is known that the Gaelic consists of Welsh, corrupted, and Irish, with some Scandinavian words, and that the Irish is a very old dialect of the Welsh, with many foreign words incorporated with it. Pythagoras says such assertions ought not to stand unnoticed, but that the facts which induce people to speak so should be sought for and brought to light,—and this he has done.

9. If we admit the Welsh to be the primitive language, and refer to the mutation of letters in it, we shall clearly see the original identity of all the languages come to us, and how the confounding of one, in respect to radicals and substitutes, rendered it impossible for the people, for years, to understand one another; and the manner in which that confusion might soon give rise to different languages, which agree with the Mosaic account. But by supposing any other language to be the primitive one, not only the appearance of original identity is lost but its existence becomes irreconcileable with facts; therefore the idea of the Welsh being the original language should not be rejected inconsiderately. The confounding of the common language, and the subsequent want of communication between the persons concerned, must have soon caused the building of the tower of Babel to cease, whether it was designed to reach to the sky, or to be an impregnable fortification for the support of despotic power, with its concomitant grandeur. But, certainly, Noah could not be concerned in this offensive undertaking, and, therefore, probably he, and a clan of followers, had not their language confounded; and these, afterwards might instruct and civilize the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, &c. and prevent the world from continuing in a barbarized and savage state. We see, by looking at *cat, chat, gata,* and at other examples, that the different languages are formed by confounding the Welsh radical and substitutional sounds as well as the identity of words in different languages; that either the different languages are formed from the Welsh, or that each Welsh word is derived from many of them, and the Welsh language, as a whole, from all of them; but could the Welsh nation, secluded from all others, in an island, as they were, come into contact with all others? And it would follow that many and not one original language was at first given mankind. But these preposterous suppositions would avail nothing, because Welsh words that begin with sounds, and, consequently, with

letters that are not mutable, as *n*, *r*, *s*, *ff*, *chw*, or *h*, and have preserved their identity in different languages, begin, in all of them, with the same letter. *Newydd*, new; novus, Lat.; no, Irish; neuf, Fr.; νεος, Gr.; nieuwen, Dutch. *Natur*, from nhad, father, in the ablative, and *ur* essential; from *natur*, nature, Eng. and Fr.; natur, Gallic; natura, Lat.; nadour, Irish; nature, German and Danish: father is, also, nahar and nothair, Ir.; nash, Russ.; nass, Polish. *Noeth*, naked; nacod, Sax.; nu and nue, Fr.; nudus, Lat. *Neu*, Welsh and Lat.; hence, neither, Eng.; and narther, Sax. *Nos*, night; niht, Sax.; nouts, Gothic; nox, Lat.; νυξ, Gr.; nia, Ir.; and nuit, Fr. *Nifer*, number; numbrer, Fr.; numero, Lat. *Nyddu*, spin; neo, Lat.; νηθω and νεω, Gr. *Na*, nor; ne, Lat. and Sax.; no, Eng.; neha, Irish. *Nacaol*, negative; negatif, Fr.; negatorius, Lat. *Nydwydd*, or *nodwydd*, needle; naedl, Sax.; snahut, Ir. *Nawr*, or *yn awr*, now; nu, Sax.; nunc, Lat.; νυν, Gr.; נָא, nau, Heb. *Neges*, errand, Eng.; negesu, Welsh; negotiate, negoicier, Fr.; negotiatis, Lat. *Nesaf*, nearest; *neshau*, approach, hence, nigh, Eng.; ner and nyh, Sax.; נגש, naugas, approach, Heb. *Na-fydd*, will not be, hence, never, Eng.; nefre, Sax. *Naw*, nine; nigan, Sax.; neun, German; novem, Lat.; neuf, Fr. *Nadd*, neat; net, Fr. *Naddu*, to trim. *Nyth*, nest, Eng. and Sax.; nidus, Lat.; νεττια, Gr.; nadh, Ir. *Nod*, notch; nocchie, Italian. These examples of identity of languages have been collected by drawing on the memory, in the morning, refreshed by sleep. Had I dictionaries I could have done more justice to the subject, if admissible, to enlarge; but, to avoid prolixity, I am compelled to omit similar examples, beginning with the other Welsh letters that are not mutable, and to resume the main subject. And,

10. I can form no idea how the language of mankind was confused at Babel, excepting in the inflections of words; as in the genders of adjectives, cases of nouns, and moods and tenses of verbs; for the present form of the termination of words in different languages seems to have been slowly formed, as different confused jargons acquired regularity and consistency. If such event happened as the confusing of human speech, (and I address myself to none that deny that,) and the Hebrew were the mother-language still remaining unconfused, the jargons of different nations formed from it must chiefly differ from it in those respects: or if the Welsh was the mother-language, the confused jargons formed from it must differ from it in a similar manner; and, therefore, chiefly in the mutable letters that form the inflections. Hence, we must not forget this idea in surveying languages in search of original identity, present affinity, and for a common mother-language; and while looking for marks of confusion, we should study to distinguish those from corruptions, mutilations, and new words, occasioned by the progress of society and the varieties of human life. In short, we must look for identity chiefly in the beginning of words, especially those that are not convertible in their beginning, and, consequently, begin with nonconvertible letters; but for marks of derivation in the confounding of radicals, and substitutes of the mutable sounds indicated by

the letters, and in one's being retained by one nation, but another by others, as the word cat retains the three first letters, or sounds, in English, Teutonic, Latin, and Greek, but the French retains the *ch* of the Welsh, and the Spanish the *g* of it: other similar examples are to be seen under the second aphorism. Mutilations and corruptions are often occasioned by the want of elementary sounds, as well as by national ignorance: *gwin*, nominative case in Welsh; *win*, accusative case; hence *win*, in Saxon, and in English 400 years ago, but now wine; but as no *w* exists in French, the word is *vin* in that language, and also in Dutch: *fin* in Irish. But there is no *v* neither in Greek; hence the word is *oinos* in that language. *Lord*, from the last syllable of *Arglwydd*, in Welsh, *i. e. ar* and *glwydd*, over and clan. *Earl*, from *Arlwydd*, Welsh, from *ar* and *llwyth*, over and tribe; *marquis*, from *marchwr*, Welsh, horseman. *Wind*, Eng. Saxon, and Dutch, ventus, Lat.; vent, Fr.; from *wynt*, accusative case in Welsh; *wither*, Eng. from *wywo*, infinitive mood of the same word in Welsh, but *gewitherod*, the synonymous word in Saxon, is from *gwywo*, the indicative mood in Welsh. *Wheat*, Eng.; *hweate*, Saxon; *weyde*, Dutch, from *wenith*, the accusative case of *gwenith*, in Welsh. *Wild*, Eng. Saxon, and Dutch, from *wyllt*, accusative case of *gwyllt*, in Welsh. *Watch*, Eng.; *waccan*, Sax.; *veiller*, Fr.; *vigilo*, Lat. are from *wilio*, infinitive mood in Welsh, but *guard* in Eng. *garder*, Fr. and *grugoreo*, Greek, are from the indicative mood of the same word in Welsh, which is *gwilio*. *Weed*, Eng.; *weed*, Sax. from *chwyn*, Welsh; the English, it is well known, cannot sound the *ch*.

11. If doubt exist in respect to a word, that is common to different languages, to which it first belonged, the doubt may generally be resolved by looking into a dictionary, as the word certainly will be found in most instances an integral part of one language, related in point of meaning to preceding and succeeding words in the context; and if a primitive, belonging to an early state of society; but it will be found a straggler in other languages, unconnected with preceding and succeeding words in dictionaries, and belonging to an advanced state of society: such are the dictates of common sense; we, therefore, expect facts to verify them.

Agora, forum, in Greek, for example, is *agorva*, in Welsh, from *agor* and *man*, open and place; we open the hand, the eye, the mouth, door or window, and state affairs. *Agorva*, then, is a word formed from the first actions of life, and therefore from the first thoughts that could occupy the human mind; but in the progress of society, a place to open public affairs becomes necessary, and is consequently called the opening place; the identity of *agorva*, Welsh, and *agora*, in Greek, is evident, but the Greeks could not say *agorva*, for they had not the *v* or *f* sound in their language, consequently, in adopting the Welsh word they dropt that sound; but if the Welsh adopted this word from the Grecians, no cause existed to produce any alteration in it: besides, consider this word of a Grecian origin, and it is a primitive, nevertheless it expresses an idea that could not exist in the primitive state of society, but in a very advanced one, consequently, no philosopher will admit this

word to be of a Grecian origin. Honey is *mel*, in Latin; *meli*, in Greek; *mel*, in Welsh; *mil*, in Gaelic; *miel*, in French;—sufficient proof of the original identity of the name among the different nations. The question, therefore, forced upon us is, which language is the prolific mother of the rest? There are perhaps twenty words in Latin, that have, at first view, the appearance of being formed from this word, but on looking further at them more than half of them are of Greek, or of some foreign origin. Look at Young's Latin-English Dictionary, or at any other. And there are in Greek twenty or thirty words beginning with *mel*. Let us look at them in a Lexicon, and it will be unnecessary to transcribe more than one or two here: μελαγκαιτης, nigram cæsariem habens, having black mane; μελαγγειος, qui nigram habet terram, from μελας, black, and γαια or γη, earth. See Schrivelius's Greek-Latin Lexicon, or any other. Not one of the words countenances the idea that *meli*, or *mel*, the name of honey, originated in the Greek language, but the contrary. No Greek word, standing for honey, brings to view a group of relative ideas, expressed by a group of kindred words, that possibly can lead to detect the meaning of the word standing isolated, without the aid of a dictionary; hence let us look into a Welsh-English Dictionary, and we shall find that *mel* is honey; *melus* and *melio*, sweet; *mela*, to gather honey; *dyn melyn*, yellow man; *menyu felen*, yellow woman; *melen*, a low term to designate a woman that has lost her fresh colour, tawny; *menun*, butter, in South Wales, being of a yellow colour; *melawd*, gathering of honey, or honey-harvest; *methigan*, or mead, meathe, a very agreeable beverage made of honey; *melynfaen*, brimstone; *melynwy*, yolk of an egg; *melysiaunu*, to dulcify; *melysio*, to sweeten; *melged*, tribute of honey; *melynell*, yellow hue; *melengu*, woad; *melin*, mill; *melyster*, sweetness; *mêr*, marrow; *merawl*, dropping, stilling; *mân*, fine; *manoli*, to make fine; *mawrhau*, to magnify: *manna*, sweet gum. These examples are sufficient to prove that it is a Welsh term, for it stands among kindred words; and that it was from the Welsh the Greeks, Latins, French, Irish, &c. got it, for the word and its kindred ones stand together in a Welsh dictionary, that is, for what is either sweet or yellow, or both, and their kindred ideas.* If we suppose that the word is originally Welsh, and that other nations have got it from that language, we only suppose that words

* Honey is yellow, sweet, fine, and soft or yielding, and it resembles marrow; and so, therefore, should the words that express these qualities and that object resemble one another; and the learned are more inclined to consider monosyllables primitive words than pollysyllables. *Mel*, the name of honey in Welsh, is a monosyllable, but in other languages it is longer: and yellow is *melyn*, sweet is *melis*, fine is *mân*, soft is *meddal*, marrow is *mêr*, and mead is *medd*. But the words that, in other languages, express honey, yellow, sweet, soft, and marrow, have no such affinity one to the other. The Welsh, therefore, only is a natural language in respect to these words, and in it alone the name of honey has the appearance of being primitive. The most notorious item in the character of the bee is its sting: it should, therefore, have a correspondent name in a natural language; accordingly, poison is *gwenwyn*; bees, *gwenyn*; hornet, *cacwnen*; sting, *conyn*; spider, *corryn*, &c. in Welsh; but there is no such affinities between the names in other languages. The Welsh, therefore, only appears to be a natural language.

are generally derived from the oldest language in Europe; for whoever denied that the Celts were the oldest people of this quarter of the globe? But suppose, on the contrary, that the word has been obtained from the Latin, and it will follow that the Britons had no words by which to express what was yellow, or sweet, when Cæsar invaded their island, and his career was checked by 4,000 chariots of war, although but a remnant of their forces, and yet a force never brought to a field of battle, since the fall of the empire of Babylon, the greatest power on earth in its day.

12. In speculating concerning the primitive language of mankind it seems most rational to suppose that it was of such a nature as would lead people to speak correctly without the aid of grammatical instruction, and not like English, German, Latin, Greek, &c. for few would venture to say that the first pair used language incorrectly, or that any person would express himself correctly without grammatical instruction in the learned or fashionable languages. Hence it is natural to ask, is there any language that possesses any peculiarity to lead people to speak it correctly, independently of grammatical instruction? One of my opposers lately said that "the literal mutations of the Welsh were altogether occasioned by the laws of euphony:" and it was natural for me to ask whether conformity to those laws was not speaking accurately, and deviating from them the contrary; and the reply was in the affirmative. The Welsh language, therefore, possesses a peculiarity that confessedly leads intelligent people to speak correctly without the aid of grammatical instruction. Such property must have wonderfully contributed to the perpetuity of the language, and it might of itself lead an unbiassed philosopher to inquire whether such a language had not a different origin from others now extant among mankind.

13. Besides, it seems reasonable to infer that the ideas first naturally occurring to a rational creature would be expressed by primitive and not by compounded words, and that it is for the purpose of expressing first ideas primitive words would be employed. Jau, Jon, Jor, the Divine motion, the First Cause, and the Eternal, of the Welsh language, appear to express primitive relative ideas belonging to the first thoughts of a rational creature, and to be primitive words. *Dyn*, man; *da*, good; *du*, black; *el*, intelligence; *enaid*, soul; *cor*, the centre; *corph*, body, &c. are additional examples of the same kind. And,

Allow the Welsh priority in respect to the Greek, and we must recollect that upon is, *ar*, in Welsh, and hence *arch*, over, which is the first syllable of thirty or forty words that are common to Welsh and Greek. But, if the Greek be supposed to be the first of the two, *ar*, is not upon, in Greek, and we cannot trace the meaning of arch, but are left entirely in the dark about it. Again, to avoid distracting the mind by too many examples, I resume *agora*, before considered. *Agora*, in Greek, and *agorva*, in Welsh, are synonymous terms, and the words evince identity of origin. And, if it be asked why not entirely the same, the person that supposes the Welsh to be the mother language, may at once reply that the Greeks could not sound the *v*, and therefore could not avoid cor-

rupting the word, if they obtained it from the Welsh; but the Welsh had no cause whatever to corrupt the Greek word. Besides, agora is a Greek primitive, if the language is not derived from the Welsh; and one of the last ideas in the progress of society is expressed by a primitive word. But allow the word to be of Welsh etymology, and all is consistent, for it is compounded of *agor*, open, the mouth, eyes, hand, door, public affairs and fan, place; agorva, hence, is merely a place where to open and discuss public affairs. Ought not such facts to induce us to assign priority to the Welsh, and not to the Greek?

Heddyw, or heddu, as the word is pronounced in South Wales, *i. e.* to-day; heute, German, and hodie and heri, Latin, clearly evince identity of origin; but heddu is from he, going, and dudd, day, as the word is pronounced, the going day, in Welsh; but we, in vain, try to dissect the German or Latin term. Besides, it is no more difficulty for the Welsh to say heute, hodie, or heri, than to say heddu; but the Germans cannot say heddu, nor could the Romans say so.

Χθες, echdoe, Welsh, yesterday, English; zistandaeg, Saxon; evince identity of origin. *Ech* and *doe* are two Welsh words, but the words are not susceptible of resolution in other languages; it is, therefore, Welsh; and the Germans cannot say *yddo*, but they can say *zistan*.

Carcer is a Latin primitive, if not derived from Welsh; but carcher, the synonymous word in Welsh is a compounded word, from careg, stone, and cerydd, correction, words that express first ideas of mankind; but carcer is a term that only can be used in a very advanced state of society, when crimes had prevailed for ages, and the humanity of mankind had got the victory over revenge; when, in fact, the punishment of wrong had been taken out of the hands of the injured, and given to the law, which must have been posterior to the formation of society, and of laws for its government: besides, the Welsh can say carcer, but the Romans could no more say carcher than the French or English can. Hence we must give up common sense, or hold that the Latin word carcer is derived from the Welsh synonymous word, which is carcher.

14. The affinity of the Welsh to the Sanskrit, Hebrew, Syriac, Latin, Greek, English, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Saxon, Dutch, Polish, Russian, Danish, Icelandic, and Swedish is brought to view in *Pythagoras*, not only in many words that have identity of origin but in grammatical construction, and the Armoric, Walloon, and Wendish are ascertained to be dialects of the Welsh; and the Irish and Erse retain abundant proofs of their Welsh origin in words, and are but dialects of the Welsh, in respect to inflections, and many words are the same in Chinese and in Welsh. The affinity is a vast deal greater between the Welsh and the other languages than between any other and the rest; either the Welsh, therefore, is formed from the whole of them, or the whole, at different periods, from the Welsh; either the Welsh is the common mother of languages, or it consists of batches from all. But when was the Welsh nation in contact with all other nations to receive so largely,

into their language, of their words? Which is most credible, that the most secluded and ancient people known, who were never injured by any foreign power, before Cæsar, should have preserved more, or the whole, of the primitive language, or that the language of the most secluded people in the world, as the Welsh certainly are, should, more largely than any other, receive words from all other languages known, especially when there is no peculiarity in any language that may not have been derived from the Welsh, according to appearances, while the whole of the tetrad section of the Welsh is peculiar to it, for its acknowledged dialects retain but a part of it? When the Hebrew, Cadmean, and Latin alphabets are three Welsh analytic alphabets; three pictures of the Welsh language, like its own analytic alphabet, but not so complete; nevertheless containing exactly the same scheme, and which scheme is the analysis of the Welsh, when the identity of the numerical adjectives of different languages is evident to the slightest inspection; while the Welsh contains three principles, but the other languages but two;* and when the principal theological terms of Moses and of heathen mythology, as well as the oldest philosophical and geographical terms are unaltered Welsh words, and when many of the languages that evince affinity to the Welsh are of recent formation?

15. A gentleman, who is a finished scholar, after reading the first and second part, and disputing various positions in the first, wrote thus on the last page of the third part with his pencil:—"Many of the derivations contained in this part of the work are certainly striking....They certainly indicate very strongly the common origin of the Welsh and other languages mentioned. Perhaps they may prove, too, that the Welsh partakes more largely of the original language than any of the others."

This concession has reminded me of the inquiry whether any Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or German word, contained in a dictionary of one of these languages, as belonging to it, and that is confessedly a compounded word that may be analysed, is also to be found in half a dozen others, or even in half the number, in the same manner as we find Welsh words. These examples of Welsh words are to be seen and examined by the hundreds in *Pythagoras;* and they show the Welsh to be the mother language and the others to be derived from it, while no such examples exist in favour of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Greek, Latin, or any other. If such proofs existed in favour of either of these, voluminous dissertations would have abounded on the subject, as these languages are objects of so much attention and study as they are at the schools and among the learned. And they certainly are justly so; but the claims of the language, which has so many appearances, as the Welsh has, to be considered the common mother of languages, are not less to our attention; and, no doubt, minds, more in love with truth than with the biases of education, will not rest satisfied till it is ascertained whether the Welsh is or is not, the mother language of others come to us.

* The facts to prove these positions are to be seen in *Pythagoras.*

16. It seems that the Welsh language is primitive, independent and philosophic in its construction Primitive, or original, and not borrowed from any other language. This opinion is well known and general, and is not, I believe, controverted. It is, therefore, unnecessary to insist upon it, for it is needless to urge or defend a position that is neither controverted nor denied.

The second position, that the Welsh language is independent, stands equally uncontroverted, for its inflexions are as much its own as its words are, and we know of no foreign word incorporated into the Welsh language; and its inflexions are very extraordinary compared with those of other languages. Consequently, no person can look at a noun declined in Irish, or Erse, without perceiving that it is a dialect of the Welsh, although a person might not at once be apprised of that by the sound of words. But that the Armoric of France is a dialect of the Welsh is immediately perceived by the sound of the words, without reference to the inflexions. The Welsh differs from every other language in many of its words and inflexions, and in having sounds which no other has; nevertheless, perhaps that every Welsh word and every Welsh inflexion might be found in more than in one language in the world, which prove the affinities of each language to the Welsh, while no affinity whatever appears between many of them in respect to each other. The Welsh, therefore, adopts neither foreign words nor foreign inflexions, but seems to be a whole, viewed as human speech, and a language totally independent of all others.

The philosophic construction of the Welsh is the third position under contemplation:—*agor*, open,—the hand, eyes, door; opening or expounding a subject; *ma*, but inflected *va*, where; hence agorva, but, in Greek, *αγορα*, a place in which to expound public affairs, forum. Va comes from *van*, and hence forum, in Latin. *Cath*, cat, from ca, fence, keep; a cat is like a fence to keep away mice and rats. *Ci*, dog, hold fast, a wharf, foolishly spelt quay, in English. Ci, plural cwn, hence *κυων*, Greek, and ydwr, *υδωρ*, Greek, both words, according to Plato, borrowed from the Phrygians; the Phrygians, therefore, were of Celtic origin. Llew, lion, in English and French, from llewa, to devour, in Welsh; *camyll*, male and female camel, from cam, crooked, and yll, parting (the hoof), gwenith (wheat), English and Saxon; weyde, Dutch; חטה, chitah; from gwen, white, and ith, grain, white, delicate corn; for, gwen, is the feminine gender. These words have been already considered in the work, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to explain here. See, also, Welsh, a natural Language, part iii. of *Pythagoras*, par. 11, 64, 69, 79. But I am not prepared to admit more than one language to be of philosophic formation, and that is the primitive language of mankind, the immediate gift or suggestion of God to man, while all others have arisen from Babel confusion and human blundering. The Welsh seems to be an original and independent language, and of a philosophic formation. I leave others to draw the natural inference, while I call the attention to what I name *the argumentative bearing of facts*. How are we to come at the truth without attention to this? It is a laborious business to ascertain which are acknowledged

facts as distinguished from straggling assertions. The truth of these must be ascertained before they can be safely employed to prove any position; but to overlook the argumentative bearing of facts not only leaves truth unascertained but betrays great weakness. *Pythagoras* contains many acknowledged historical facts and self-evident truths, and I am much deceived if they do not prove something very astonishing concerning the Welsh language. Let the lover of truth consider the argumentative bearing of the facts contained in the work.

17. There is one class of facts, if to be found, that would designate the mother language of those come to us; and that would conclusively identify it, independently of all other proofs; and that is finding the same person, or being, called by different appropriate names, in words of some language of unknown antiquity. This is a proposition in which, I presume, all will acquiesce that have a grammatical knowledge of three or four or of more languages. All inquirers, therefore, concerning the antiquity and priority of languages may safely abandon every opinion and prepossession in regard to etymology and derivation of languages, and commence their inquiries by seeking for such facts, and examine them; and I cannot see how we can err in our conclusions while so proceeding.

Jah, יה Jehovah, יהוה, Jaufawr, El, אל, Elion, אליון, and Sirion, שריון, Sir, Solace, jon, First Cause, are five Welsh words, two of them simple and three of them compounded; the first four are suitable names of the Deity, and they are so applied in the books of Moses and elsewhere in the Hebrew and Scriptures. The word *el* signifies spirit, or intelligence, and begins not less than fifty or sixty Welsh words. *El* is so interwoven with the Hebrew tongue that there would be no language without it. These words, therefore, place the priority of the Welsh to the Hebrew beyond dispute. Sirion was properly applied, by the Sydonians, as a geographical term. See Deut. iii. 8, 9. And chermon is, also, a Welsh word, the stony mountain; nesa, bara, eir, heber, &c.

Apollon, Pythius, Cynthius, Jeios, (ἴηιος,) are four significant Welsh words; they are applied to the same being, and correctly designate the Deity. The prior existence of the Welsh to the use of these terms is placed by them beyond dispute; and as there was no Greek nor Latin mythology, before the use of these words, the prior existence of the Welsh, to all heathen mythology, is conclusively proved.

Saturn, (Zafdusht of the Persians,) Tages, Titan, Taaut, Thoth, and Deucalion are all Welsh words. Saturn, Sadurn, in Welsh, (otherwise called Titan, and, in another pronunciation, Tages,) according to the voice of antiquity, first peopled Italy. The wife of Saturn is called Rhea, and the wife of Deucalion was called Pyrrha, two significant Welsh words, and peculiarly applicable to the wife of righteous Noah.* Idalia, now Italy, and Ansonia, are significant Welsh

* Cybele was another name of Rhea, Saturn's wife, and the Celts, called Gauls by the Romans, were her priests (See Tooke's Pantheon). Saturn, which

words properly applied; they are the first geographical names of Italy. Noah, therefore, first settled in Italy after the deluge, and the Welsh was his language. Besides, Noah, Seth, Cham, and japheth are four Welsh words, and so are the names in Hebrew: the first and last are compounded Welsh words, and all integral parts of the Welsh language;* it is only people that speak Welsh that can confer Welsh names. Welsh, therefore, was the language of Noah and of his family. Welsh names were rare among the Jews in the time of Moses and afterward, although all in Noah's family were Welsh ones; and, indeed, the names that preceded Moses, among Abraham's descendants, were little used afterwards among the Jews, but Hebrew names were common. What is the conclusion, but that the language of Noah was the Welsh?—the language of the Jews, from the time of Moses to the dispersion, was what we called Hebrew, but what is no where called so in the Bible?—and the language of Abraham and his descendants, till they went to Egypt, was another?

It may be proper to mention, that many of the views in the preceding essay may appear to the reader to stand isolated, and the conclusions not clearly consecutive, because detached from their original position in *Pythagoras*, and not accompanied with the diagnosis of priority and derivation. They are submitted, however, to the public as the results of many years investigations, and whatever new ideas they contain are advanced at the responsibility of the author, and not as emanating from the Cymmrodorion Society.

signifies strong fist, in Welsh, is often called Satunus: take away the Latin termination, and change the *t* to *d*, and Sadun remains; that is, strong man, in Welsh. Italy was strong before the Grecians were civilised. See Cronia, the forts of Saturn in Diodorus Siculus.

* נח, Noah, naachwn, complain thou not; but wn, the personal termination, is dropped. Seth, from *siomi*, shew; Cham, *Cam*, in the first substitute, crooked, perverse; japheth, from jau and *peth*, some motion or enterprise; names prophetically given of the posterities of the three sons.

OWAIN GLYNDWR.

AN HISTORICAL POEM.

By Mr. ROBERT DAVIES, of Nant Glyn.

PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY IN 1826.

Rhy anhawdd unrhyw enyd
Ochelu bawb chwyl eu byd.
  Ar ol rhyfelfawr helynt
A mawr gas i'r Cymmry gynt
Gan alltudion blinion blaid
Hyfion ar ein Henafiaid;
Gwnaent arfer pob blinder blwng
Yn wae drist i'n darostwng;
Broriad en triniad a'u tra'
Fythol oedd ein dyfetha;
Tori penau—saethau son!
Pan lladd ein penllywyddion,
A'u codi'n wawd, broch-nawd brau,
Yn, arwydd eu banerau;
Dilygadu, nychu r naill,
Neu dòr-tafodau eraill,
A phethau feiau di fawl
Mewn enwau mwy annynawl.
  Dyna fu'r triniad anwar
I'n gwlad ni tan boethni bâr,
Gni'n oer, nes geni'n arail
Iorwerth oreuwerth yr Ail,
I fyw er hedd ef yr hawg
Yn fanteisial fu'n T'wysawg,
A heddwch i'w gyhoeddi
Llawgar wnaed rhwng Lloegr â ni.
  Gwedi'r brad orchfygiad fu
Dro camrwysg ar dir Cymmru
Y Gorthrechwr gwrthddrychawl
(Mynai hyn er mwyn ei hawl)

Parthai 'n tir i'w hir fwynhau
Yn ddethol Arglwyddiaethau,
A'u rhoi draw o'u heiddaw ni
Wr glewddoeth i'w Arglwyddi,
I gadw y Cymmry gwiwdeg
O'u hanfodd danodd yn deg.
  Wrth rym bu 'r 'rhai'n orthrymol,
Trawsion eu hwyrion o'u hol,
Mawr y gwae i'r Cymmry gynt,
Druain eiddil, drain oeddynt:
Cludent ieuau caledion,
Swmylent, briwient eu bron,
Cospent trwy raib ac yspail
Heb raith iawn gyfraith nacail,
Eu tasgu a'u gwasgu'n g'oedd
Ran taer i drin eu tiroedd.
Felly 'r rhai'n fu oll ar hynt,
Trahäus radd treiswyr oeddynt,
I fab o dad hyd ddiwad ddydd
Byd oer HARRI BEDWERYDD.
  Yn hyn bryd, enyd uniawn,
Un gwr oedd yn enwog iawn
Ar ran ei Dad, eirian dwr,
Galondeg OWAIN GLYNDWR,*

* The HERO of this poem was the son of *Gruffyth Vychan*, descended of a younger son of *Gruffyth ap Madoc*, lord of Bromfield, who was tenth in lineal descent from *Bleddyn ap Cynvyn*, prince of Powys, head of one of the five royal tribes of Wales, and reckoned, among his ancestors in the female line, the founders of two other tribes,—*Rhys ap Tewdwr* and *Gruffydd ap Cynan*.

The pedigree runs thus:—

BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.	RHYS AP TEWDWR.	GRUFFYDD AP CYNAN.
Meredydd.	Gruffydd,	Owain Gwynedd,
Madog,	Arglwydd Rhys,	Iorwerth Drwyndwn,
Gruffydd Maelor,	Rhys Gryg,	Llewelyn ap Iorwerth,
Madog,	Rhys Mechell,	Gruffyd ap Llywelyn,
Gruffydd Dinas Bran,	Rhys Vychan = Gwladus,	
Gruffydd Vychan,		
Madog Glof = Margaret,		
Madog Vychan,		
Gruffydd o'r Rhuddalt,		
Gruffydd Vychan,		
OWAIN GLYNDWR.		

Thus, royally descended on the father's side, Owen Glyndwr claimed an

Achawl o RUFFYDD FYCHAN
Arglwydd Dinas breichfras Brad,
O Bleddyn ab Cynfyn caed
Fry yn hen ei frenhinwaed,
Orwyr oedd, cyhoedd deg hyn,
I'n Llyw olaf LLEWELYN,
O du iawn Fam, dau un fyd,
Da tyfodd a'i Dad hefyd.
Gwedi ei ddysg hyddysg hyd
I'r gyfraith yn wr gwiwfryd,
Bu'n wron eurben arail
Ar ward i RISIARD yr Ail:
Pan ddaeth HARRI blaenri blin
A'i fawr anair yn Frenin,
OWAIN yn ddewrgain a ddaeth
I drigaw i'w diriogaeth,
A'i gyfoeth oedd deg wiwfawr
O Ddyfrdwy i'r 'Fyrnwy fawr;
Hynod wr yn ei diroedd,
Yn ei Lys mwyn anwyl oedd,
Sef Sycharth di warth da win
Mawr ei sail yn mro Silin,
Yno bu a'i enw o barch
A gofwy Beirdd i'w gyfarch,
Yn ddiddig ddigenfigen,
Ddiwarth hawl, yn "dda wrth hen,"
Gwr haelaf goreu hiliwyd
Parod ryfeddod o'i fwyd,
Ac yn ol y cânt *Iolo**
Parod o'i ddiod oedd o.
Ond *Arglwydd Grey*† 'n dreiglaidd groes,
Yn flysig anfawl eisioes,

alliance not less honourable on the part of his mother, she being the daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn, who married Elinor Goch, grand-daughter of Llywelyn, last Prince of Wales.—ED.

* Iolo Goch, in his "Invitation Poem," describes Glyndwr's hospitality in the following lines:—

Anhawdd yn vynych yno
Weled, na chlicied, na chlo,
Na gwale na newyn na gwarth
Na Syched vyth yn SYCHARTH.

In Owen's house you never see
Either bolt, latch, or lock and key;
Nor want nor hunger there shall reign,
Nor e'er of thirst shall you complain.

The bard compares his patron's mansion to Westminster-Abbey; and, among other particulars, he specifies nine halls, each containing a wardrobe of clothes for the use of Owen's dependents. In the vicinity of the house were a park, stocked with deer, a rabbit-warren, fish-ponds, a heronry, an orchard, a vineyard, and a mill, for the accommodation of his visiters.—ED.

† Lord Grey, of *Rythyn*, took forcible possession of a large tract of common

Oedd tan Harri Rhi yr hawl
Ar *Ruthyn* yn wr ethawl,
Lledratodd o'i lwyrfodd lain
Drwy awydd o dir OWAIN,
A 'chwaneg cam-achwynodd
Ar OWAIN drwy filain fodd,
Gan ddweyd ei fod, trafod trin,
A'i fron yn ddu i'w Frenin,
Nes cododd wg frwg i'w fri
A soriant yn Llys HARRI.
Ond OWAIN ni bu'n dawel
Danfonai 'n fwyn gwyn ddi gêl
I'r Senedd, etifedd ter,
Mewn undeb am uniondeb,
I'w fawr gam ar lwyrgam led,
Ond OWAIN ni wrandawed;
At HARRI, plaid lleidr tiroedd
O garn sais, *Grey* 'n nes oedd;
I gwyn OWAIN, Groesain gri,
Lle oer oedd yn llaw HARRI:
Bu trafwyn Esgob Trefor
Fel un cu o flaen y côr,
Yn adrodd mewn cydfodd cain
Mor ddiau mawredd OWAIN,
" Mai os câr, câr cywirhael,
" Os gelyn, nid gelyn gwael;"
Yr Esgob er ei asgell
Ni bu o'r iaith na' i waith well,
Nid oedd OWAIN main ond mwg,
Neu wag elyn i'w golwg,
Dirmygwyd of draw megys
Gwanwr llwyd gan wyr y Llys,
" Mai gwecry fry oedd ei fron,
" A'i nythed wyr traed noethion."
Yna ffromodd brydiodd bron
GLYNDWR, ac o lin dewrion,
Grym poethder digder yn dân
Enynwyd yn ei anian,
Nes oedd gwres a nawswaedd gri
Dur a thân drw'i wytheni,
Gweled treisiwr creithiwr crog
A'i Frenin yn gyfranog:
Llew gwaedwyllt llu a gododd,
Arwyr yn bybyr o'u bodd,
Fe ddygai yn fuddygol
Drwy wiw nerth ei dir yn ol
A'i gyfeillion, gof ollawl,
Cefnogent, hyrddient ei hawl,

that lay between *Rythyn* and *Glyndyvrdwy*, which Owen, during the reign of King Richard, held, though not without frequent contention.—ED.

Ac i OWAIN glain ei glog
Dodasant faint o D'wysog
I goledd Cymmry gwiwlais
Drwy serch i dori iau Sais.
HARRI aeth, a *Grey* Rheithyn,
I glwy' tost o glywed hyn,
Yna'r Brenin flin flaenawr
Godai lu i'w gadw i lawr,
A chyrch rhyfel ddirgel ddaeth
Drwy eigion ei diriogaeth,
Ei gyfoeth mawr a gofir
Y speilient, dygent ei dir.
OWAIN ar ei fuain feirch,
Ac eangfawr rygyngfeirch,
Godawdd i'w blaid, frynaid fron
Law ddurol, lu o ddewrion,
Ac ar ffair fel corfforaeth
I *Ruthyn* yn ddychryn ddaeth,
Yn flaen i'r Gad ofnadwy
Daeth OWAIN i'w harwain hwy;
Blin yr awr! crochfawr y cri!
Och y lladd! erchyll waedi!
Llosgwydd a drylliwyd y Dre,*
Do 'n olwg o dân aebe,
Y cledd hyllwedd oedd allan
Mewn twrf, ac o'i mewn tân;
Ymweliad mallt hallt fu hyn
A dur frath i Dref Rathyn;
Ymaith gydag aurhaith g'oedd
Hynt OWAIN a'i finteioedd.
Trwy warth rhag y tarth a'i tôdd
Grey a ffoes nis gorphwysodd,
Da welodd fod ei elyn
O *Lyn dwr* yn ddewr lawn dyn;
Byddin arfog finiog fodd
Gau allu mawr gynnullodd
At roi dyrnod sigdod sain
Ar ddiwedd mawnedd OWAIN.
OWAIN oedd yn gywrain gall
Anturiawl o'r tu arall,
Am frather, nes glynu 'n glaf
Lawn poen, ei elyn penaf;
Ei ogoniant a'i gynydd
Oedd gryfach dewrach bob dydd,

* On the 20th of September, 1400, Owen Glyndwr pillaged and burnt the town of Rythyn, within the territory of Lord Grey, and caused himself, on the same day, to be formally proclaimed PRINCE OF WALES. After this act of public hostility, he retired to the neighbouring mountains, for the double purpose of sheltering from his enemies and of gaining time to prepare for new operations.—ED.

Sain ei gyrn a'i ridgyrn oedd
Draw yn tori drwy 'n tiroedd:
I'r maes daeth llu y Saeson,
A llu'r Cymmry fry'n wn fron,
Y tir cyfarfuont hwy
Fernir oedd glàn Efyrnwy;
Y ddwy fyddin finfin fu
Yn hir afaelus ryfelu,
Caled nid ellir celu
Yno fu'r taro bob tu;
Ar yr ymdrech trech y trôdd
Arf OWAIN, fe orfuodd,
Daliwyd ennillwyd yn awr
Hen *Grey* chwerw yn garcharawr,*
Rhoid tan heiyrn cedyrn cau
Yn lle crog ynghell creigiau,
Hir garchar dalgar yn dyn
A gafodd yn y gefyn,
Yn isel ben nes ail bu
I'r Brenin ei lwyr brynu,
A thalwyd cyfoeth bylawn
Ys am ei rydd swm mawr iawn,
Tan ymrwymiad safadwy
Na thymai 'n groes amoes mwy.
Gwedi OWAIN glain y glod
Drechu ei Fradwr wchod
Trôd wyr allan trwy ddrylliaw
Plaid lin y Brenin a braw,
O *Wynedd* yn frydwedd fron
Ymlamai tros *Plumlumon*,
Trefaldwyn wnai ddwyn ei ddig,
A *Thrallwng* tan ruthr hyllig;
Yna'r aeth i anrheithiaw
Drwy drin i'r Deheudir draw,
Gan ddwyn drwy'r Wlad, Benadur,
Gyda'i darian dân a dur,
Uchelwyr eu tai chwalent,
Garw y gwae i gyran *Gwent*:
Mortimer a gymerodd,
A'i wyr rhif i lawr y rhodd,
Rhuthro ar *Benfro* 'n ddi baid
Flamiai yno'r *Fleminiaid*,

* Lord Grey sallied out of his castle of Rythyn to meet *Glyndwr*, as presuming that Owen and his followers might easily be overcome; but the contrary happened, for, after a desperate battle, in which he lost most of his men, was himself taken prisoner, and confined in one of the strong holds of Snowdon, where he remained until king Henry released him by the payment of a ransom of ten thousand marks, and by a promise that he should observe a strict neutrality for the future, and marry one of Glyndwr's daughters.

Tynodd wlad Gymru tano
Mal iesin Frenin y fro.
  Harri, gan i'r hyllni hyn
Draws ddechrau, droes i ddychryn,
Nes oedd OWAIN glain ei gledd
I'w arswd ar ei orsedd,
Gwddai "Nidoes, croes y cri,
Ar hyder awr i'w hoedi."
Cododd ryfelwyr cedyrn
Daeth yma ar chwalfa 'n chwyrn;
Y modd hyny felly 'n faith
Wnae gynnyg fwy nac unwaith,
Ond troi* a wnaeth bob tro 'n ol
Yn ei nerth yn anwyrthiol,
Gan daflu 'r meth ar gethin
Oerder anrhwydd-der yr hin.
  OWAIN yntau yn anterth
Borau gwyn iawn brig ei werth,
Galwodd Senedd† mawredd maith
Uwch unlle yn *Machynllaith*,
Lle am frad treighiad dryglam
Y dofawdd gyrch *Dafydd Gam*;
Llosgodd a lluchiodd i'r llawr
Ddi derfyn lysoedd dirfawr,
Ei gefnder *Howel Sele*
Lladodd a drylliodd ei dre';
Llaw ei wlad, llwys Lywiawdwr,
O'i flaen a gaid fel un Gwr,
Meddylient am ei ddylyn
I fudd da—ef oedd eu dyn.
  Ond y Brenin gerwin gyrch
Wnaeth amgen eitha ymgyrch,
Llu arweiniodd dewrfodd dig
Llawr maith ger llaw'r Amwythig;
Ond OWAIN yn arwain nod
Diwedd byr nid oedd barod;
Lladwyd a thaflwyd waith hon
Coff oll ei ben cyfeillion;
Collai 'r tro i gario 'r gwaith
Ni welodd mo hwnw eilwaith,

* Shakspeare alludes to Henry's retreat in the following lines:—

"Three times did Henry Bolingbroke make head
Against the Welsh: thrice from the banks of Wye
And sandy-bottomed Severn did they send
Him bootless back and weather-beaten home."

† A national assembly was convoked, at Machnylleth, in Montgomeryshrie, at which Glyndwr's title, as PRINCE of WALES, was formally recognised. The ceremony of coronation was performed, and everything wore the aspect of a sincere and unanimous acknowledgement of his pretensions.—ED.

Ar Owain o gain gynnydd
I radd da ni wawriodd dydd,
Tan gwmwl nifwl y nen
Noswyliodd gwres ei heulen:
Byth gwedi er lloni'r llys
Un Brenin biau'r Ynys.
Tano'n awr a'i rwysgfawr rym
Dedwydd yn ein gwlad ydym,

ANCIENT AND MODERN

WELSH MUSIC.

By JOHN PARRY, Bardd Alaw.

It would be a most desirable thing if it were possible to ascertain the time when some of the Welsh airs were composed; that there are many exceedingly ancient, there cannot be a doubt; for instance, "*Castell Towyn*," (Towyn Castle,) whereas there are no remains of a castle near Towyn. Whatever this melody might have *been*, as we have it *now*, it bears too refined a feature, and, indeed, it is too regular in its modulation and construction to be ranked among our strains of olden time. (Vide page 155.) The case is totally different with the Glamorganshire ploughboy's songs, they bear evident marks of their antiquity; for, as they appear on paper, there seems neither rhyme nor reason in them; but, like the Swiss *Ranz des Vaches*, when sung by the natives, there is a characteristic wildness, blended with sweetness and intensity of feeling, that touches the heart. I shall give a few specimens of this music of nature, clothed as simply as I possibly can, for gaudy vestments would not sit well on it. No. 2 was given to me by the Rev. Mr. Bevan, of Crickhowell, who wrote the melody from hearing a rustic sing it, and sent it to Dr. Crotch to be harmonized. No. 3 is taken from a collection by Aneurin Owen, which gained the premium at the Brecon Eisteddvod, in 1826, arranged by myself; it is a remarkably effective air, when performed with judgement, occasionally quickening and then slackening the time. There are several of these chants sung in the neighbourhood of *Caerlleon*, they were conjectured, by *Iolo Vorganwg*, (Edward Williams, Bard,) to be a relic of the Roman settlers.

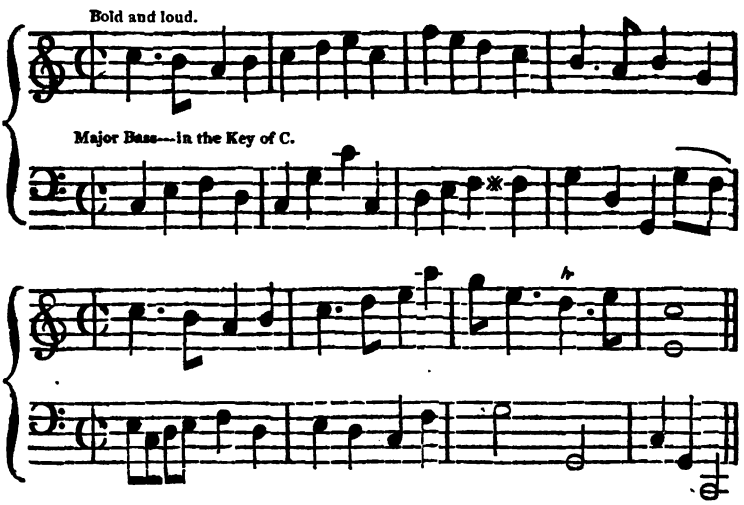
The Rev. John Jenkins, of Kerry, designated, very deservedly, by the Welsh bards, *Ion Hael*, (John, the generous,) has kindly presented me with a very large collection of original British melodies, which he had procured from the Welsh harpers and singers, during a diligent search for thirty years. Mr. Jenkins, being himself a performer on two or three instruments, as well as being acquainted with the theory of music, may be looked upon as one well qualified for the task which he patriotically undertook: he was not content by hearing *one* harper play an air, but he got several to perform the same melody, and thereby ascertained the various modes and styles; and particularly noticing those which appeared to him "*truly Welsh*," as he expresses himself.

In Mr. Jenkins's collection is an air, called "*Eös y Bele*," * but commonly known by the barter-like *cognomen* of "*Tri a Chwech*," (Three and Sixpence!) It is a very beautiful melody, with an admixture of the major and minor modes, (not unlike "*Serch Hudol*,") which is one of the chief characteristics of genuine Welsh music. (Vide No. 4.)

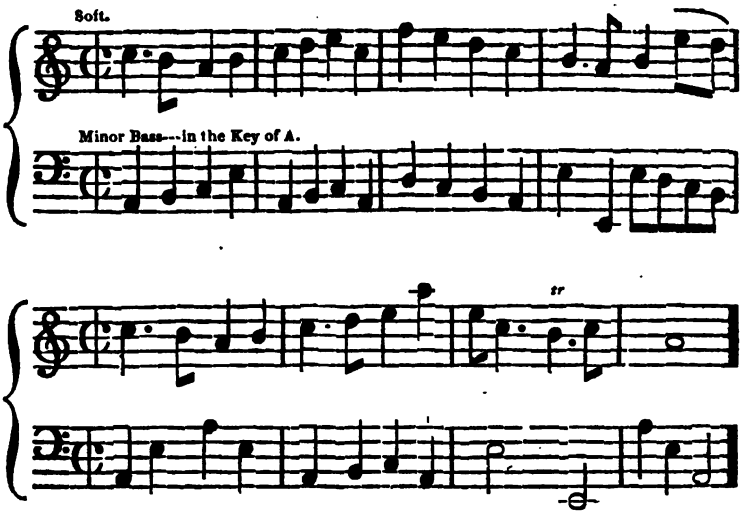
Mr. Jenkins very justly observes "many instances might be adduced where the harpers have mistaken the *key* of the tunes, which might have arisen from the imperfection of their instruments, or, what is still more probable, their indolence in not *tuning* them properly. The air of "*Mentra Gwen*," (Venture Gwen) is invariably sung throughout Wales in the *minor* key; whereas, it is published in every collection in the *major*. The ancient air of "*Dewch i'r Frwydr*," (Come to Battle,) is published in the *major* key, but that it was originally in the *minor*, we have pretty sure evidence, from the strain of the hymn tune called *Jordan*, of which it was the basis."

I perfectly agree with my reverend friend, and shall adduce an instance where a melody may be either in the major or minor key, by altering the *bass*.

When I was preparing the overture to my farce of "*A Trip to Wales*," which opens with "*The March of the Men of Harlech*," a friend told me, that he had heard a harper, in Ireland, play that fine tune in a minor key; I took the hint, and arranged the first strain in a bold manner, in the major key, and then repeated it, very soft, in the minor; the effect was very good: and as it may be considered rather a musical curiosity, I shall, by way of elucidation, insert the notes.



* *Bele* is the name of a brook, in Montgomeryshire, hence "*Eös y Bele*, the Nightingale of the Bele."



It will be observed that the melody in both keys is the same, with the exception of the two last bars, or measures, the first ends in C, and the second in A.

The editors of this publication have requested me to be as brief as possible on this occasion, promising, at the same time, that I shall have more space allotted me in the next volume to pursue the subject.

"*Llev Caerwynt*" (The Cry, or Lament of Windsor) is an ancient melody, and, like many of the old British airs, it changes the time, to give effect, no doubt, to the words.

Mr. Jenkins observes, "there seems to be no allusion in the name of this tune to any known event in modern times. During the reign of Henry 4th, Windsor Castle was a state prison, as well as a royal palace. James 1st, of Scotland, was confined there for nineteen years; and there, also, the young Earl of March, the rightful heir to the English Crown, was closely confined during the insurrection of *Owain Glyndwr*.

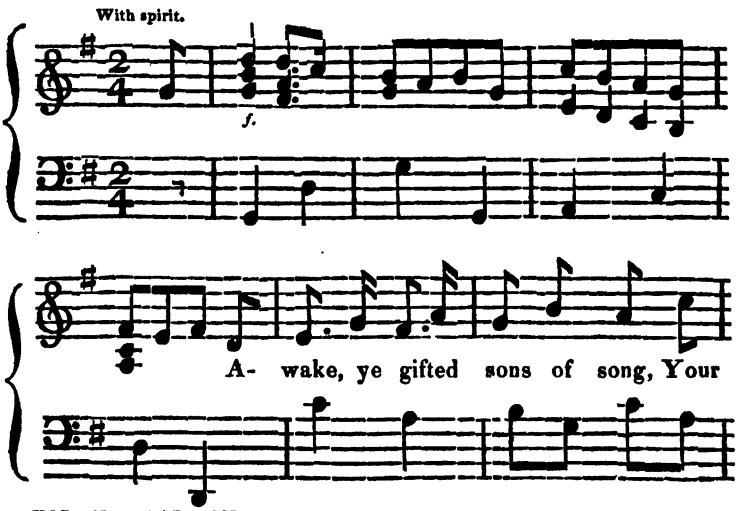
In the year 1405, an attempt was made to liberate him, and, had it succeeded, *Wales* would have been his asylum, and *Glyndwr* his protector. It is not improbable that the Welsh Bards should have composed a lament, setting forth the miseries of the captive Earl, or of some natives of the principality confined with him;" hence we may conclude, that this tune is upwards of four centuries old. *Pennillion singing* (singing epigrammatic stanzas with the harp) is confined to North Wales, and, indeed, was scarcely known in South Wales until the revival of the *Eisteddvodau*. This peculiar, unique and effective mode of singing must be very ancient, and probably derives its origin from the domestic bards of old, who used to play the harp, and sing with it, verses composed extempo-

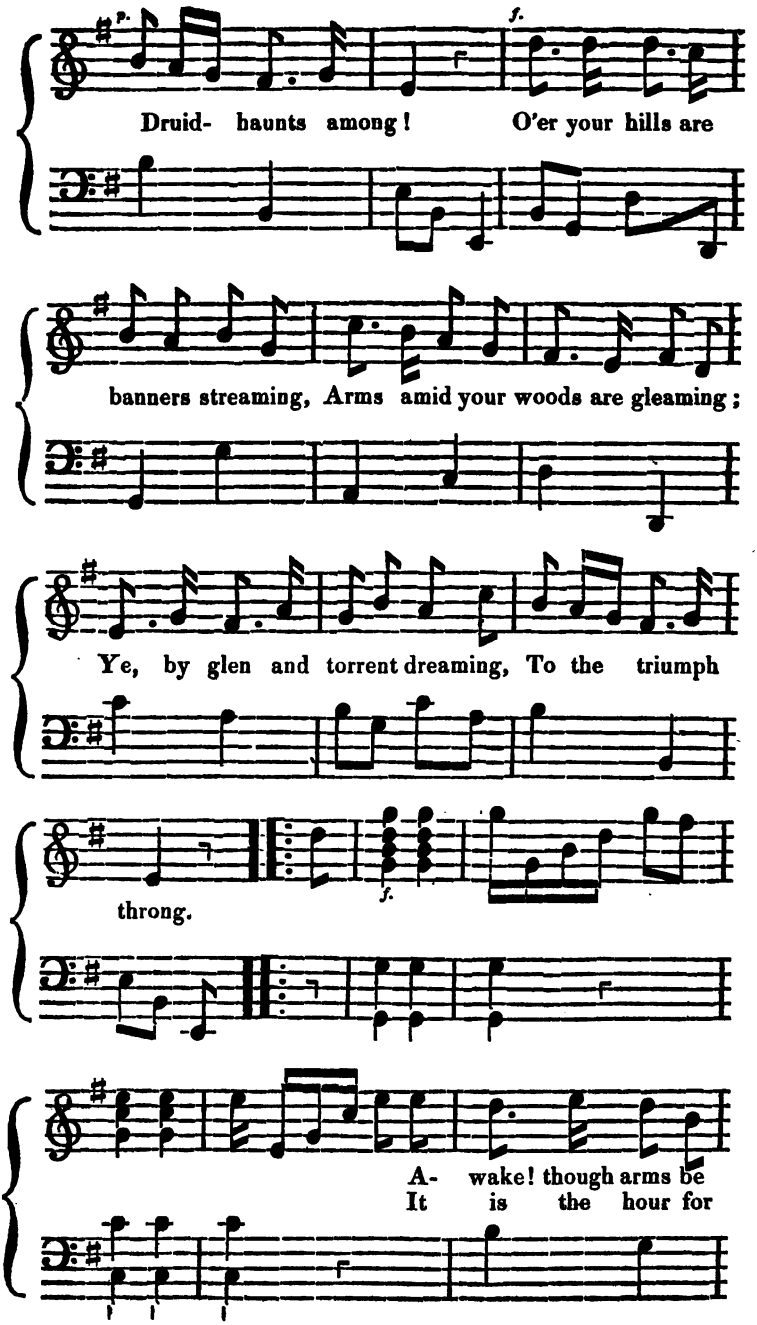
rally, in praise of their noble masters; and where more than one minstrel was retained in a family, or when several met to celebrate any particular event, it was usual with them to answer each other in stanzas; and this is the case to the present time, with the poets in Wales. To sing *Pennillion*, with the Welsh harp, is not so easily accomplished as may be imagined; the singer is obliged to follow the harper, who may change the tune, or perform variations, *ad libitum*, whilst the vocalist must keep time, *and end precisely with the strain*. The singer does not *commence* with the harper, but takes the strain up at the second, third, or fourth bar, as best suits the *pennill* he intends to sing; and this is constantly done by persons, who are totally unacquainted with music! Those are considered the best singers who can adopt stanzas of various metres to one melody, and who are acquainted with the twenty-four measures, according to the bardic laws and rules of composition. In order to give those who never have heard *Pennillion* singing an idea of it, I shall insert the melody which gained the prize at an Eisteddvod held, at Ruthin, on the first of March, 1827, the advertisement being "for an original tune, composed after the style and modulation of the ancient British airs, for pennillion singing" with stanzas written by Mrs. Hemans, at my request, with a view of performing them before the King, when his Majesty was expected to pay Sir W. W. Wynn a visit at Wynnstay in 1821.

RUTHIN-CASTLE.

(Composed by John Parry.)

Some vocalists do not sing the melody as played by the harper, but chant a kind of an accompaniment, which is exceedingly effective.




p.
f.
Druid- haunts among! O'er your hills are
banners streaming, Arms amid your woods are gleaming;
Ye, by glen and torrent dreaming, To the triumph
throng.
f.
A- wake! though arms be
It is the hour for

gleaming bright, 'Tis not the hour of fight!
harps to ring, With soul in ev'ry string;

But each mountain- wind is swelling, Where the echoes
And for joyous crowds descending, All our ancient

have their dwelling, With a voice of music telling,
hills, and blending shouts, the Alpine stillness rending,

Cambria's proud de- light.
As they greet their king.

It is my intention to insert in my third volume of Welsh Melodies, now preparing for the press, a few specimens of *pennillion* singing, with both Welsh and English words, as it is performed at the *Gwyneddigion* Society, which was instituted, in London, by the

patriotic Owain Jones *Myvyr*, in 1771, for that purpose and the promotion of the language, poetry, and music of Wales, also to perpetuate the customs and manners of our forefathers. This worthy individual published "The Archaiology of Wales," in three volumes, which cost him nearly two thousand pounds. In the third volume is inserted about one hundred and seventy pages of the ancient notation of the Britons, which was in use about the eleventh century, very little of which has, as yet, been deciphered. If some competent person, who had leisure time, would undertake that task, he would confer a favour on his country.

WALES may boast of its national music as triumphantly as our neighbours the *Scots* and the *Irish* do;* for I have in my possession all that Edward Jones published; also the works of my namesake, of Rhuabon, besides a MS. collection presented to me by the late Owen Jones, and the valuable one given to me by Mr. Jenkins, making in all nearly *four hundred* tunes;† among which there are many most beautiful; but, for want of a MOORE, or a BURNS, to wed them to poetry, they are not known; hence it is, that, with the exception of a few popular *airs*, the *Cymry* are, by some would-be wise ones, not allowed to possess any national music worthy notice.

A stranger can have no idea of the real effect of some of our Welsh melodies, unless he has the good fortune to hear them *properly* performed by a native, who *feels* as he strikes the lyre. At a meeting of the *Gwyneddigion*, that exquisite singer of Scottish ballads, *Broadhurst*, was much affected, when he heard the harper perform some of the plaintive Cambrian airs; no wonder that a man, possessing so refined a soul for "the harmony of sweet sounds," should, in his turn, draw tears from those who listen to

* To investigate the origin of national music, and to ascertain the epoch in which the plaintive, martial, and convivial strains have been composed, would naturally lead to an inquiry into the *minutiæ* of historical documents connected with the Cymmry, the several branches of the original stock that have been engrafted in foreign climes, but might, at the period of emigration, carry with them such airs as were then in vogue; but, since subject to the several modifications of taste, dependent on the influence of climate, these considerations granted, still, perhaps, by a strict examination, we may be repaid for our trouble, in the discovery of music among different nations, bearing decided marks of a common origin. In order to illustrate this hypothesis, the late Professor Laenec collected many *airs* in Brittany, one of which particularly resembled Nôs Galân of the Welsh, so much so, that the most untutored ear could hardly fail of recognizing a similarity. If Mr. Parry, or some other individual of musical celebrity, would give this subject a consideration, he would probably discover many *tunes*, that are at present numbered amongst the Irish or Scotch national music, to be either borrowed from the Welsh, or to have a claim to a common origin.—EDIT.

† An alphabetical list of the names of the airs in my possession shall be prepared for the next publication of the society.

GOULDING and D'ALMAINE intend to publish the whole of Edward Jones's collection in *one volume*, on moderate terms, which will be a most desirable thing; and I shall, at some future day, print all the airs in my possession, to correspond with it, thereby presenting to the public as complete a set of Cambrian melodies as I possibly can. J. P.

his "*John Anderson, my Jo.*" BURNS and MOORE must have felt the *awen* (poetic genius) flowing sweetly and congenially, when writing their beautiful verses to the equally beautiful strains of their native mountains.

Mrs. HEMANS has written some excellent poetry to a selection of Welsh melodies; but, being too classical, and, I might add, erudite, for common ears, the songs have not become so generally popular as they deserve to be; but, as an eminent critic observed, "the poems will be a never-fading memorial of the fair writer's talent," who thus speaks of the Welsh language.

> "As long as Arvon's mountains shall lift their sovereign forms,
> And wear the crown to which is given dominion o'er the storms,
> So long, their empire sharing, shall live the lofty tongue
> To which the harp of Mona's woods by Freedom's hand was strung."

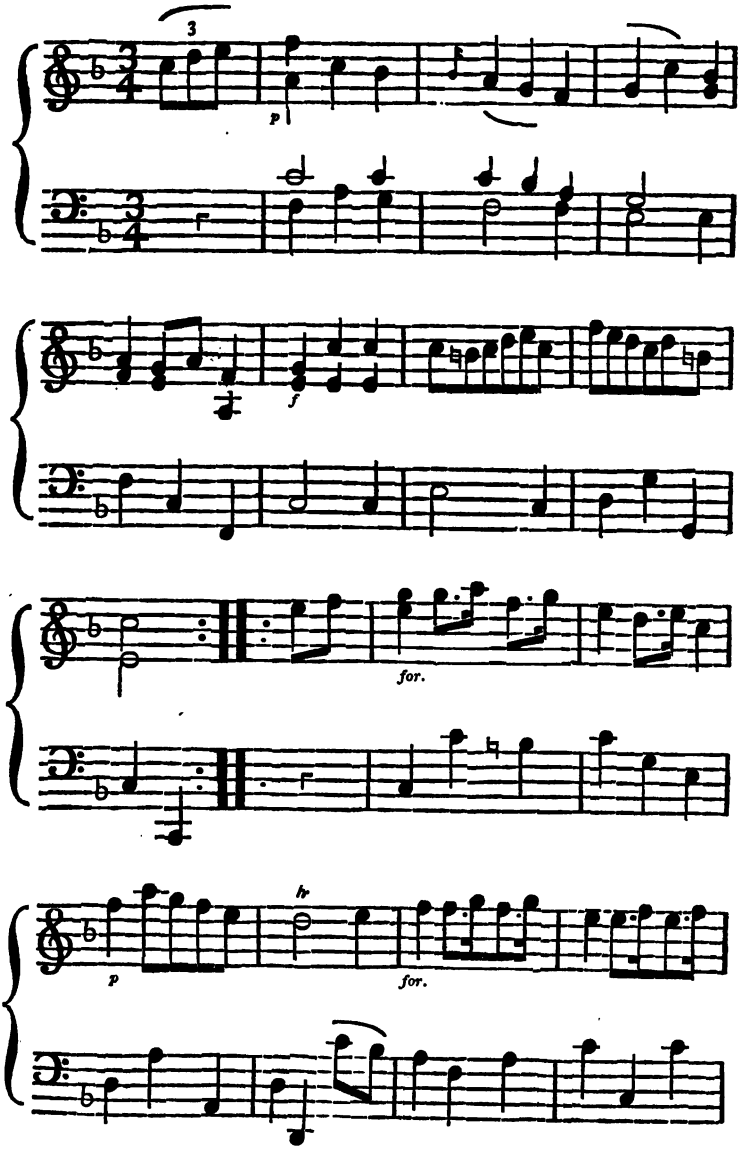
January 21, 1828. JOHN PARRY.

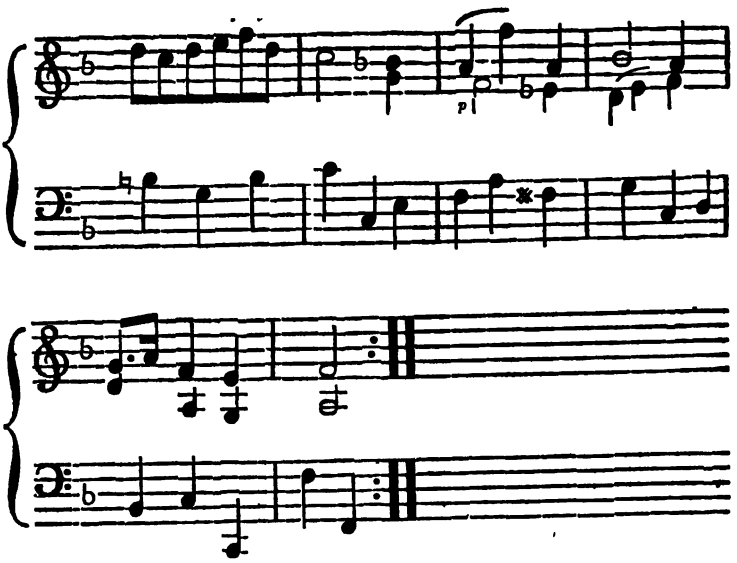
CASTELL TOWYN—TOWYN CASTLE.

(Arranged by J. Parry.)

No. 1.

In Moderate Time.





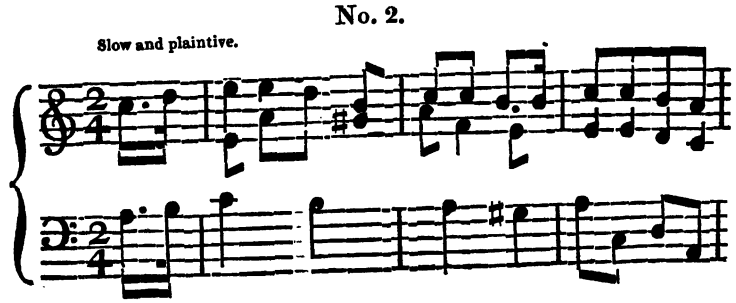
The above is more in the style of the minuets in the days of Handel than an ancient Welsh air, yet, from the fifth bar to the end of the second strain, it is very like the air of "Peggy who lost her Garter;" also like the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth bars of the second part of "Eös y Bele."

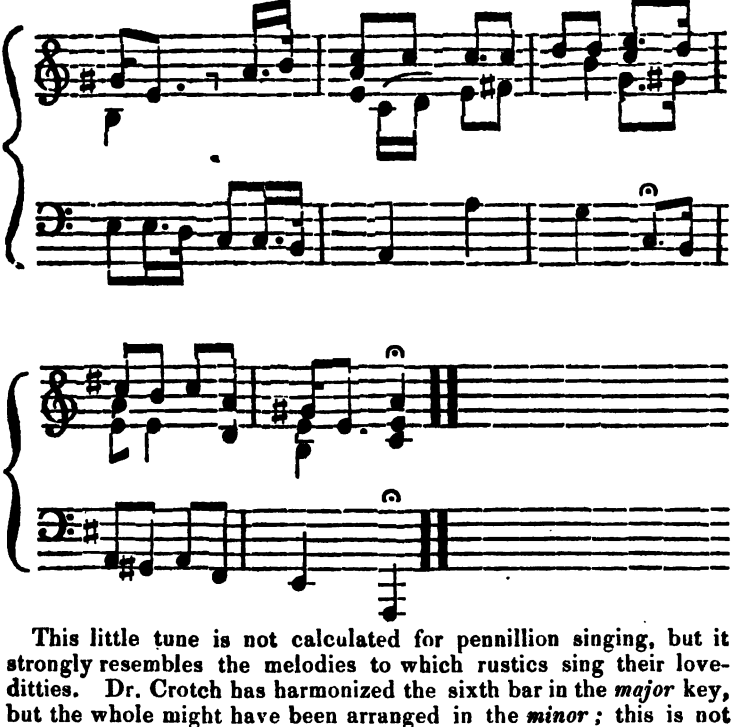
GLAMORGANSHIRE PLOUGHBOY'S SONG.

(Harmonized by Dr. Crotch.)

No. 2.

Slow and plaintive.



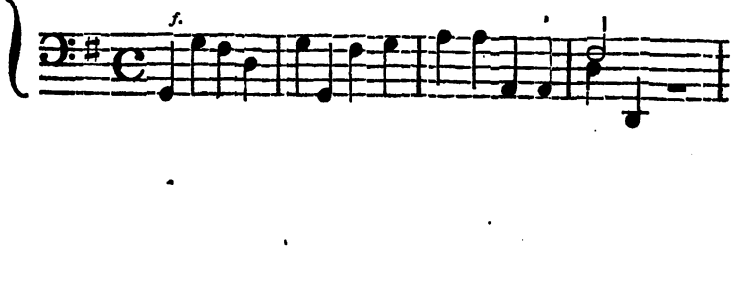


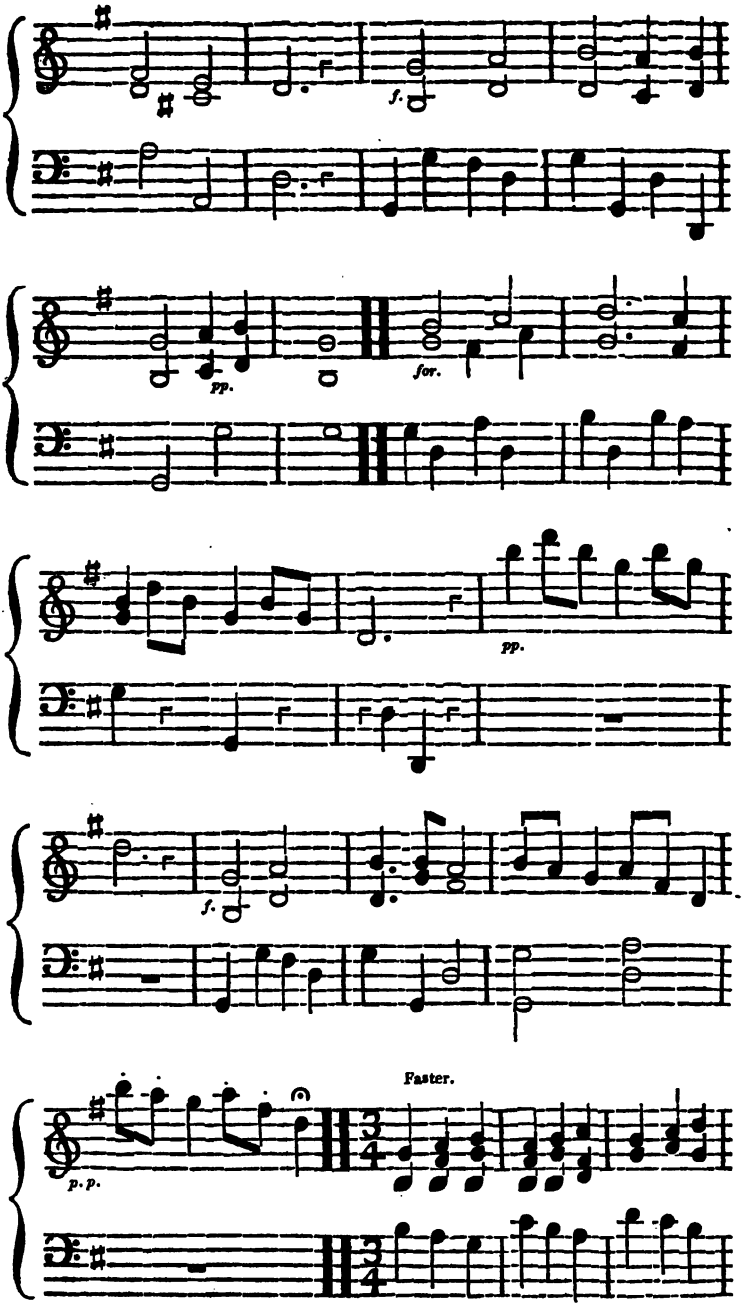
This little tune is not calculated for pennillion singing, but it strongly resembles the melodies to which rustics sing their love-ditties. Dr. Crotch has harmonized the sixth bar in the *major* key, but the whole might have been arranged in the *minor;* this is not mentioned as an error, but as an instance of the dominion which the bass holds over the melody in music. This air was inserted in Vol. VIII. of that excellent publication "The Musical Quarterly Review," with an interesting account of the Brecon Eisteddvod.

THE PLOUGHBOY'S SONG.

(Arranged from a MS. by J. Parry.)

No. 3.

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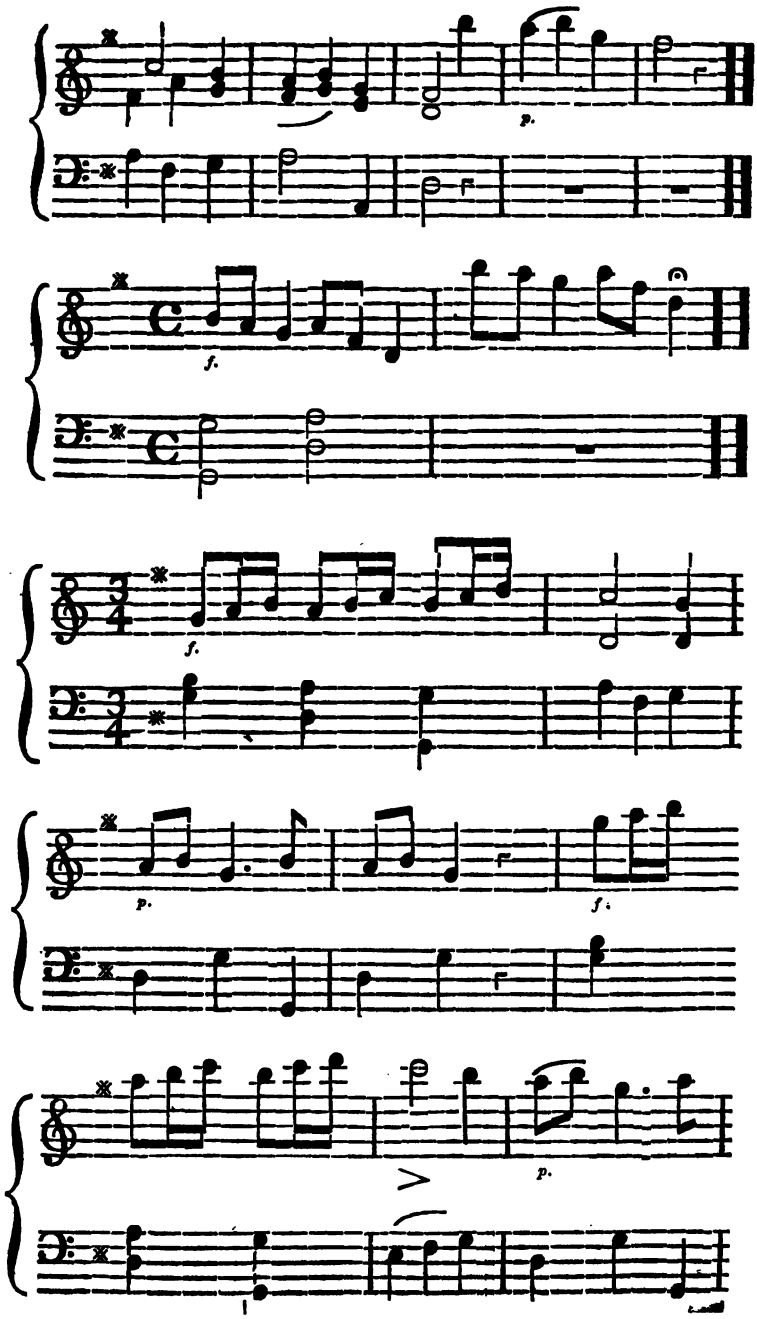
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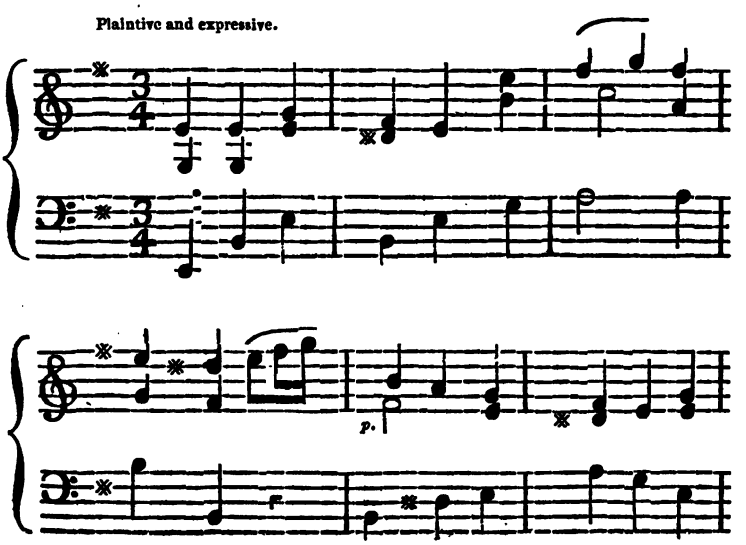
It will be observed that there are responses, or echoes, in this characteristic air, which should be performed very soft. It is not improbable that the shepherds, or ploughboys, used to answer each other in the fields. No Swiss *Ranz des Vâches* possessed a greater originality than this tune does; there is a wildness about some parts of it which is remarkably striking, particularly towards the latter part. Where the time changes to $\frac{3}{4}$ the melody is very like part of "*Britons strike Home!*" and the last eight bars are similar to the melodies which the Tyrolese minstrels sing so beautifully.

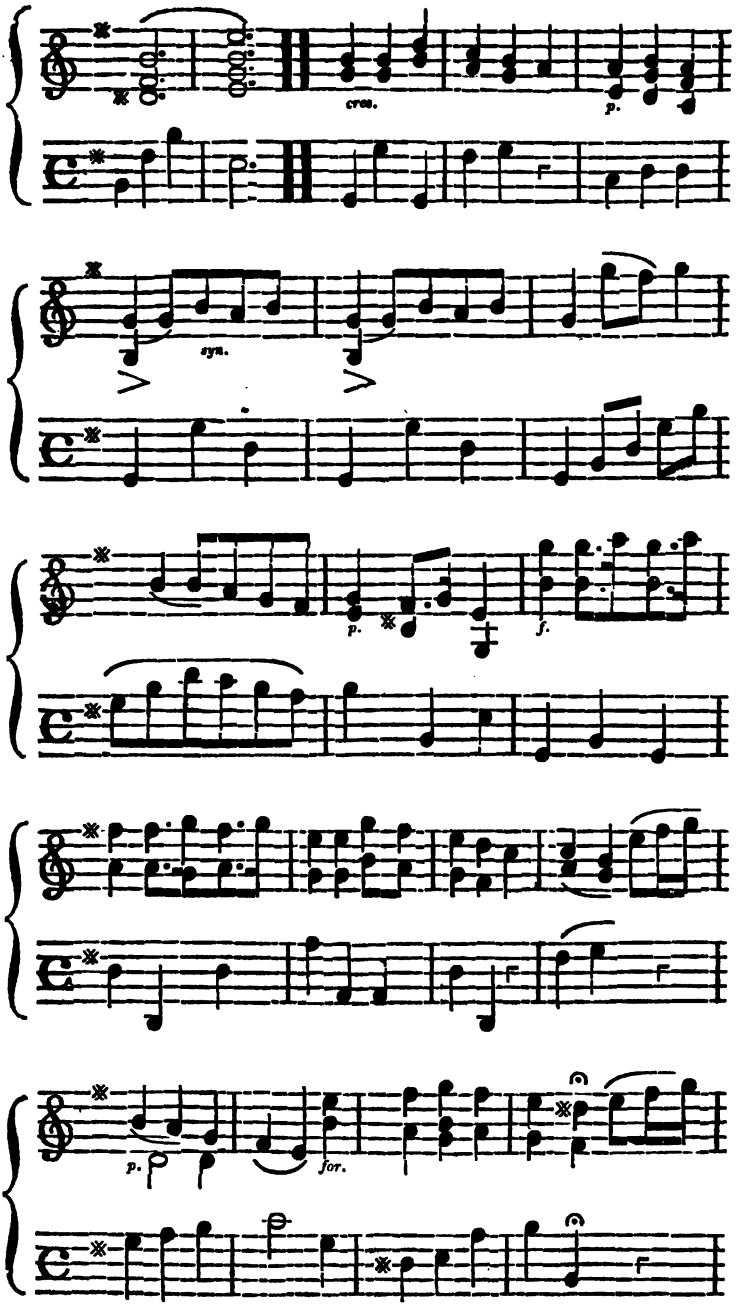
EÖS Y BELE.

(Arranged by J. Parry.)

No. 4.

Plaintive and expressive.

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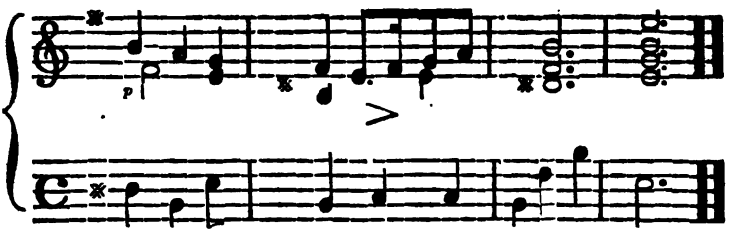

These airs might have been harmonized much more scientifically, but in doing that, their national style and character must have suffered. It should be recollected, that for every accidental sharp or flat which occurs, the Welsh harper is obliged to put a finger *between two strings* to produce it. Vide an Essay on the Harp in Vol. I. of these Transactions.

ANCIENT POETRY.

HANES TALIESIN; OR, TALIESIN'S HISTORY.*

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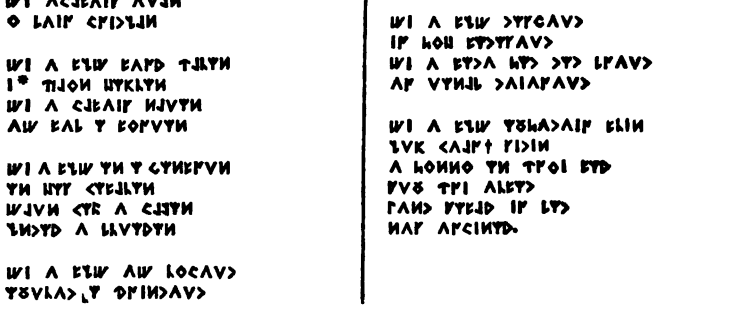
* This poem is supposed to have been written about the year 490.
The Editor is indebted for the translation to "Meyrick's History of Cardiganshire.

† Gyssefin in the MS. of L. Morris. ‡ Sierubin. § Rhif y ser. ‖ Gwdion. ¶ Mi a fum yng nghanon. ** Mi fum yn Llys don. †† Baderog. ‡‡ Farn crog. §§ Ar waith Twr Emrod. ‖‖ Arianrhod. ¶¶ *Mi a ddoethym yma at Wedillion troia.*



TRANSLATION.

THE HISTORY OF TALIESIN.

The primary domestic bard
Am I to Elphin,
And my original country
Is the region of Cherubims.‡
Joannes the divine
Called me Merddin,
At length every king
Will call me Taliesin.
I was full nine months
In the womb of mother Cyridwen; §
I was little Gwion‖ heretofore,
Taliesin am I now.
I was with my Lord
In the superior state
When Lucifer did fall
To the infernal deep.
I have borne a banner
Before Alexander:
I know the names of the stars
From the north to Auster.
I have been in the circle of Gwdion
Tetragammaton; ¶
I conducted Heon**
To the depth of Ebron vale.
I was in Canaan
When Absalom was slain,
I was in the Court of Don††
Before Gwdion was born,

* Lleon. † Sidydd.

‡ According to the Bardic theology, the soul is an intelligence lapsed from the region of light or knowledge, and, in this world, making its progress through the circle of inchoation to its original state of happiness.

§ A mythological being; that is, the smile of procreation; Venus.

‖ A mythological person. ¶ The Galaxy. ** The divine spirit.

†† Llys Don, or the court of Don, is a name for the constellation of Cassiopœia. Don was father of Gwdion. So the Saxons say the Woden came from the banks of the Don.

I was an attendant
On Eli and Enoc;
I was on the cross-devoting sentence
Of the Son of the merciful God.
I have been chief keeper
Of the work of Nimrod's tower;
I have been three revolutions
In the circle of Arianrod.*
I was in the Ark
With Noah and Alpha;
I beheld the destruction
Of Sodoma and Gomorra.
I was in Africa
Before Rome was built,
I am come here
To the remnants of Troia.†
I was with my Lord
In the manger of the she ass;
I strengthened Moses
Through the Jordan water.
I have been in the firmament
With Mary Magdalen;
I have been gifted with genius
From the cauldron of Cyridweu.
I have been bard of the harp
To Teon‡ of Lochlyn;§
I have endured hunger
For the Son of the Virgin.
I have been in the White Hill‖
In the Court of Cynvelyn
In stocks and fetters,
For a year and a day.
I have had my abode
In the kingdom of the Trinity;
It is not known what is my body,
Whether flesh or fish.¶
I have been an instructor
To the whole universe;
I shall remain till the day of doom
On the face of the earth.
I have been in an agitated seat
Above the circle of Sidin,**
And that continues revolving
Between three elements:
Is it not a wonder to the world
That it reflects not a splendor?

* Literally, the circle of the silver wheel, the same as the constellation now called the Northern Crown.

† Alluding to the supposed origin of the Britons, the following passage from SHERINGHAM, which refers to this subject, may not be uninteresting to the reader:—" Ante Bedam etiam Nennius Abbas Bancorensis scripsit de origine Britannorum librum unum, et Chronicon, quod manuscriptum in Collegio Sancti Benedicti olim extitisse testis est Pitsæus. Nennio verò antiquiores Thaliessinus et uterque Merlinus vetustissimi Poetæ eadem narrant, ut refert Prisæus vir Equestris ordinis, qui vixit sub temporibus Edwardi Sexti. Sic, enim ille. *Thaliessinus item et Merlini Brytannici poetæ ut suprè retulimus, quos ante mille plus minus annos floruisse constat, suis carminibus Brytannos Trojanorum reliquias Brutique Nepotes subinde appellant.* Et deinceps. *Thaliessinus quidem in odula quam de suis erroribus composuit, sic inscripta Britannicê* Hannes Thaliessin, *videlicet errores Thaliessini, ait se tandem divertisse ad reliquias Trojæ, sub his quidem verbis.* Mia deythey myma at Wedillhion Troja. *Neque dubitandum est hoc esse opus Thaliessini; nam præter innumeros codices vetustissimos qui inscriptionem hujusmodi attestentur nullo reclamante, nullus est recentiorum qui vel phrasin illius tam antiquam carminisque majestatem hactenus assequi potuit.*

‡ Some copies have Lleon, others Theon (Thane?) § Denmark.

‖ A name given to the Tower of London.

¶ Alluding to his being found at sea.

** Literally, the revolving circle. The name would apply to the Zodiac; but it is not certain whether that is meant by Caer Sidin, and Caer Sidydd, or some particular constellation.

END OF PART III.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Cymmrodorion, society.

OR

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Rev. W. J. REES, Editor.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Cymmrodorion.

CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.

AN ESSAY

ON

WELSH POETRY,

*Stating whether the four and twenty Metres have been a benefit to the Language, or otherwise.**

BY THE

REV. WALTER DAVIES, M. A.

CONTENTS.

ON Poetry in general—"*poeta nascitur, non fit*," (a poet is born, not made)—Music anterior to poetry—The first musician on record—The first song a sacred one—the warmth of gratitude giving vent to language more dignified and sublime than prose—Few fragments remain of Druidical versification among the Britons—Decline of Poetry after the Saxon Invasion, for several ages—Revival in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries—Davydd ab Gwilym, an inimitable writer—inventor of the most popular metre, called Cywydd—introduced a new species of poetry into use, the personifica-

* One of the subjects proposed by the Metropolitan Cymmrodorion Society for competition, against the Eisteddvod held at Cardiff, 1834. [An English Essay written by the same learned author, on a similar subject, entitled "On the distinct characters, and comparative advantages, of the Bardic Institutions of Carmarthen and Glamorgan," gained the premium at the Eisteddvod held at Carmarthen, in July, 1819, and was published by the Committee, in 1822, together with an Essay "on the Language and Learning of Britain under the Roman Government," which was likewise successful at the same meeting.—ED. TR.]

tion of inanimate beings, &c.—The great Eisteddvod (Bardic Sessions) held at Carmarthen in 1451, to reform the four and twenty metres—the Silver Chair proposed to be the reward of the bard who should prepare, in nine days, the most complete System of Prosody—Davydd ab Edmund the successful competitor—His twenty four metres adopted by the bards of Gwynedd (North Wales) from that time to the present—The bards of Siluria, (Gwent and Glamorgan,) in an assembled Gorsedd, (Bardic Congress,) enter a protest against the new system, thenceforth called the System of Carmarthen, deeming it an injurious imposition, the quackery of sacrificing sense to sound—These twenty four metres, as laid out by Davydd ab Edmund, and followed by all subsequent Grammarians, Dr. J. D. Rhys, Capt. Myddleton, Sion Rhydderch, &c. are considered not to have been either of *benefit*, or *otherwise*, to the Welsh *Language;* but the effect different with respect to Welsh *poetry*, their unmeaning restrictions being worse than useless—The System of Glamorgan, developed, and lately published, in the "*Cyfrinach y Beirdd*"*—The two Systems compared—and preference given to that of Glamorgan, which is nearly perfect—the other quite the reverse—Goronwy Owain, the inimitable bard of the last century—his reprobation of the System adopted at Carmarthen in 1451—a reciprocity of adaptation between the Welsh Language and correct Cynghanedd, (harmonic concatenation,) which constitutes not only a distinguishing ornament, but the very existence of Welsh Poetry—The Welsh Language, in its present state, not adopted to Moel-awdl or Cân benrhydd (blank verse)—nor any other known language suitable to the Welsh Cynghanedd—reasons given for both—A judicious selection of old metres from the System of Glamorgan recommended—and a reduction of the restrictions, the non-observance of which are commonly called "Beiau ac anavau Cerdd Davawd" (Faults and imperfections in poetic composition) from fifteen to half that number, sanctioned and authorized by a future Eisteddvod—Conclusion.

* Transcribed from ancient MSS. and edited by the late Mr. Edward Williams, (Iolo Morganwg;) and published under the direction of his son, Mr. Taliesin Williams, (Taliesin ab Iolo,) in 1829.—Ed. Tr.

TRAETHAWD

AR

BRYDYDDIAETH GYMREIG;

A pha un a fu y pedwar mesur ar hugain er lles, neu er niwaid i'r Iaith?

Dyvelir bod Cerdd Dant yn voreuach yn y byd na Cherdd Davawd; canys nid oedd gan y prydydd cyntav un athraw daiarol i'w hyforddi yn ei gelvyddyd: tra yr oedd cerddorion y goedwig, yn hwyr ac yn voreu, yn pyngcio cynlluniau tonau i hofwr peroriaeth. Yr ëos, y llinos, y vwyalch, a'r vronvraith, neu ryw aelodau eraill o'r côr asgellog, a ddysgasant i vab Lamech ddychymmygu chyweiriaw telyn ac organ.

Can nad oedd gan y prydydd cyntav un cynllun, gweledig na chlywedig, o'i vlaen i'w ddysgu i gyvansoddi cerdd, pa beth, pa allu, a weithiai ar ei ymbwyll i anturio y gorchwyl? Ei ddawn gynhenid, y ddawn oedd gyvansawdd â'i anian, ac a anwyd gydag ev. Yr oedd eve yn gyvarwydd yn ei vamiaith, yn ymhofi ynddi, ac yn ei gweled yn rhagori ar bob iaith arall. Llawenydd a gorvoledd yspryd a barai iddo dorri allan i draethu teimladau ei vynwes mewn iaith mwy derchavedig nag a arverid mewn ymadroddion cyfredin. Y gerdd henav ar gov a chadw ydyw Cân Ddiolchgarwch Moses a phlant Israel ar draethell môr Edom, pan ddymchwelwyd eu herlidwyr, Pharaoh a'i vyddin, a'i veirch a'i gerbydau, yn rhyverthwy y dyvroedd chwyddedig.

Ni weddillawdd amser ond ychydig o brydyddiaeth yr oesau Derwyddawl yn Mhrydain. Yn mhlith yr hynavion gathlau cyvrivir Tribanau "Marchwiail bedw briglas"—Tribanau "Cain Cynnwyre"—Tribanau "Eiry mynydd," &c. Am "Tydain Tad Awen" —Plennydd, Alon, a Gwron," ni wyddom nemmawr, oddieithr eu henwau: hunont mewn heddwch gyda y Cynddiluwiaid! O gylch oes Arthur, ac ymgyrch y Saison, ni arverai y beirdd, Taliesin, Aneurin, ac eraill ond prin gysgod cynghanedd, oddieithr yn y privodliad (terminating rhyme.) Yn y 12ed ganriv, ymddyrchavodd Gwalchmai ab Meilyr yn Vychdeyrn beirdd yr oes. Un o'r awdlau mwyav hynod o'i waith a welir yn y "Myvyrian Archaiology, tu d. 167—"i Owain Gwynedd," yn yr hon y darlunia vrwydr "Tal Moelvre" yn Môn—

"Ac am dal Moelvre mil vanieri," &c.

O gylch diwedd y drydedd ganriv ar ddeg, a dechreu y bedwaredd ar ddeg, y llewyrchodd bardd arall a ragorai ar ei gyvoesion,

dan yr enw llŷs, *Casnodyn*. Eve a chwanegodd at niver y mesurau, ac yn enwedig yr ynglyn a elwir "*Unodl union*." Rhoddir yma ddull ei ynglyn, sev y cyntav yn "Marwnad Madawg"—

"Bu oerchwedl cenedl cwyn enwawg
Tristlawn—Camp Meirchiawn cwymp Marchawg,
Byd a vydd—ry-gudd yr hawg—
Byd heb vyd—bod heb *Vadawg*!"

Yn ei Awdl i'r Drindod, darlunia arswydol ddigwyddiadau y dydd olav yn yr iaith rymus a ganlyn—

"Pan wnêl Duw ddangos ei varan
Dyddwyre dŷ daerad arnan
Dychryn twryv torvoedd yn eban
Dychyrch hynt dychre gwynt gwaeddvan
Dychymriw tòn amliw am lan
Dychymmer uveliar bar ban
Dychrys gwrys gwres tandde allan
* * * *
Cyn glasvedd, cyn glasu vy ngran
Duw a'm rhydd o'm rheiddyn ovan
Rwydd obaith o waith y winllan—
Ac yna daw brawd braw gyman—
Ar ddehau vy Rhiau vy rhan!"

Nid oedd Casnodyn ond prin gwedi oeri yn ei veddrod, pan ddyvyrwyd trigolion Dê a Gwynedd â pheraidd sain Cywyddau a Thoddeidiau Davydd ab Gwilym. Gelwir ef gan rai, megis o barch i'w enw—"*Yr Ovydd Cymreig*." Ond chwarau teg i Vardd Bro Ginin; ei Gywyddau serchocav i Vorvydd ydynt vwy diwair o lawer na chaniadau nwydlawn yr adyn-vardd Rhuveinig. Eve (D. G.) a ddygodd ar arver gyfredin y mesur mwyav sathredig o'r pedwar ar hugain; a'i Gywyddau ev ydynt yn mhlith y rhai melysav yn yr iaith. Beirdd yr oes a ymostyngent i'w ragoroldeb: gweler yma dystiolaeth rhai o honynt—

"Disgybl wyv, ev a'm dysgawdd,
Dysgawdr Cywydd ——"
Gruffydd Grug, yn Marwnad D. G.

"Taw di i gyd—Ti *Gywydd*—
Nid da'r byd—nid hir y bydd:
Tra bu *Dafydd* gelvydd gân
Ydd oeddid barchus ddiddan;
Ac ni bydd o herwydd hyn,
Gwedi *Ev* gwiw dy ovyn!"
Iolo Goch.

Tudur Aled, yn Marwnad D. ab Edmwnd, a ddywed—

"Ni bu vyw neb vwy'i Awen,
Ond da *Vardd Glan Teivi* wen;
Mab Gwilym heb gywely,
Heb iddo vrawd, ni bydd vrŷ."

Am ddychymmyg, neu grebwyll, ni bu, ac evallai ni bydd yn Nghymru, ail i Ddavydd ab Gwilym. Eve a ddysgai, yn nod i Ddylluan, ac i Bioden siarad yn Gymraeg glân gloyw; a rhoddai leverydd yn ngenau drychiolaeth, ac ymgomiai â'i gysgod ei hun.

O gylch hanner canmlwydd wedi gosod yr hyn oedd varwol o vabmaeth yr Awen gynnwynawl dan ywen yn monwent Ystrad Flûr, cynnaliwyd yr Eisteddvod vawr yn Nghaer Vyrddin, dan nawdd ac achles yr anrhydeddus Grufydd ab Nicolas o Ddinevawr, yn y flwyddyn 1451. Diben ac achaws yr Eisteddvod hon oedd adgyweiriaw yr adwyon a wnaethai amser ac anllywodraeth yn nheithi a deddvau Cerdd Davawd. Y llywydd clodwiw a gyhoeddodd—Bod naw diwrnod o amser i'r Beirdd ymbwyllaw, ac y rhoddid Cadair Arian i'r Bardd a gyvlwynai i'r Eisteddvod y Ddosparth gyvlawnav a chywreiniav o'r pedwar mesur ar hugain. Davydd ab Edmwnd, gwr bonheddig a bardd o Vaelawr yn Ngwynedd, a lwyddodd, ac a dderbyniodd y wobr. Y pedwar ar hugain mesur hyn a elwid byth o hynny allan yn Ddosparth *Caer Vyrddin*—Dosparth *D. ab Edmwnd*—a Dosparth *Gwynedd*, o herwydd iddi gael derbyniad diwrthryn yn y parth hwnnw o'r Dywysogaeth, a pharhaodd hevyd mewn cymmeriad yno hyd yn ddiweddar o vlwyddau.

Cyn pen hir gwedi Eisteddvod Caer Vyrddin yn y vl. 1451, annogwyd beirdd Gwent a Morganwg i gynnal Gorsedd, "*yn wyneb Haul ac yn llygad Goleuni*," i roddi nâg a gwrtheb yn erbyn derbyniad y Ddosparth newydd, vel y galwent Drevniant Caer Vyrddin. Haerent nad oedd hi ond cruglwyth o wag-orchestion, i lyfetheirio Awen, ac i gadw y beirdd mewn anwybodaeth. Honnent hevyd bod ganddynt hwy eu hunain Ddosparth o bedwar mesur ar hugain, a phob un o honynt yn wahanol oddiwrth y lleill, o ran ei "*nod anghen*," ei van-geni teuluawl ei hun, yr hwn ni pherthynai i un mesur arall. Yn yr ail Eisteddvod yn Nghaer Vyrddin, yn y vl. 1819, dygwyd ymlaen gymmhariaeth rhwng teilyngdod y ddwy Ddosparth, a rhoddwyd dedvryd "Bod o hynny allan Ryddid i Veirdd Ynys Prydain gyvansoddi Caniadau ar y mesurau mwyav teilwng a chyvaddas i'w testunau; ac na byddai rhagllaw wahaniaeth o barth teilyngdawd i'w roddi i vesurau yr un *Ddosparth*, na'r *Hen* na'r *Newydd*, ragor neu uwch eu gilydd; ond bod urddiant Cerdd neu Awdl i gael ei varnu wrth gymmhwylliadau synwyr, a phwyll, a chynghanedd rywiawg a diledryw, yn hytrach nag wrth amrywiaeth mesurau."

Eglurer yma deithi a theilyngdod amrywiol y ddwy Ddosparth yn ddammegol—cyfelyber hwynt i ddwy *Goedwig* wahanol. Anianyddion a ranant goedydd a llysiau yn deuluoedd; teulu y dderwen yn dwyn *mes*, teulu y ddraenen wen yn dwyn *ogvain*, &c. &c. Plannwyd pedwar pren ar hugain o wahanol rywiau yn nghoedwig yr *hen Ddosparth*, a dyvaler bod *helyg* o amryw vath yn gwneud i vynu un teulu helygog. Gwyddys bod yn eu plith helyg *llwydion*, *mer* helyg, helyg *breuon*, helyg *gwydnion*, helyg Babilon, &c.; er hynny helyg ydynt oll; ac os digwydd i un o honynt grwydro a thyvu yn bren yn mhlith llwyvain neu vedw, er hynny gwyddys wrth ei blodau, ei dail, &c. mai helygen ydyw. Velly hevyd am y

tri phren ar hugain eraill yn nghoedwig yr hen Ddosparth; adwaenir pob un o honynt wrth eu *nod anghen*, eu *man-geni*, yr hwn ni pherthyna i un teulu arall.

Bellach ystyrier y dull a gymmerth Davydd ab Edmwnd yn Eisteddvod Caer Vyrddin (1451) i blannu ei goedwig newydd ei hun. Cymmerodd *dderwen* o'r hen Ddosparth, ac a'i plannodd yn ei Ddosparth, ac a'i galwodd ar ei henw ei hun, *Derwen*—dyna *un* mesur; cymmerodd dderwen arall, ysgythrodd ei brigau, ac yna rhoddes arni enw *Onnen*—dyna yr *ail* vesur. Cyvarvu ag Eithinen y mynydd—eve a'i gosododd yn ei goedwig, ac a'i galwodd Cedr-wydden; ac i Vieren y rhoddes yr enw Olew-wydden: ac velly yn y blaen, nes yn mhen naw diwrnod yr Eisteddvod yr oedd ei ddiwydrwydd ev wedi hela ynghyd bedwar-ar-hugain o *enwau* mesurau, heb fod o honynt oll namyn *saith* yn dwyn eu *nodau-anghen* gwahanryw. Deongler ychydig yn rhagor ar ddammeg y Coedwigoedd a soniwyd—

Geraint Vardd Glas, yn y 10ed ganriv, a gyvansoddodd *Reithiadur Cerdd:* Ei vesurau ev oeddynt y naw gorchan, neu naw colovn cerdd, ac un go-golovn neu vesur adlaw dan yr enw *Cynghawg.* Gelwid y mesur velly, am mai ei nod anghen oedd cyssylltu dau neu ragor o'r mesurau ynghyd, vel y cyssyllta *Cynghav* (bur) amryw wrysg ynghyd—(Cynghav, Cynghavawg, Cynghawg.) Y mae Cynghawg yn deulu lliosog, ei rywiau braidd yn aneiriv; a buont yn gynnorthwy mawr i Ddavydd ab Edmwnd i gyvlawni rhivedi ei 24 mesur, yn Nghaer Vyrddin: canys allan o'r un mesur Cynghawg, ni ddevnyddiodd eve lai na *chwech* o'i vesurau, dan enwau newyddion—megis Gwawdodyn hir, Gwawdodyn byr, Hir a Thoddaid, Cyrch a Chwta, &c. Yr un math ar ryddid a gymmerodd mewn perthynas i'r mesur *Huppynt.* Un mesur, ac un teulu, sydd dan yr enw Huppynt yn yr hen Ddosparth, dan yr un nod anghen, yr un man-geni teuluawl; ond D. ab Edmwnd a'i plannodd yng nghoedwig ei Ddosparth mewn *tri* man, gan roddi enw gwahanol ar bob un, sev Huppynt hir, Huppynt byr, ac, megis "tin y nyth," Gorchest y Beirdd. Yr oedd Huppynt yn hen vesur ar arver gan y Cynveirdd a'r Gogynveirdd. Hwn yw mesur Cân Davydd Ddu o Hiraddug—"Ti Dduw a volwn" (Te Deum laudamus,) a mesur Bugeilgerddi Edward Richard o Ystrad Meiryg, a llaweroedd o Gerddi a Charolau Huw Morys, a'r cynghaneddwyr goreu yn yr oesau diweddar.

Nid yw Gorchest y Beirdd *(Nonpareil)* vel y gelwir, ond rhigwm gwael, y gwaelav o'r pedwar mesur ar hugain newydd: Mesur yw, cymmhwys i veddwyn uwch ben ei loddest: ar hwn gallai ganu,

"Dip dap
Rip rap
Gip gap—dod gwpan."

O! meddai disgybl D. ab Edmwnd (od oes *un* yn bod,) "Y mae yma dòr mesur—dau sill yn lle pedwar yn mhob ban." Gorau yn y byd medd pwyll a chrebwyll. Yr oedd meddwl am y mesur hwn, ac eraill yn y Ddosparth newydd, yn wrthwyneb câlon gan y Bardd mwyav awenyddol yn y ganriv ddiweddav, sev Goronwy Owain.

Rhoddir yma ei varn ev am danynt, vel yr ymddengys mewn llythyr o'r eiddo at gyvaill—

"Yr wyf yn deall bod yr hen vesurau, megis Triban, Toddaid, Clogyrnach, &c. yn cynnwys ynddynt elvenau cerdd beroriaethus, a bod arnynt nodau hynaviaeth; ac am rai o'r mesurau eraill, megis Gorchest y Beirdd a'i gymmheiriaid, gan eu bod yn bethau newydd, cam-dybiwyd hwynt yn vwyav cywrain a chyvrivol; ond nis gallav lai na'u barnu yn *waethyg*iadau yn lle *gwell*iadau cerdd. Pa gân cler y dom yw y *Gorchest* y Beirdd yna! a mynnwn atteb diduedd i'm holiad, Ai nid oes yn Nhri-ban Milwr, yr hen vesur gwrthodedig ac anmharchedig hwnnw, lawer mwy o ragoroldeb? .Pan amcanwyv ysgrivenu synwyr ar y vath vesur a Gorchest y Beirdd, ac yna dechreu!—wel! a bod vy mamiaith oludog yn rhy dylawd i roddi geiriau i orphen y pennill mewn synwyr a chynghanedd hevyd—Pa beth a wnav? Dim ond hyn—i gadw cynghanedd rhaid i mi ysgrivenu *ffiloreg* oddiyna i'r diwedd; a llyvetheirio a thorvynyglu synwyr, tra byddo fy Ngeiriadur yn cael ei droi wyneb yngwrthwyneb, i gael geiriau o'r un derfyniad, synwyr neu beidio. Ac ymhellach, tybier bod ein Iaith yn vwy gwreiddeiriol a chynnwysvawr nag ydyw (yr hyn nid oes achos na lle i neb ddymuno) pa gyvlawndeb o eiriau mwysion a ddichon y vath vesur 'rhegen yn y rhych' eu cynnwys! Gan vy mod yn deall i'r Gorchest y Beirdd hwn, a'i gymmheiriaid, gael eu trwydded trwy gyvrwng ac awdurdod Eisteddvod, mi a ddymunwn gael Eisteddvod etto, i roddi iddynt eu Hysgriven Ollyngdod i vyned gyda'u gilydd i ryw Wlad yr *Hud lonydd*, i ddigrivo poblach arverol o ddyvyru eu hunain yn gosod a dattod y clo can' clicied, yr haiarn 'taring,' chwarau cnau i'm llaw, a buarth pabau, &c. Yna llawenychwn weled yr hen vesurau yn cael eu hedvryd yn ol i'w parch a'u braint cyssevin, a synwyr yn cael yr orsedd yn lle 'twndi tandi' gwag orchestion difrwyth."

Pe buasai Goronwy Owain yn vyw, ac yn Eisteddvod Caer Vyrddin yn 1819, cawsai y dywenydd o weled yr hen vesurau yn cael eu dyrchavu i vod o leiav yn gyd-raddol â mesurau caethion y Ddosparth newydd; ac y mae sail i dybio na ddargeisiwyd cymmaint ag un pennill ar Orchest y Beirdd, na Thawddgyrch Cadwynawg, na Chyhydedd hir, gwedi yr Eisteddvod honno. Rhwyddddeb iddynt i "Wlad yr hud!"

Y mae tystiolaeth Goronwy Owain, ar y pwngc mewn llaw, yn drech na mil i'r gwrthwyneb. Eve a wyddai am ychydig o'r hen vesurau, drwy eu gweled ar wasgar mewn ysgrivau, er na welodd erioed mo'r Casgliad cryno o honynt a gyhoeddwyd yn ddiweddar yn Merthyr Tudvyl dan enw "Cyvrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain:" ei ddawn oruchel a'i galluogodd i ddadlu yn eu plaid vel beirniad anwrthwynebadwy. Ni bu erioed yn hof ganddo gynghaneddu ar y 24 mesur cyfredin. Yr oedd i'w awen aden grev, ond nid oedd eve am ei blino mewn gorchestion diorchest. Llwyddodd yn hynod yn ei evelychiad o'r hen vesurau, yn ei Briodasgerdd *(Epithalamium)* Elin Morys: (Dyddanwch Teuluaidd, 33, ail argraphiad) a'i Awdl ar ddull Meilyr Brydydd (yn y 12ed ganriv) sydd orchestol.

Yma gellid tervynu y Traethawd hwn, oni bai vod yr Ysgrivenydd yn lled-dybio mai bwriad Aelodau y Gymdeithas, a roddasant allan y testun, oedd ymorol—*nid* a vu y "pedwar mesur ar hugain" er *lles* neu *avles* i'r *Iaith*, ond a vu *Cynghanedd* er *llwydd* neu *avl*wydd i *Brydyddiaeth* Gymreig? Hynny ydyw, mewn geiriau eraill—A ydyw *Cynghanedd* yn vwy cymmhwys ac hanvodawl i *Brydyddiaeth Gymraeg* nag ydyw Moel-awdl, Cân benrhydd *(blank verse,)*—neu i'r gwrthwyneb? Os hyn yw sylvon yr ymovyniad, yr ydym yn deall ein gilydd, ac ni rusir atteb,—Bod *Cynghanedd* wedi gadael frwythau toreithiog i ddadlu yn ei phlaid—ei bod, yn ei diwyg orau, ac ni soniwn am dani yn ei bratiau, wedi bod yn harddwch addurnawl i'r Iaith; yr hyn nis gellir hyd yma haeru o blaid un Gân benrhydd. Y mae Cynghanedd gywir hevyd wedi gweini er *Cadwedigaeth* yr Iaith yn ddilwgr. Ni oddev Cynghanedd ddiledryw i *un gair*, nac i *un gydsain*, gael ei symmud o'i gorsav briodol mewn ban. Pe byddai hanner ban o'r groes-gynghanedd ar goll mewn hen ysgriv, hawdd a vyddai ei ail osod yn ei gywirdeb cyssevin, a hynny heb le i'r ammheuaeth lleiav. Pwy a ddywed hyn am eiriau, na gair, na sill ar goll mewn Cân benrhydd, os *Cân* y gellir ei galw? Rhodder goleuvynag ar hyn. Davydd ab Gwilym a roddai niver y Cywyddau a ganasai ar yr un testun—

"*Saith* Gywydd i Vorvydd vain
Seth hoywgorph *a* —— ——."

Dyvaler bod darn o'r ban diweddav ar goll, heb neb yn vyw a'i gwelsai yn gyvan. Govyner i'r *Gân benrhydd* pa niver o Gywyddau a ganasai y Bardd i Vorvydd dros ben y *saith* ar glawr? Byddai yn vud—ni wyddai ddim; ac os anturiai gais ar amcan, evallai y dywedai—"*Saith* Gywydd" a thri ar ddeg a naw!" Govyner i *Gynghanedd* yr un holiad, a hi a ddywedai yn groyw, heb na bloesgni na chrygni, mai "*Saith ugain*," oedd y ddeuair ar goll.

Gellir govyn,—Pa ham y mae y Gymraeg yn govyn cynghanedd i wneud ei phrydyddiaeth yn dlysawg mwy nag un iaith arall? Y mae yr atteb yn barod: Nis gellir cynghaneddu yn gywir gyvrodedd mewn un iaith adnabyddus ond yn y Gymraeg. Yn enwedig yn yr ieithoedd hynny nad yw pob cydsain mewn gair yn llavar; megis y Saisneg, y Wyddeleg, y Galeg, &c. Yr ieithoedd hyn ydynt â lliosogrwydd o gydseiniaid *mudion, meirwon,* yn dryvrithedig drwyddynt, tra mae cydseiniaid y Gymraeg *i gyd* yn vyw ac yn iach, ac yn llavar. Etto, y mae rhai ieithoedd, megis y Saisneg, y Wyddeleg, &c. a'u geiriau yn vwy llwythog o gydseiniaid na llavariaid (vowels;) eraill, megis yr Italeg, ieithoedd ynysoedd môr mawr y Dehau (Polynesia) &c. yn lliosocach eu llavariaid na'u cydseiniaid; tra mae y Gymraeg a'i deuryw nodau sain yn gydbwys; a hyn a achosa y vath bereidd-dra yn ei chynghanedd. Gwaith over yw son am velusder cynghanedd wrth undyn, os na bydd o berchen *clust* Gymreig: a chwith veddwl bod aml Gymro o enedigaeth a pharabl, â chlust Sais neu Wyddel ynglŷn wrth ei benglog! Haws dysgu ar davod leverydd gerdd gynghaneddol na chân benrhydd, a hwy hevyd y pery yn y cov; a pha gywirav y

cynghanedd, hawsav byth ei chovio. Darllened yr ammhëus ar y pwngc hwn, rai pigion o velys byngciau D. ab Gwilym, a bydded i rigymwyr y gân benrhydd ysgrivo yn eu dull eu hunain ar yr un destunau ag ev,—cymmharer hwynt, ac nid ovnwn y ddedvryd a roddid, ond i Gyviawnder diduedd gael meddiant ar orsedd barn. Hynod o'r clymiedig yw cynghaneddion llaweroedd o veirdd y bymthegved ganriv: Gutyn Owain a Thudur Aled a ddarlunient vywiogrwydd a chyvlymder *March* yn bencerddawl. Wele yma bigion o'u Cywyddau, i'w cymmharu â darluniadau Homer, Oppian, Vyrsil, &c. ar yr un sylvon.

"Gwr arvog â gweryrvarch
I chwi wyv vi—o chav *Varch*—
Ei neidiau ev a nodir,
Ei wrhyd yw Erw o dir;
Iwrch gwyllt dan ei Varchog oedd
Carw i achub brig gwrychoedd.
Ev yn gyvled â'i bedol
A dyrr ddarn o dir y ddol,
Torchai bedair tywarchen,
Trwch baedd o'r tir uwch ei ben.
Gwreichion yr einion a rydd
O'r hoelion drwy'r heolydd,
Mae aelwyd o'r dur *Milan*
Yn hau o'i bedolau dân."—*Gutyn Owain*, 1470.

"Froen sarug, frwyn nis ery,
Froenio gan awch, frwyn a gnŷ;
Ei gern o chlyw Gorn na chloch
A wna'i lygaid yn loywgoch:
Nid rhaid er peri naidio
Roi dur vyth ar ei dòr vo;
Dan Varchog bywiog di bwl
Ev a wyddiad ei veddwl—
Bwrw naid i'r wybr a wnai
Ar hyder yr ehedai!
Ei arial a ddyvalwn
Vel Elain coch o vlaen cwn,
Ail y carw, olwg gorwyllt
A'i draed yn gwau drwy dân gwyllt.
Drythyll ar bedair wyth-hoel
Gwreichionen ar ben pob hoel—
Dyrru'n vry dirwyn y vron
Deil haul ar dalau hoelion
Ser—neu Vellt—o'r sarn a vydd
Ar godiad yr egwydydd.
Carnau a phedolau'n dân
A ddryllia ddaiar allan—
O gyrrir draw i'r gweirwellt
Ni thyrr â'i garn wyth o'r gwellt
Trwyn Draig ym mlaen Taran draw
Tyr uwch gwynt tyweirch gantaw
Tân o'i garn tano a gaid
Tavlu main at *Vlowmoniaid.*—*Tudur Aled*, 1490."

Dargeisiwyd dangos yn y Traethawd hwn bod efeithiau y pedwar mesur ar hugain cyfredin yn vwy niweidiol i'n *prydyddiaeth* nag i'n *hiaith*, a hyny o achos eu cyvyngder gwrthun a dibwyll: ond pe canlynid rheolau y Ddosparth gyssevin, vel y gelwir yng "Nghyvrinach y Beirdd," ymddangosai ein mydryddiaeth yn harddach ei diwyg, a chynnwysai enaid cerdd yn lle ei chysgod.

Ein Grammadegwyr, neu Reithwyr Cerdd, o Gwilym Genoldrev i Rhobert Nantglyn, a rivant "Bymtheg o Veiau ac Anavau Cerdd Davawd;" a gwae y Bardd a vyddo yn ymdynnu am y dorch, os canvyddir dau neu dri o honynt yn ei Awdl. Dymunol a vyddai tynnu y *Pymtheg Beiau ac Anavau* hyn drwy Hislan Eisteddvod gyvreithlawn, a gorau pa gyntav, ped yn Eisteddvod Caer Dyv, yr Alban Elved nesav. Tybir na adawai yr Hislan veirniadol i ddim dros hanner y Beiau ac Anavau sevyll; a dëoler y lleill, ar ol Gorchest y Beirdd a'i gymdeithion, i wlad yr Hud, neu y tu hwnt i hynny i dir anghov.

Cyn diweddu, A oes etto ronyn yn nifyg i droi y vantol ar du *Cynghanedd?* Chwi, Gantorion gyda y Tannau ar Wyl Ddewi, pa vaint a gymmerwch er gwerthu cynghanedd eich pennillion? Gwyddys mai hyn yw eich atteb;—"Nid oes a wnel y delyn â chân benrhydd. Na bydded cyfiniau Cader Idris, nac ardaloedd Eryri byth heb Delyn, na'u Beirdd heb Gynghanedd: Telyn a Chynghanedd i gyd-daro eu seiniau naturiol."

Y Delyn! hi a vynn vod
Yn *un* a chân wech hynod—
Velly bo! evallai byth
I ddeiliaid y Geirdd ddilyth.

LLAWDDEN.

Mehevin, 28, 1834.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

MONASTERIES AND ABBEYS IN WALES.

BY THE REV. P. B. WILLIAMS, B. A.

RECTOR OF LLANBUG, CARNARVONSHIRE.*

THE order herein observed, is the giving, in the first place, an account of the Monasteries, or Ancient Religious Houses in the several counties of South Wales, alphabetically, including those of Monmouthshire, which was formerly included in it, and afterwards those of North Wales in a similar manner.

SOUTH WALES.

I. BRECONSHIRE.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN THE TOWN OF BRECKNOCK.

IN the time of Henry I. Bernard de Newmarch founded a Priory at Brecon for six Benedictine Monks, and made it subordinate to Battle Abbey in Sussex. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and so liberally endowed by him and his connexions, that at the dissolution, 26 Henry VIII. it was valued at £112. 14*s.* 2*d.* per annum, according to Dugdale; and £134. 11*s.* 4*d.* as appears by the authority of Speed. When it was dissolved, it was first granted, 33 Henry VIII. to the Bishop of St. David's and his successors; but within a year after, it was given to John ap Rice.

By the west gate in the said town, was formerly a house of black Friars, which was converted by King Henry VIII. in the thirty second year of his reign, into a College, by the name of the College of Christ-Church, in Brecknock, and which he united to the College

* The Royal Cymmrodorion Medal was awarded for this Treatise in 1833.

of Abergwili, in Carmarthenshire. This College still remains, and consists of the Bishop of St. David's, who is the Dean thereof; there are also pertaining to it the following members; viz. a Precentor, Treasurer, Chancellor, and nineteen Prebendaries.

The above establishments are thus noticed by Leland in his Itinerary. "In the town be [three] Parish Churches, and without there was of late a Cell of black Monks belonging to Battle Abbey;" and a little further on,—"The Parish Church was built where the Priori was; and was afore the Priori was made and yet is." And again, "In all the Lordship of Brekenac was not in time of memory but the Priory of Blake Monkes in Brekenok a Celle to Bataile. Bernardus de novo mercatu was founder of hit." And in Vol. 7, "Brechenauc Abbay, a celle of monks a late longing to Battaile." One Pycard, one of the knights adventurers who came into Brecknockshire after its reduction by the Normans, appears by the Monasticon to have been a benefactor to the Monks of Brecknock. Bernard de Newmarch gave him, the said Pycard, the Manor of Scethrog in this county. The Precinct of the Priory is considered to be within, and to form Part of the borough.

II. CARDIGANSHIRE.

ANCIENT RELIGIOUS HOUSES AT LLANSAINTFRAID AND LLANRHYSTID—LLANBADARN VAWR—YSTRAD-FLUR, OR STRATA FLORIDA—LLANDDEWI BREVI—LLANLLYR—CARDIGAN.

1. Llansaintfraid and Llanrhystid.

It was generally supposed by Leland, Tanner, and other writers, that there had formerly been a Nunnery at Llanrhystid, as there were remains of large buildings at the place, and a tradition amongst the inhabitants to the same effect.

About a mile to the south of Llanrhystid, on the sea coast, is Llan Saint Fraid Leian, or St. Bridget. In a book intitled "De Dotatione Ecclesiæ S. Davidis," there is mention made of the Abbey of Llan Fraid, which in all probability was at this place, as there are very considerable ruins here; and at a short distance was an old church, called Llan Nonn, dedicated to St. Nonn, the mother of St. David. Nothing now remains of this old fabric, except some part of the walls. Leland's words are, "There is a Church called St. Fraid 7 miles from Aberystwith towards Cardigan on the sea side, and there hath been great buildings;" but whether this was the Abbey of Llan Fraid, of which mention is made in the book "De Dotatione Ecclesiæ St. Davidis," or no, is doubtful. And Giraldus speaketh of a Nunnery "made in a newer world;" and perhaps this was at Llanrhystid, a mile lower or nearer to Aberystwith, as there are remains of great buildings at that place.

2. Llanbadarn Vawr.

It is recorded that St. Paternus, (Padarn,) about the middle of the sixth century, built a Monastery, and afterwards established an Episcopal See at this place* The Rev. Edward Lhuyd supposes, that the ancient inscription on a tombstone at Llanddewi Brevi, in this county, was erected to the memory of the bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr, who was, as Giraldus asserts, barbarously murdered by some inhuman wretches of his diocese. The history of Padarn, or St. Paternus, according to Welsh manuscripts, is as follows; viz. that he was the son of Pedredin ab Emyr Llydaw (Armorica,) and with his consin, Cadvan, and many other holy and religious persons, came into Wales; that he studied for some time at the College of Illtyd (Iltutus) in Glamorganshire, and was afterwards made bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr in Cardiganshire. But prior to his having been conscrated to that sacred office, he had established a religious community at the place, consisting of 120 members. He afterwards had the title of Archbishop. There can be little doubt but there was a College at Llanbadarn Vawr, and that it continued to be a place of instruction and religious education for several centuries after the time of Padarn; for Sulien the Wise, bishop of St. David's, is styled, in the Welsh Chronicles, Brut y Tywysogion and Brut y Saeson, "Mab maeth Padarn," (the pupil of Padarn;) from which circumstance it is evident that he was educated at this College. Sulien, a grandson of the Archbishop of that name, was a Tutor or Professor in the College of Llandadarn Vawr.† It has been clearly proved, by Archbishop Usher, and Dr. Burgess, late Bishop of St. David's, that the Roman Catholic religion was not fully established in Wales until after the Norman conquest. However, in the course of time, and in order to conciliate the Welsh, David, Padarn, and Teilo were canonized by the Pope, and this place became a sanctuary.

3. Ystradflur, or Strata Florida.

The Abbey of Strata Florida was so called, because it was built in Ystradflur, (the Vale of Flur,) which received its name from Flur, a river near to which the building was erected. This celebrated Monastery was founded by Rhys, son of Griffith ap Rhys, Prince of

* Ex Vita Paterni Episcopi. Paternus natus in minori Britannia, Monasteria et Ecclesias per totam Kereticam regionem, quæ nunc Cardiganshire vocatur; ædificavit Monasterium prope urbem.—From the Life of Bishop Padarn. Padarn born in Brittany, built Monasteries and Churches throughout the Ceretican district, which is now called Cardiganshire; he erected the monastery of Padarn near the city [of Aberystwyth.]

† Llonio, the son of Alan ab Emyr Llydaw, is mentioned, in the Cambrian Biography, to have been Dean of St. Padarn at Llanbadarn Vawr.

South Wales, about the year 1164, for Cistercian Monks, and was the burial place of princes, warlike chiefs, priests, and senators. It was burnt down in the wars of King Edward I. with the Welsh, in the year 1295; but it was soon rebuilt, and continued to flourish until the general dissolution of those ecclesiastical institutions in the reign of Henry VIII. Its revenues at that time, according to the calculations of Dugdale, were £118. 7*s.* 3*d.*; and £122. 6*s.* 8*d.* as made out by Speed. According to the old Welsh divisions of land, which existed prior to the Act which authorized Wales to be divided into counties, in the reign of Henry VIII., it was situated in the Commot (Cwmmwd) of Mevenydd, Cantrev Canol, now called the Upper Division of the Hundred of Ilar, and in the Parish of Caron, alias Trev Garon, from which place it is distant about four miles nearly north east. The cemetery, or Abbey burying yard, was the largest in Wales, or perhaps in the kingdom, and is said to have extended over 120 acres of land; but the present church yard consists of only two acres. There is a small Church or Chapel erected at a short distance from the ruins of the Old Abbey, the patronage of which belongs to the family of Nanteos. The Abbey Church appears to have been standing in Leland's time, a few years prior to the dissolution; for he thus speaks of it:—"The Church of Strateflere is large side-aisled and cross aisled. By it, is a large Cloyster, the Fratry and Infirmitory be now mere ruins. The Cemetery, wherein the Country about doth bury, is very large and meanly walled with stone; and in it be thirty nine yew trees. The base Court or Camp before the Abbey is very fair and large. Strateflere is set round about with mountains, except on the west part where Dyffryn Tyvy is; many hills thereabout have been well wooded, as evidently appears by old roots, but now on them is almost no wood, the causes be these, First the wood when cut down was never copsed, secondly after cutting down the wood, the goats have so bitten the young shoots or sprigs, that it never grew but like shrubs, thirdly men destroyed the great woods, that they should not harbour thieves. Strateflere of some called * * * because betwixt it and Flere Brook * * Above Ystradflur cometh out of the mountains a wild water [rapid stream] and runneth into the Tivy. The water as I heard say is called Glasrode [Glasryd or Glasfrwd.] There is a Linn [*Llyn*, a Lake] about four miles from Strateflere called Lyn Tivy, about a mile in length and a quarter in breadth, and Tivy cometh out of this Pool, and goeth towards Ystradflur Abbey, and thereabout cometh in Glasffrwd, somewhat beneath the Abbey. Glasffrwde riseth 3 miles from Ystradfflur in the mountains on the high way to Builth. Tivy goeth from Stratflere to Tregaron, a village four miles off. Griffith Dun, Justice of Carmarthen told me that there is a rock or stone not for [far] distant from Stratflere from whence a man may see nine Lines [Lyns—lakes or pools] and thence it is called Craig naw Llynn, i. e. the nine Lake rock." Thus far Leland. At present there are but few of the thirty nine yew trees mentioned by him remaining. Tradition says that the celebrated Bard, David ab Gwilym, was buried under an yew tree; and the

following lines, which were written to be placed on his grave stone, seem to confirm the prevailing opinion.

"Davydd gwiw awenydd gwrdd,
Ai yma'th roed dan goed gwyrdd,
Dan lasbren hoyw *ywen* hardd,
Lle'i claddwyd y cuddiwyd cerdd.

Glasdew ywen, glân eos, Deivi
Mae Davydd yn agos
Yn y pridd mae'r gerdd ddiddos
Diddawn in' bob dydd a nos."

Son of Gwilym; art thou laid
Here beneath the greenwood shade
If Tivy's Nightingale is fled,
Bards and muses all are dead.

Happy yew tree, guard the spot,
Never let his ashes rot;
Dumb and silent is the lay
Which amus'd us night and day.

Owen Gwynedd, a Bard of the sixteenth century, passing by this place, could not help lamenting the loss of its former magnificence, and insinuates that its ruin and destruction were occasioned by the sins and trangressions of the occupants. The following are some of the lines which he composed during his visit:—

"Mae dialedd ryvedd am ryvyg—buchedd
Bechod gwyr eglwysig
Mawr yw cur y mur cerrig
Am watwor Duw matter dig."

Sinners, who scoff and rail at God,
Are sure to feel th' avenging rod:
The end of guilt these walls declare,
And warn offenders to beware.

Here follows a list of persons of rank and eminence, who were buried at this Monastery:—

	A. D.
Griffith, abbot	1150
Meredith ab Robert	1145
David, abbot	1180
Cadell ap Griffith ap Rhys	1176
Howel ap Ievan, Lord of Arwystly	1185
Eineon ab Cynan	1185
Owen ap Rhys	1191
Rhys ap Griffith, the Founder	1196
Griffith ap Rhys	1202
Howel Sais ap Rhys	1204
Maud de Bruce, wife of Griffith ap Rhys, buried in a monk's cowl	1210
Rhys son of Griffith ap Rhys	1221
Cadivor, abbot	1222
Maelgon, son of Prince Rhys	1230
Owen ap Griffith ap Rhys	1235
Gwenllian, dau^r. of Maelgon	1255
Young Maelgon	1260
Meredith ap Griffith	1270
Philip Goch, the 13th abbot	1280

Leaden coffins are frequently dug up within the distant limits of the ancient cemetery, which proves its extent to have been very considerable. At a short distance from the present modern Church and the ruins of the Abbey, is a handsome, comfortable mansion, built by J. Stedman, Esq. with the stones of the out-offices of the Abbey, and now in the possession of the Powells of Nanteos. In almost all the old Monasteries was a good library, and some of the most learned monks were employed in recording the celebrated transactions, and keeping a chronological account of the events of the age, most worthy of commemoration; and at this Abbey, in particular, were preserved the genealogies of the Princes and the principal families in the Principality, as well as the works of the most renowned Bards, and also the national records from the earliest period.* In the year 1401, in an expedition against Owain Glyndwr, Henry IV. destroyed this Abbey, and ravaged the country.

There are some Welsh lines printed in the Myvyrian Archaiology, composed by Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig hen, and addressed to Llywelyn Vychan ap Llywelyn, Abbot of Ystrad Flur. This Bard flourished from 1330 to 1370. The Abbot had been ill, and the object of the Cywydd was to congratulate him on his recovery.

"Credav yt Iesu vab y Croywdad
Creawdwr hael lluniawdwr haul a lleuad
Nerthaist vyvi megis neirthiad
Am Arglwyddlyw a mur gwleddwlad
Am wr eres drevn am wawr Ystrad
Flur a'i Phennadur modur mad
Llywelyn wiwbarch lluniaidd Abad
Vychan gwr divan garw i dyviad
Llin llyw cynnevin llew cynniviad
Llywelyn arall dedwyddgall Dad
Heiliaist Ddovydd gwyn, hwyl bryn a brad
Haint a'i arwyddion hynt da roddiad
Anobaith vuam am iawn Abad
A'th nerth a'n difyrth a'th wyrth wrthiad
Clywed a wnaethost dost destyniad
Vy llev hyd y Nev ehud noviad
Ac estyn hoedl heb gas dyniad
Im llariaidd obaith llawrodd Abad."

Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecknock, deposited his books at this Monastery, during his absence on a journey to Rome, to support his claim to the See of St. David's, then vacant, and to remonstrate against its Bishops becoming Suffragans to that of Canterbury; when the influence of King Henry, and of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Pope prevailed, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the Archdeacon.

* Yn y vlwyddyn honno, sev 1180, (neu o gylch hynny) amgylch mis Gorphennaf, y daeth Coveint Ystrad Flur i Redynawg Velen yng Wynedd. (Brut y Tywysogion, p. 438.) [In the year 1180, or thereabouts, about the month of July, the Records of Strata Florida were brought to Redynawg Velen in North Wales.—Ed. Tr.]

Sisillys, or Sisyllt, Abbot of Ystrad Flur, accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, through North and South Wales, when he preached the Cross or Crusade; and the Archbishop slept a night at this Monastery, in the year 1188. Edward the First, in a short time after the conquest of Wales, attempted to levy a tax on the Welsh for his French war; but they, unaccustomed to such impositions, indignantly refused to submit, and a rebellion was the consequence; and the Abbot of this place having sided with his countrymen, Edward in revenge burnt the Abbey; but afterwards contributed £78 towards the rebuilding of it.

4. Llanddewibrevi.

This place seems to have the principal claim to notice, as a religious establishment, next after Ystrad Flur; and the first circumstance which gave it celebrity was the famous Synod of Brevi, held there A. D. 519, under the auspices and in obedience to the summons of Dubricius (Dyvrig,) Archbishop of Caerleon-on-Usk. The purport of this grand convocation was to consult on the best means of opposing Pelagianism, at that time beginning to gain ground in Wales, and if possible to confute its propagators, and extinguish it. Dewi, or St. David, to whom this church was dedicated, was disciple of Paulinus, Abbot of Tŷ Gwyn, (Whitland, in Carmarthenshire;) and being a person eminent for his learning and piety, he attended this meeting, at the particular request and pressing solicitation of the Archbishop, and Daniel (Deiniol) Bishop of Bangor; the former of whom soon afterwards resigned his archbishopric in his favor. In the course of time, some lands having been offered to St. David in Pembrokeshire, he removed the See of the Archbishop from Caerleon, first of all to Llandaff, as some authors assert, and afterwards to Menevia, (Mynyw,) now St. David's. He also founded a church about the same time at Llanddewi Brevi, and his father Sandde (Xanthus) son of Ceredig, prince of that country, endowed it with the Lordship of Llanddewi Brevi, which continues attached to the Bishopric of St. David's to this day. At this place, in Henry VIII.'s time, there was, as Leland informs us, "a College of xiiii Prebends belonging to St. David's." After the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into Wales, it became a celebrated sanctuary; and during the intestine divisions and civil wars of the Welsh, it was considered highly impious and sacrilegious to take away by force any person who had fled thither for security, or any beasts that had been driven there for safety; and accordingly, in the Welsh History, it is denominated Noddva Dewi (St. David's Sanctuary.) This Llanddewi, or St. David's, in order to distinguish it from other churches of the same name, is called Llanddewi Brevi, from a brook named Brevi, near which it is situated. "The Collegiate Church of Prebendaries," saith Leland, "standeth somewhat upon a high ground, but it is rude."

Soon after the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into this part of Wales, some artful designing monk took occasion from the word *brevi*, signifying the lowing of cattle, to fabricate a wonderful tale, and invent an astonishing miracle; and in order the more effectually to deceive the superstituous multitude, he procured a pair ofimmense horns, which he pretended to have discovered near the spot, in consequence of a search he had made, after having read the history of the miracle in some old Manuscripts. The substance of which legend was this; that there was a large dragon, or some other destructive animal, in a neighbouring lake, which used to come out in the night, and commit great depredations. St. David, with the assistance of some of the inhabitants, speared the monster with an harpoon, to which a rope was attached; he then procured two large oxen, (from that event denominated Ychain bannog, i. e. the large ar notable Oxen,) and yoked them, and fastened them to the rope; he then prayed for their success, and they immediately drew the dragon out, and it was soon after destroyed by the people; one of the oxen however by over-exertion fell down, and died on the spot, after accomplishing this extraordinary feat, and his fellow lowed in so loud and melancholy a manner after him, that the mountain was rent in twain, and the place was ever after called Llanddewi Brevi. The learned in former times were accustomed to introduce enigmas, parables, riddles, and apologues into their writings and orations, and this legend was no doubt invented in order to give greater celebrity to the confutation of Pelagianism by Dubricius and St. David; the nearly mortal wound typifying that which the heresy received, the oxen representing the two learned prelates, and the monster signifying Pelagius. Two large horns were kept in the church until lately, and exhibited as those of the celebrated oxen.

Dubricius, after resigning his archbishopric in favor of St. David, retired soon after the Synod of Brevi, together with several other religious persons, to the Island of Bardsey (Enlli.) Of this retirement of Dubricius and his followers, mention is made by Aneurin Gwawdrydd, the Bard, (who acquired the surname of Mychdeyrn Beirdd, i. e. Prince or Chief of Bards,) in the following lines:—

"Pan oedd Saint Senedd Vrevi	When Dubricius the Holy,
Drwy arch y Prophwydi	From the Synod of Brevi,
Ar ol gwiw Bregeth Dewi	Retired to Enlli,
Yn myn'd i Ynys Enlli."	By the warning of Prophecy,
	And the Sermon of Dewi.

In the year 1187, Thomas Beck, Bishop of St. David's, made Llanddewi Brevi a Collegiate Church, consisting of a Precentor and twelve Prebendaries; and for their maintenance and support, he appropriated, in whole or in part, the tithes of fourteen different parishes; viz. Llanfair Clydogau, Blaenporth, Llannerchaeron, Dihewid, Llanwenog, Ystrad, Llangybi, Llanddeiniol (alias Carrog,) Llanbadarn Odyn, Llanbadarn Trev Eglwys, in Cardiganshire; and Trelech a'r Bettws, in Carmarthenshire. It was valued at the dissolution at £38. 11*s*. 0*d*. Leland mentions, that David Roberts,

David ap Llywelyn, and Thomas Edwards, Vicars Choral of this Collegiate Church, had, in 1534, subscribed to the King's supremacy; and from the same authority we learn, that in 1553, when he visited this place, the following members enjoyed Pensions; viz.

Thomas Derham . . .	6	0	0
Reginald Williams . .	8	6	8
Morgan Jenkins . . .	3	6	8

The above Vicarages were so pillaged and robbed in the time of Henry VIII., that at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the best of them was worth no more than £32 per annum; and at present they do not exceed £50 on an average.

Archbishop Baldwin slept a night at this place, in his expedition to Wales on account of the Crusades, in 1188. Dr. Rowland Meyrick, of Bodorgan, Anglesey, was Precentor of Llanddewi Brevi, when he was consecrated bishop of Bangor, in 1559. There are a few old inscriptions here, which the Rev. Edward Lhuyd, and other celebrated antiquaries, have not been able satisfactorily to explain.

5. Llanllyr.

This place is in the vale of Aeron, not far from Tal y Sarn Grin; and the Religious House was a Cistercian Nunnery, being a Cell of Strata Florida, for white Nuns. Its yearly value was £57. 5*s.* 4*d.* according to Dugdale and Speed; and it was granted, 7° Edward VI. to William Sackville and John Dudley. It is in the parish of Llanvihangel Ystrad.

6. Cardigan.

In the town of Cardigan was a Priory of black monks, a cell to Chertsey. It contained only two members in Leland's time. The revenues of it were rated, 26° Henry VIII. at £32 per annum, but clear of reprises at £13. 4*s.* 9*d.* only. It was granted, as part of the possessions of Chertsey, in the county of Surrey, to Bisham Abbey, in 29 Henry VIII.; and afterwards, in 31 Henry VIII., was given to William Cavendish.

III. CARMARTHENSHIRE.

WHITE HOUSE ON TAVE—TALLEY—CARMARTHEN—KIDWELLY—ST. CLEAR'S—ABERGWILI.

1. White House on Tave.

This place, in Welsh Tŷ Gwyn ar Dâv, and sometimes called Alba Landa and Whitland, was generally known, and had been greatly distinguished long prior to the erection of the Abbey, as that where Howel Dda, King of South Wales, had summoned a parliament, or convocation of the bishops, nobles, senators, and other learned and eminent persons within his dominions, in order to revise and amend the laws of the country, to abrogate those that were objectionable, and enact others that might be deemed more useful and necessary; which celebrated code is still is existence, and known by the name of Cyvreithiau Hywel Dda (Howel the Good's Laws.) Here Bernard, the first Norman bishop of St. David's, founded and endowed an Abbey, about the year 1143, for Cistercian, or, according to Leland, white Monks, otherwise called Bernardines. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and latterly had only eight monks in it. The yearly value of this establishment, in 26 Henry VIII., according to Dugdale, was £135. 3*s.* 6*d.*; but Speed makes the emoluments to be £153. 17*s.* 2*d.* It was granted, 36° Henry VIII., to Henry Audley and John Cordel. This place is in the parish of Llangan, situated near the river Tave, and not far from the boundaries of the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen: it was extremely well wooded in Leland's time, for he says that it was standing in a vast wood, as in a wilderness. Prince Howel Dda resided here; and it is recorded that he erected a vast timber building for the reception of his senators summoned for the revision of the Welsh Laws, and probable that the place took its name from the appearance of such an edifice being made of unbarked wood or white timber. The remains of the Abbey are now very inconsiderable, and the place is at present called the Forge, as a building of that description was erected here not many years ago for the smelting of iron. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

About the year 1180, Cadwalader, the son of Rhys, was slain in Dyfed, and buried at Tŷ Gwyn.* About the year 1212, Cadwgan, abbot of Tŷ Gwyn, was made bishop of Bangor. About the year 1229, some of the Monks of Tŷ Gwyn went to reside at a place called Gwyndir in Ireland. Archbishop Baldwin slept a night at Tŷ Gwyn, on his tour through Wales, preaching the Cross, in 1188.

* Brut y Tywysogion, p. 438.

2. Talley.

Talley, alias Tal y Llychau, (the end of the Lakes or Pools,) is situated in a valley about four miles from Llandilo Vawr, and on the road from that town to Caio, Llansawel, and Lampeter. Here was a Premonstratensian Abbey, according to Dugdale and Tanner's Notitia Monastica; but Leland calls it a Priory of white Canons. It is supposed to have been founded by Rhys the son of Griffith, prince of South Wales, who died A. D. 1197. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and John the Baptist. This Priory is said to have been afterwards a cell to Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire. The value of it, as represented by Dugdale, was £136. 9*s.* 7*d.*; and according to Speed, £153. 1*s.* 4*d.* At the dissolution, it contained only eight Canons. The present church was built out of the ruins of the Abbey. There were formerly five chapels in this parish; and places are still distinguished as the site of two of them, that are known by the names of Mynwent Capel Llanfihangel, (the Churchyard of St. Michael,) and Mynwent Capel Mair (St. Mary's Churchyard.) There are considerable remains of the Abbey near the present churchyard, which may justly be ranked amongst the most venerable specimens of ecclesiastical establishments in this part of the Principality.

The Abbot of this place, in conjunction with Sir Rice ap Thomas, and Morgan of Kidwelly, was very instrumental in bringing the Earl of Richmond over from France, and in placing him on the throne of England;* for he carried on a correspondence with the Earl, and gave him every necessary intelligence. In the year 1214, Iorwerth, abbot of Talley, was made bishop of St. David's.

3. Carmarthen.

In this town were two ecclesiastical establishments; viz. a Priory of black monks at the east end, on the banks of the river Towy, and and at the west end a House of Grey Friars. The former was established about the year 1141; but who the founder was, is uncertain. In one place, it is called by Leland a Priory of black Canons, and represented as situated in old Carmarthen, on the river side; and it is noticed by him again, as "Carmarthen Priory of black Canons now down;" but this cannot be correct, for a great part of the ancient structure was standing at the beginning of the present century. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist; its revenues at the time of the suppression were valued at £174. 8*s.* 8*d.*; and it was granted, 35° Henry VIII., to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple.

* Cambrian Register, Vol. I. p. 88.

The House of Grey Friars was at the west end of the town, near Lammas street, and was surrounded by a high wall; it was situated in a large field, still distinguished by the name of Parc y Brodyr, or Friars' Field, was an appendage to the Monastery of St. Augustine, at Bristol, and was granted 34° Henry VIII. to Thomas Lloyd, and 5° Edward VI. to Sir Thomas Gresham.

4. Kidwelly.

In this town, the principal part whereof is situated between the two rivers Gwendraeth vawr and Gwendraeth vechan, was a small Priory of black monks, which was a cell to Sherbourne. Leland's words are,—"In the new town is a church of our Lady's, and near it is the cell of black monks of Shirebourn. The Prior is Parson of our Lady's church." This Priory, as appears by Tanner, was founded by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, about A. D. 1130, and made subordinate to Sherborn in Dorsetshire. The revenues were valued 26 Henry VIII. at £29. 10*s.* 0*d.**

5. St. Clear's.

St. Clear's, sometimes called Sancta Clara, is a small village nine miles west of Carmarthen, and on the high road from that town to Haverfordwest and Milford. Here was an alien Priory, called by Leland a little monastery, consisting of a Prior and two Cluniack Monks, which was a cell to St. Martin de Campis in Paris. It was founded before A. D. 1291, and was dissolved, with other alien priories, by Henry V. and its possessions were given by Henry VI., in the 20th year of his reign, to All Souls' College, Oxford.

6. Abergwili.

This village is situated near the confluence of the two rivers Gwili and Towy, and about two miles east of Carmarthen, on the road to Llandilo. Here is a handsome palace belonging to the Bishops of St. David's, where they reside when in the Diocese. Thomas Beck, bishop of St. David's, made this Church Collegiate A. D. 1287, for twenty two Prebendaries, four Priests, four Choristers, and two Clerks, to the honour of St. Maurice; and Henry Gower, bishop of St. David's, A. D. 1334, ordained that there should

* It was situated at Penallt, near Kidwelly; the present remains are very inconsiderable. —Ed. Tr.

be in this College a Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, and made many other regulations respecting it. But King Henry VIII. not approving of this arrangement, annexed it, in A. D. 1541, to his newly erected College at Brecknock, and appropriated most of the revenues to that establishment. It was valued, 26° Henry VIII. at £42. 0*s.* 0*d.* per annum, according to Dugdale.*

III. GLAMORGANSHIRE.

LLANDAFF—NEATH—CARDIFF—MARGAM—EWENNY—LLANILLTYD —LLANCARVAN.

1. Llandaff.

As it is not the object of this compilation to notice Cathedrals, except where Abbeys or Monasteries have once existed, we shall only observe that this church is dedicated to four saints; viz. St. Peter, St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Odoceus; that the district became a bishopric in the time of St. Dubricius, about the commencement of the sixth century; and that the present Cathedral was built by Bishop Urban, about the year 1120, the former structure being of very small dimensions. This church is by some writers said to have been founded by Germanus and Lupus, two French bishops, after suppressing the Pelagian Heresy, then spreading itself over Britain; and that Dubricius, a most holy man, was appointed its first bishop, to whom Meuric, a British prince, gave all the country between the rivers Tave and Ely.

2. Neath.

Neath Abbey is in the parish of Llangatwg, or Cadoxton, and on the west side of the river Neath. It was called by the Welsh, Monachlog Glynn Nedd (Monastery of the Glen of Neath.)

Richard de Grainville, and Constance his wife, gave the chapel in their castle at Neath, and the tithes belonging to it, and also a large tract of land, with other possessions, in the reign of Henry the First,

* This College was in the first instance founded at Llangadock, in 1283, for a Precentor and twenty one Canons, or Prebendaries, and subsequently translated to Abergwili.

Near the church of Llanllwni are some remains of an ancient Priory, called by the inhabitants "Hen Briordy," which is thought to have been a cell to the Abbey of Strata Florida, and on a farm called Maes Nonny, or Nuns' Field, in the same parish, it is said that there was anciently a Nunnery; but neither the Priory or Nunnery is mentioned in Tanner's Notitia Monastica, nor is anything known of thier foundation or history. Lewis' History of Wales.—Ed. Tr.

to the Abbot and Convent of Savigny, near Lyons, in France, that they might build an Abbey at this place; and a very fine one, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was accordingly erected a little below the town, on the west bank of the river, for Monks of the Order of Savigny, or *Fratres Grisei*, who soon afterwards became Cistercians. But notwithstanding the original donation to Savigny, it does not appear that this place was ever subject to that foreign Monastery, or accounted as an alien Abbey. It must, at one time, have been a very large and magnificent building. The following is Leland's testimony respecting it;—"Neth an Abbey of white Monks a mile above Neth town, standing also in the ripe [bank] of Neth. It seemed to me the fairest Abbey of all Wales."

The celebrated Welsh bard, Lewis Morganwg, who flourished about the year 1520, composed a very elaborate Ode (Awdl) in praise of Lyson (Lleision,) who was abbot of this place in his time; and he represents him not only as a person of a most munificent, hospitable, and generous disposition, but also as a man of great benevolence, erudition, and piety; and he is by no means deficient in the commendation of the friendly and generous reception he had met with from the Abbot, nor in expressing his admiration of the grandeur and magnificence of the structure, of the costly ornaments of the interior, the rich robes and gorgeous vestments of the priests, and of the miraculous virtues of the numerous valuable relics. One of the stanzas, wherein he notices the buildings, is as follows,—

"Teml Nedd tai aml newyddion
Duw mawlheir yn y deml hon
Dunawd tad Abad attebion Berned
Barnwr crefyddolion."

Temple of Neath, where there are numerous new buildings; and God is worshipped in this temple; and Lyson is like Dunotus, the father of Abbots, and like Bernet the judge, chief of all the religious.

Again, in another stanza he says,—

"Val wybr y Vâl Ebron
Yw chlog hi'r Vonachlog hon
Trwm yw'r plwm yn trumio'r plas
To dulas tai duwiolion."

The lofty roof of this Monastery is like the serene blue expanse of the Vale of Hebron, and like a grand palace covered with lead; and beneath its fair dome is the residence of religious devotees.

"Pob lliw yn y gwydr, pob llun gwiwdraul
Pa le trwy hwn val pelydr haul
Pyrth araul porthorion."

And its elegant painted glass windows, representing the arms of different Kings and Emperors, and various figures and ornaments; how magnifi-

cently grand, when the sun darts his beams through the glass, and the different arches, doors and gateways, kept by watchful porters!

"Y Nenn vawr uchel yn y nev wreichion
Goruwch yngolwg Archangylion
Y llawr i bobloedd holl wyr Bablon
Obry a weithiwyd a main brithion
Y clych a'r menych a'r mwynion voliant
Mynych ogoniant Meneich gwynion."

The lofty ceiling painted to represent the archangels in heaven; and the spacious floor, sufficiently large to contain the inhabitants of Babylon, is paved with variegated marble. Then how rapturous to hear the chiming and ringing of the bells, and the soft music, the delightful chaunting, and loud anthem of the white-robed assembly, united to celebrate the praises of the Most Highest in one grand and harmonious chorus!

The Abbey House is now converted into copper forges. The gates, halls, and gallery remained till lately, and the arms of England and those of John of Gaunt were sculptured on the walls of one of the rooms, and also three chevrons quartering three organ rests, being those of Granville. In this Abbey the unfortunate Edward II. took refuge, until he was taken prisoner. There were only eight monks in it about the time of the dissolution, and Dugdale states its revenues then to have been £132. 7*s.* 7*d.*; and Speed says they were £150. 4*s.* 9*d.* It was granted, 35° Henry VIII., in exchange, to Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell.

3. Cardiff.

In this place were several religious establishments, viz. a Convent of Black Friars without Misken Gate, or Westgate, founded by Richard de Clare about the year 1250. A Convent of Grey Friars, founded in 1280, by Gilbert, Earl of Clare, who dedicated it to St. Francis, and made it a cell to a Monastery at Bristol; it was situated at the north-east of the town, in the suburb called Crockerbtown, and some of the walls are still remaining. There were also two other Religious Houses, of which there are no vestiges, but are noticed by Tanner, one whereof is supposed to have been occupied by White Friars, and founded by Robert, the first Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1147. When Owain Glyndwr burnt the town in 1400, this house was spared, and also the street in which it was situated, inhabited by the Franciscans.

4. Margam.

This place is also called Pendâr; the Abbey was founded by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, about 1147. "At Margam (says Leland) was

an Abbey of white monks, where was a very large and fair church. It standeth toward the sea, in the middle way almost between Cowbridge and Neath." And again the same author remarks,—"Margam is the best Village of Tre Iarll Lordship, and in it was an Abbey of white monks." Giraldus calls the Monastery founded here,—"Nobile Cisterciencis Ordinis Monasterium," and says that it excelled all others in Wales, for the reputation of liberality in relieving the distressed. In his time one Conan, a learned and discreet man, was abbot. Its Annals were printed by Mr. Gale, in his Historiæ Scriptores, in 1687. The present church is dedicated to St. Mary. This place is supposed to have derived its name from Mawrgan, the son of Caradoc ab Iestyn, about the year 1200; who, with his brothers Cadwallon and Meriadoc, confirmed by Charter their father's benefactions to the Abbey. About a mile from hence was a Convent of Nuns called Eglwys Nunyd, now a farm house. No records exist of this foundation, but tradition still remains of a subterraneous communication having been between the two houses. As the Earl was dispossessed of his English estates by King Stephen, for his adherence to the claim of his half sister, the Empress Matilda, it is supposed that at his death at Gloucester, on the 31st of October, 1147, he gave his sanction and patronage to the establishment, and endowed it with this extensive parish, and other property, being then part of his vast domains, of which he became possessed by his marriage with Maud, the daughter and heiress of Robert Fitz-Hamon, the Norman chief of the county of Glamorgan. By the same right he became Lord of the castle and township of Cynvig, which adjoins Margam, and was bequeathed with it to the Abbey; and also of Cardiff castle, which he gave to his son William. It appears that this Earl, and his Countess Hawisca, were taken prisoners in the year 1158, by the Welsh, in the fortress of Cynvig. Towards the end of that century, Caradoc, by a nuncupative will, bequeathed large possessions to the Abbey, which his sons Mawrgan, Cadwallon, and Meriadoc confirmed by Charter, (without a date,) and addressed "Ordini Cisterciencí et fratri Meilero et Fratribus de Pendâr." But in a grant of lands, bestowed on the Abbey in 1349, by Sir John D'Abene, a descendant in the fifth generation from Caradoc, it is denominated the Abbey of Margam. In the second volume, p. 37, of Mr. Stevens' Additions to Sir W. Dugdale's Monasticon, he speaks of Pendâr as a Cistercian Monastery in Wales, the site of which no writer of Monastical History had discovered; but states that in the Charter of Margam, granted by Mawrgan and his brothers, this Monastery is termed Pendâr; and therefore it evidently appears to be identified with Margam. Mawrgan having given his name to the Abbey, Hugh le De Spenser endeavoured to do the same with respect to *his* family, but with less success; for when confirming to this Abbey the grant of various lands given by his ancestors, the De Clares, Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, he addresses his grant in two instances, "Monachis de Clareval de Fundatione Abbatiæ de Margam." But though Margam has supplanted the name of Pendâr, Clareval did not extinguish Margam.

Pendâr (Oak-Head) was the ancient name of the oak-crowned hill or promontory, at the end of which the old Abbey was situated. Its value at the dissolution, according to Dugdale, was £181. 7*s.* 4*d.* but by Speed's calculation, £188. 14*s.* 0*d.* It was sold to Sir Rice Mansell, Knight; and is now the property of the Talbot family, the heirs by the maternal line of the Mansells. The old mansion at Margam, which was attached to and included part of the Abbey, was pulled down about the year 1780. The Orangery here, of late years so celebrated, seems to be as ancient as Queen Anne's time, and is confessedly one of the finest and most productive in the kingdom. The greenhouse is 327 feet in length, and the conservatory 150. Further information respecting the Abbey may be obtained from the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, published by Sir R. Colt Hoare, and the "Annals of Margam," by Mr. Gale.

5. Ewenny.

This place is near Bridgend, and on the road from that town to Cowbridge. The church of Wenny, or Ewenny, is part of the fine old Abbey, one of the most perfect specimens of the monastic establishment; and in the chancel thereof is an interesting grave stone, commemorating the name of de Londres, the founder, about the year 1140. "Wenny (says Leland) is three miles from Cowbridge, a cell belonging to Gloucester, founded by Sir John de Londres, Lord of Ogmore." Ewenny was a Benedictine Priory. The church is venerable and ancient; the columns round and massive, the capitals simple, and the arches round. There is also in the chancel, whose roof is stone and groined arches, a monument supposed to commemorate Pain Turberville, conqueror of Glamorganshire, and whose family long inhabited the mansion house, which is ancient, and has a large hall. This Priory was valued at the dissolution at £87 per annum. This place took its name from the small river on which it stands, (y Wenwy, i. e. the white stream.) The church is dedicated to St. Michael. At the dissolution, this Priory and its possessions, which were considered as part of those of St. Peter's, Gloucester, were granted to Edward Carn; but it has since reverted to the Turberville family. A translation of the Frenchi nscription on the grave stone in the chancel, is as follows:—Here lieth Morrice de Londres, the Founder. May God render to him according to his work. Amen.

6. Lantwit Major.

This place is called by the Welsh Llanilltyd Vawr. In the History of Wales, we find that there was here a celebrated university or college for the education of young men, principally for the ecclesias-

tical offices. The college was founded by St. Iltutus, about A. D. 508. It was first established at Caer Worgorn in Gwent, and was called Côr Tewdws, or the Congregation of Theodosius, in compliment to that Emperor, who was its patron. It was afterwards destroyed by the pagan Irish, but again restored by Illtyd, and then denominated Côr Illtyd, and Bangor Illtyd. St. Patric is said to have been one of the teachers at this college, and to have been carried away by the Irish. Though the establishment here was much more ancient than the monastic institutions, which are more immediately the objects of our researches, yet it was deemed improper to pass over this place and the following wholly unnoticed.

7. Llancarvan.

This parish is situated a few miles to the south-east of Cowbridge; the church is dedicated to St. Carvan, from whom the place takes it name; but what gives it the greatest celebrity, is the circumstance of its having given birth to Caradoc the Historian, who wrote the Chronicle of Wales from the abdication of Cadwalader, about the year 686, to his own time. There is a tradition, but of which there are no written documents, that an Abbey once stood in a meadow adjoining the village, called the Culvery. This parish contains the extra-parochial place called Llanvethin, where there were some vestiges of a church or chapel to be seen; and this seems to have been the place which is noticed in some Welsh manuscripts, under the name of "Monachlog Llanveithin neu Lancarvan;" and a circumstance which seems to strengthen the conjecture is the following, viz. that this hamlet, comprising four farms and other detached parcels, and estimated at £600 per annum, neither pay tithes, church, poor, nor county rates. St. Cadocus is said to have built a Monastery here about A. D. 500; but in all probability it was a college or place of education, as monastic institutions were unknown in this country in those early times. According to the account in the "Cambrian Biography," this Cadocus was the person designated by the Welsh "Catwg Ddoeth," or Cadoc the Wise. In the Welsh Triads, this Cadoc of Llancarvan, Deinioel of Bangor, and Madog Morvryn in St. Iltutus's College, are called the three Holy Bachelors of the Isle of Britain. Cadoc was the first collector of British Proverbs.

V. MONMOUTHSHIRE.

TINTERN—LANTHONY—LLANTARNAM—MONMOUTH—ABERGAVENNY—CHEPSTOW—USK—GRACE DE DIEU—GOLDCLIFF.

ALTHOUGH this county is not now included within the boundaries of the Principality, yet it continued to be considered as one of the counties of South Wales until a late period, and a great number of its inhabitants still speak the Welsh language.

1. TINTERN.*

THE Abbey of Tintern was founded about A. D. 1131, for Cistercian Monks, by Walter de Clare, and dedicated to St. Mary. On his death without issue, the patronage was transferred to Gilbert, surnamed Strongbow, who became Lord of Strigul, or Chepstow, and was created Earl of Pembroke. The endowments of the Abbey were increased by Gilbert, and his successors in the Lordship of Chepstow. William of Worcester has preserved the names of the benefactors, among whom was Roger de Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who built the church. He also tells us, that in 1268, the abbot and monks entered the choir of the new church, and celebrated the first mass at the high altar. The nave is 230 feet by 33; the cross aisle 160 feet long; the height of the east, west, north, and south windows is 60 feet—from the ground to the point of the arch is 67 feet. Ornamented fragments of the roof, remains of cornices and columns, rich pieces of sculpture, sepulchral stones, and mutilated figures of monks and heroes, whose ashes repose within these walls, are scattered about in all directions, and exhibit a strong contrast between its present desolated state and its former splendor and magnificence. At the time of the dissolution, the Abbey contained thirteen religious, and the estates were valued at £132. 1*s.* 4*d.* per annum, according to Dugdale; but according to Speed, £256. 11*s.* 6*d.* This place was granted, in 26 Henry VIII., to Henry, second Earl of Worcester, who possessed the castle of Chepstow, and is now the property of the Duke of Beaufort. Tintern is situated on the right or west bank of the river Wye, or winding Vaga, about half way between Monmouth and Chepstow. The ruins of this Abbey, and the scenery on the Wye, are universally admired as some of the finest and most picturesque in the kingdom. Within half a mile of

* The etymon of the word may probably be 'Din,' a contraction of 'Dinas,' a fortified eminence, and 'Taren,' a strip of land, a knoll, or promontory; and in a variety of instances 'Dinas' is known to be contracted to 'Din,' and frequently pronounced 'Tin,' as Tindaethwy, Tinsylwg, Tindryvwl, &c.

this tranquil solitary scene are carried on great iron works, among some fine well-wooded eminences. Leland mentions Tintern as a Monastery of the Bernardines, on the farther bank of the Wye, five miles distant from Monmouth.

2. Lanthony.

This old Abbey took its name from *Llan nant Honddy*, which signify a Church on the banks of the brook Honddy, (Hoenddu.) It is situated about six miles north of Abergavenny, in a most sequestered spot, on the banks of that small river, which empties itself into the Munnow (Mynwy,) and runs down to Monmouth. The ancient name of this district was Euas. Many legendary tales are related by a monk of this Abbey, who wrote a History of it in Latin, and which is translated by Atkyns, in his History of Gloucestershire. It is there stated that St. David, uncle of King Arthur, built a chapel on the banks of the Honddy, and passed many years in that hermitage. He then proceeds to account for the building of an Abbey in so retired a situation, by informing us, that while one Hugh de Laci, a great Norman Baron, was hunting, (in the time of William Rufus,) William, one of his retainers, was so impressed with religious enthusiasm, on beholding a chapel in such a solitude, that he immediately resolved to devote himself to the service of God, and instead of fine linen he covered himself with hair-cloth; that in a few years the austerity of his life, and the reputation of his sanctity, induced the venerable Ernesi, chaplain to Queen Maud, wife of Henry the First, to become his associate. By their united efforts, they built a small chapel, (the old one being in ruins,) which, in 1108, was consecrated by Urban bishop of the diocese, and Rameline bishop of Hereford, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, whose solitary life in the wilderness they affected to imitate. Soon afterwards Hugh de Laci, Earl of Hereford, founded here a Priory of Canons regular, of the Order of St. Austin, at the particular request of Ernesi, who was chosen Prior; and under his regulations, and his and his brother hermit's example, the new Monastery acquired such a reputation for sanctity, that the great men of the realm, as well as King Henry I. and his Queen, regulated the temporal concerns of the Abbey, and accounted themselves happy in having the prayers of this holy congregation. In process of time, a more magnificent church was erected. This is supposed to have been done between the years 1108 and 1136, when many of the monks removed to Hereford. This was during the contest between the Empress Maud and King Stephen, when the disturbances were so great, that the monks were pillaged and oppressed; and Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford, being then Prior, they sought his protection, and retired to that city; and on account of the insecurity of Nant Hodni (Lanthony,) this good bishop prevailed on Milo de Laci to grant them a spot of ground, called Hyde, near Gloucester; where,

with the money saved from Lanthony, and other supplies from the bishop, they built a church, in the year 1136, which was consecrated by the bishops of Worcester and Hereford, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and called Lanthony, after the name of the former church. Milo and his family endowed this place with considerable possessions, and King John was a benefactor to the new establishment. The old Abbey in the vale of Ewias was for a time neglected; but Edward IV. united the two Monasteries by Charter, in which he made the church near Gloucester the principal, and obliged the monks to maintain a residentiary Prior and four Canons in the original Abbey. It is doubtful, however, whether this union took place, as they were separately valued at the dissolution; that near Gloucester at £648. 19*s*. 11*d*. and this in Monmouthshire at £71. 3*s*. 2*d*. At this time John Ambros was Prior of Lanthony in Monmouthshire. Our limits will not admit of our enlarging on the History of this Abbey, but there are sufficient materials still extant to constitute a volume of no small dimensions; we shall however briefly remark, that the monk before mentioned, who wrote a Latin History of this place, relates a number of amusing anecdotes; one of which was this,—that Queen Maud, not being able to prevail on William the Hermit, and founder of the original church, to take any money, requested permission to put her hand into his bosom; when, being allowed, she conveyed a large purse of gold between his coarse shirt and iron boddice, and thus, by a pleasant and innocent subtlety, administered some comfortable relief. He also complains of the injustice done to this Abbey, by the degenerate sons of its namesake in Gloucestershire; that they conveyed every thing valuable from the mother church to enrich the daughter, and that even the books in the library were carried away. There is a long quotation in Camden's Britannia, respecting this place, from Giraldus Cambrensis, which is omitted for want of room: further information respecting this old Abbey may be also obtained from Willis's Mitred Abbots, Wharton's Anglia Sacra, and Tanner's Notitia. The notice taken by Leland of this Abbey is as follows:—"Llan Nanthonddye, a Priory of black Canons, standeth in the Vale of Ewias, then called Honddy Slade, 14 miles from Brecknock; this Priory was fair, and stood betwix two great Hills."

Geoffrey de Henlow, Prior of Lanthony or Nanthonddu, was made bishop of St. David's, A. D. 1199. Giraldus Cambrensis stood up in defence of the claims of that see in opposition to those of Canterbury, and therefore he was opposed by Archbishop Hubert, notwithstanding Giraldus had been recommended to the King by the Chapter.

3. Llantarnam.

This place, whose present name is a corruption of Llantorvaen, or Glantorvaen, from the adjoining river, is situated near the high road from Newport to Pontypool, and about two miles from Caer-

leon. An ancient family seat, bearing the above name, stands on the site of a once rich Cistercian Abbey. Leland notices this place in the following manner:—"Llantarnam, Abbey of white monks, standing in a wood, 3 miles from Caerleon." Its yearly income at the dissolution was rated at £71. 3*s*. 2*d*. According to Tanner, the site was granted, 31° Henry VIII. to John Parker, and, in 1° Mary, to John Carpenter and William Savage. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Abbey became the property of the Morgans, who resided at Kilsant, now called Pentrebach, two miles from Llantarnam. The only remains of the ancient structure, are the stone cells converted into stables, the walls of the garden, and a beautiful Gothic gateway, which is still called Magna Porta, and was the grand entrance.

4. Monmouth.

This town is called in Welsh Trevynwy and Abermynwy, from the river Mynwy (Munnow,) which flows here into the Wye. On the north side of St. Mary's church, are the remains of an alien Benedictine Priory of black monks, dedicated to St. Mary, which was founded in the reign of Henry I. by Wihenoc, Lord of Monmouth, and was a cell to the Monastery of St. Florence, near Salmur, in Anjou. At the dissolution, it was valued at £56. 1*s*. 11*d*. Richard Taltbush, the last Prior, received a pension of £9. In the 4th of Philip and Mary, it was granted to Richard Price and Thomas Perry. It is thus noticed by Leland,—"Monemouth, a priory of black monks—Monemouth priory of the French Order, in the Diocese of Hereford." Tradition still points out a small apartment of the priory, as the library of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which is now appropriately converted into a school room. He was Archdeacon of Monmouth, and was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1152.

5. Abergavenny.

An alien Priory of Benedictine Monks, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was founded here by Hameline Balun, or Baladun, in the latter end of the reign of William the Conqueror, or the beginning of that of William Rufus. One of his posterity, William de Braose, gave the tithes of his castle, viz. of bread, wine, beer, and all manner of flesh, fish, &c. wax, tallow, &c. on condition that the Abbot and Convent of St. Vincent's in Mans, to which this priory was a cell, should daily pray for the soul of King Henry I. and also for the soul of him the said William, and the soul of Maud his wife. Speed erroneously attributes its foundation to John de Hastings, whereas he only confirmed the grants of his predecessors. The Priory stood near the east gate in the suburb.

The ancient chapel of the priory is now the parish church. It seems to have been originally built in the shape of a Cathedral, but has undergone many alterations, and consists of a nave, a north aile, part of a transept with a tower in the middle, a choir with two ailes, and a chancel; the windows and arches are all Gothic. The length from east to west is 172 feet, the breadth of the nave and north aile 45 feet, and of the choir and two side ailes 67 feet. At the dissolution it contained a prior and four monks, whose revenues amounted, according to Dugdale, to £129. 5*s.* 8*d.* and to £59. 4*s.* 0*d.* according to Speed. At that time William Marley was prior, and received a pension of £9. It afterwards became the property of the Gunter family. In the course of time, it descended to Thomas Swinnerton, of Butterton Hall, in the county of Stafford. There are pieces of ground still called Priory Mead, and Monk's Field, besides a wood known by the name of Coed y Prior, or Prior's Wood.

6. Chepstow.

This town is called in Welsh, Casgwent or Caswent. There was an alien Priory of Benedictine Monks at Chepstow, called in the Norman era, the Monastery of Strigule. It was founded by one of the proprietors of the castle soon after the conquest, and was a cell to the Abbey of Cormeille, in Normandy. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and seized by the crown; but restored in 1 Henry IV. King Edward IV., in the second year of his reign, granted it to the College called God's House, in Cambridge; but that grant seems not to have taken effect, for there was a priory here till the dissolution, when it had three religious inmates, and was valued at £32 per annum. In 1534, Robert Shrewsbury, Prior, and Robert Tewksbury, subscribed to the King's supremacy. Scarcely any remains of the ancient priory can be traced; but the present parish church was part of the chapel, and is a curious remnant of Norman architecture. Leland's words are,—"At Chepstow, a little priory aliquot Monachorum Benedictinorum, a cell to Bermundsey at London."

7. Usk.

This town is situated on the river of that name above Newport and Caerleon, and is called by the Welsh Brynbiga. Here was a Priory of five Benedictine Nuns, founded by the Earls of Clare, some time prior to the year 1236. The Nuns were accustomed to pray for Sir Richard de Clare and Gilbert his son, Earls of the Marches, as their founders. According to Dugdale, they were endowed with £55. 4*s.* 5*d.*; and on the dissolution, it was granted to Roger Williams, of Langibby, grandfather of Sir Trevor Williams. The church belonged to the priory, some of the remains of which are still visible on the south-east side of the tower.

8. Grace de Dieu.

About a mile south of the high road leading from L[illegible] seney to Monmouth, is a farm vulgarly called Parker's [illegible] corruption of Parc 'ras Dieu, (Field of the grace of G[illegible] this farm, the remains of a fine avenue of ancient elms [illegible] left bank of the river Trothy, on the other side of whi[illegible] a [illegible] distance, stand the ruins of the Abbey, in a sequestered [illegible] the midst of fertile meadows. These ruins are extremely insignificant, consisting only of part of a barn, and a few detached fragments of walls. According to Dugdale, Grace de Dieu was a small Cistercian Abbey, founded in 1229, by John of Monmouth, on Trody, (Trothwy,) *ripa dextra*, two miles from Monmouth W. N. W., to the honour of the Virgin Mary; but was wholly destroyed by the Welsh, in 1233. It was however afterwards partly rebuilt, for at the dissolution it contained two monks, and was valued at £26. 1*s.* 4*d.* It was granted, 37° Henry VIII., to Thomas Herbert and William Bretton. The ancient seal of this Abbey is in the possession of Mr. Lorimer; it bears the image of an abbot, and has the following inscription,—" Sigillum Abbatis gratia Dei et Convent."

9. Goldcliff.

At this place, which is three miles from Newport, on the Severn shore, there was, according to Leland, a Priory of Monks of the French Order; which was suppressed, and the land given to Eton College.

VI. PEMBROKESHIRE.

ST. DAVID'S—PEMBROKE—HAVERFORDWEST—PILLE ROSE—ST. DOGMAEL'S-CALDEY ISLAND—LAWHADEN.

1. St. David's.

Prior to the Saxon invasion, there were according to the Welsh History, three Archbishoprics in England and Wales, viz. London, (afterwards removed to Canterbury,) York, and Caerleon-upon-Usk; the latter, on account of its proximity to the English borders, was, in the course of time, removed to Mynyw, at the western extremity of Pembrokeshire, as a place of greater security. This event took

place about the sixth century, and St. David was appointed Archbishop; and his successors continued to hold that high office until the year 1284, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, attempting to visit St. David's as metropolitan, was opposed by Thomas Beck, then Archbishop; but through the influence of the Pope and the English monarch, he was at last obliged to submit, and St. David's has ever since continued subject to the see of Canterbury. This submission is attributed by others to Bernard, the forty seventh in succession, and the first Norman bishop; who, at the instigation of Henry I. became a suffragan to Canterbury; his predecessors having preserved the power, though they had lost the name, the other Welsh bishops being always consecrated by those of St. David's. It hath four Archdeaconries, viz. Brecknock, Cardigan, Carmarthen, and St. David's. To this Cathedral belong a Bishop, a Precentor,* with the power of a Dean, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, four Archdeacons, nineteen Prebendaries, eight Vicars Choral, four Choristers, and other inferior officers. The Chapter consists of the Precentor, the Treasurer, and three Canons, elected from the Archdeaconries and Prebendaries. According to Bishop Tanner, a College for a master and seven priests was founded here by John Duke of Lancaster, and Blanch his wife, and Adam Houghton, or Hutton, bishop of St. David's, in the year 1365. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and in 26 Henry VIII. had revenues of £1011. 16*s.* 4*d.* It was dissolved in the reign of King Edward VI.

2. Pembroke.

In the reign of King William Rufus, Arnulph de Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, fortified this town with walls, and a magnificent castle, at the west end, in the parish of St. Mary's. This structure being burnt down a few years after, was rebuilt by Owain the son of Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, a wild and dissolute prince of Powys; and is remarkable for being the birth place of Henry VII. and also for the brave defence made by the garrison for King Charles I. Arnulph, Earl of Pembroke, having given the church of St. Nicholas within his castle of Pembroke, and twenty carucates of land, about the year 1098, to the Abbey of St. Martin, at Sayes in Normandy, a Benedictine Priory was shortly afterwards erected here, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and made a cell to that foreign Abbey. William and Walter Mareschal, Earls of Pembroke, were benefactors to it. King Edward III. took possession of it, when he had wars with France; and King Henry IV. restored it; but being seized again, it was granted, 19° Henry VI. to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, who gave it, 21° Henry VI. as a cell to St. Alban's, and the king confirmed his gift in the twenty seventh year of his reign. It was valued, 26° Henry VIII. at £113. 2*s.* 6*d.* according to Speed, and £57. 9*s.* 3*d.* according to Dugdale; and it was

* The title of Precentor has been lately changed to that of Dean.—Ed. Tr.

granted, 37° Henry VIII. to John Vaughan and Catharine his wife. There is a building adjoining the churchyard on the east, called Monkton Hall, but it is doubtful whether it belonged to the priory; it has the appearance of considerable antiquity, and has long been in the possession of the Owens, of Orielton which is in the p[illegible] St. Nicholas. There was also an Hospital, dedicated to St. [illegible]dalene, near Pembroke, of the yearly value of £1. 6*s*. [illegible] chapel, which is in the parish of St. Michael, is now in rui[illegible] on the east side of the town, on the lands of J. P. Adams [illegible] priory is thus noticed by Leland,—" Penbrooke, a Cell [illegible] longing to St. Alban's Monastery;" and again in another part,—" Montain [Monkton,] a Cell of black monks in the suburb, is suppressed." Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke Castle, married Nest, daughter of Griffith, prince of South Wales.

3. Haverfordwest.

This town was formerly fortified with a rampart, and a castle, which is situated in the parish of St. Martin, and now used as the county gaol, and is supposed to have been erected by Gilbert, Earl of Clare. It was one of those which were possessed by the Flemings, when they first invaded the county of Pembroke: the fortifications were destroyed in the civil wars, in the reign of Charles I. Without the town, in the parish of St. Thomas, was a Priory of black Canons, built before the year 1200, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, and liberally endowed (if not founded) by Robert de Haverford, Lord of this place. It was valued, 26° Henry VIII. at £133. 11*s*. 1*d*. according to Dugdale, and £135. 6*s*. 1*d*. as estimated by Speed. It was granted, 38° Henry VIII., to Roger and Thomas Barlow. There was also a House of black Friars within the town, mentioned in Tanner's Notitia, and granted at the same time to the same persons. Leland notices the above in the following words,—" At Arfordwest a Priory of Chanons."

4. Pill Rose.

This place is at present called Roos or Rhos, and is situated in the parish of Stainton, about a mile and a half north-east of Milford. Adam de Rupe founded a Priory here about 1200, and placed Monks in it of the Order of Tyrone, who in time forsook that strict rule, and became common Benedictines. This House was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Budoc, and is said to have been subordinate to St. Dogmael's; but was found, in 26 Henry VIII., to have distinct revenues of its own, of the value of £67. 15*s*. 3*d*.; and it was granted, 38° Henry VIII., to Roger and Thomas Barlow. Another writer

speaks of this place in the following words,—" Within about a mile of the town of Milford, and at the end of a pill or inlet of the haven, are the ruins of a priory, called Pill Priory, a very small portion of which now remains, having been greatly diminished in the memory of man, by pulling parts down, and using the stones in other buildings. And near the village of Pill are the ruins of an old Chapel or [illegible] with an arched roof and nearly entire, which is now used as [illegible] powder magazine." " Pille, otherwise Pill Rose, (says Le-[illegible] house of monks of St. Dogmael's Order, standing in Rose Country, 4 miles above Arford West, upon the farther shore of the Haven of Milford."

5. St. Dogmael's.

This place, which is called by the Welsh Llandudoch, is situated on the left bank or south side of the Tivy river, about two miles west of Cardigan, but in the county of Pembroke. Here an Abbey was founded, in the time of William the Conqueror, by Martin of Tours, for Benedictines, or reformed Order of Tyrone, according to some writers; but others affirm that Martin, who conquered the country of Cemmaes, only commenced a Monastery here, and that Robert Fitz-Martin, his son, erected and endowed the Abbey, in the reign of King Henry I. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and had a yearly revenue of £95. 0*s.* 2*d.* and was granted, 35° Henry VIII., to John Bradshaw. Leland terms it, " The priory of Bonhommes, called St. Dogmael's." He further says, " The Chaunter of St. David's told me, that one Martin de turribus, a Norman, won the Country of Kemmeys in Wales, about the time of King William the Conqueror, and that this Martin founded the Abbey of St. Dogmael's in Kemeys, and that he lieth buried in the Quoir there."

6. Caldey Island.

This island is near Tenby. There was in Caldey or Pyr Island, a Cell of Monks of St. Dogmael's, valued at £5. 10*s.* 0*d.* Leland says, " Against Manober, or between it and Tenby, lieth Ynys Per, i. e. Insula Pyrrhi, alias Caldey Island."

7. Lawhaden.

This place is near Narberth. The Priory or Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Lawhaden, in the Archdeaconry of St. David's, was united to the Chancellorship of the Cathedral Church

of St. David's, by John [Morgan,] bishop of St. David's, in the year 1501. Here was an Hospital, the ruins of which still remain, founded by Thomas Beck, bishop of St. David's, A. D. 1287. Lawhaden Castle was at one time one of the Palaces of the Bishops of St. David's, before that bishopric was so greatly despoiled and impoverished. Walter, the Abbot of this place, was nominated as a candidate for the bishopric of St. David's, after the death of Peter de Leia, in 1198.

VII. RADNORSHIRE.

Cwm Hir.

The only Religious House in Radnorshire was at Cwm Hir, a few miles north-east of Rhayader, or Rhaiadr Gwy, where Cadwallawn ap Madoc, about the year 1143, founded a Cistercian Abbey, valued at £28. 17*s.* 4*d.* Leland's account of this Abbey is as follows:—"Comehere, an Abbey of white Monks, standeth between two great hills in Melienith, in a bottom, where runneth a little brook. It is seven miles west of Knighton; the first foundation was made by Cadwathlon ap Madoc for 60 monks. No Church in Wales is seen of such length as the foundation of the walls there begun doth shew; bnt the third part of this work was never finished. All the House was spoiled and defaced by Owen Glendowr." It is now called the Abbey Chapel. It is situated in the parish of Llanbister,* in a peculiarly romantic valley, being placed amidst elevated hills and broken precipices, and was once environed with forests of oak which are now nearly demolished. The site of this Abbey is very distinguishable by the ruins; and it should appear that the entire fabric, in conjunction with the cloisters and religious houses, must have occupied about an acre of ground. Lewis Morris, when travelling from Cardiganshire to Hereford, passed within view of the ruins of this old Abbey, and he speaks of it in the following words, in his letter to his brother:—"We also passed Mynachlog y Cwm Hir, which the English pronounce *Come here* Abbey. It is all in ruins, and was situated in as pleasant a little valley as ever I saw. Cymmer (or Cymner, or Cwmner) Abbey, now called y Faenor, near Dolgelley, in Meirion, was first founded by some monks who sojourned there (as Mr. Robert Vaughan expresses it) from Cwm Hir Abbey, as I have read in his remarks, written to Sir William Dugdale on his Monasticon. It seems it was a colony of monks which they sent away, as bees do, when the hive is too full. I must confess that the monks were men of good taste, for that Abbey near Dolgelley is also most pleasantly situated." In 1401, Owen Glyndwr encamped on Plinlimmon mountain; and his army made plundering excursions, in one of which they destroyed the Abbey of Cwm Hir.

* The township of Golon, in which the ruins of the old Abbey are situated, and that of the adjoining one of Kevenpawl, have of late years been separated from Llanbister, to form a distinct parish and parochial chapelry, called Abbey Cwmhir, or Golon.—Ed. Tr.

NORTH WALES.

VIII. COUNTY OF ANGLESEY.

HOLYHEAD—LLANVAES—PENMON—PRIESTHOLM—LLANDDWYN—LLANELIAN.

1. Holyhead.

This place was known at different times by the following names,—Côr-Cybi, Ynys-Gybi, Pen-Caer-Gybi, and Caer-Gybi, the last of which is the present Welsh appellation. Here, as well as at Llanilltyd Vawr, and Llanbadarn Vawr, in South Wales, was a College, and a place of religious resort in the early ages of Christianity. Cybi, from whom the place derived its name, was, according to the Welsh Genealogies in Bonedd y Saint, the son of Selyv ap Geraint ab Erbin, and in the "Cambrian Biography," he is said to have founded a college or religious house here about the close of the sixth century; but Archbishop Usher says, that one Kebius, son of Solomon, Duke of Cornwall, was consecrated bishop of Anglesey by Hilary, of Poictiers, and had his seat or Cathedral here, about the year 364. There are several circumstances, however, which seem to render this account very improbable. In the first place, there is a tradition still prevalent, in this part of Wales, that Seiriol, who had a chapel or cloister at Priestholm, or Puffin Island, near Beaumaris, and Cybi were contemporaries, and that they used to meet once a week, or oftener, about half way between the two extremities of the island, at a place called Clorach, near Llanerchymedd, where there are two wells, still distinguished by their respective names; and because Cybi had to face the morning sun in his perambulation, and Seiriol had his back to the same luminary, they acquired, from their different complexions, the appellation of *Seiriol Wyn a Chybi Velyn*, i. e. Seiriol the Fair, and Cybi the Dark, or Brown Keby; and they are thus distinguished by the Welsh in general to the present day. Here was a College of Presbyters, founded by one of the Lords of Anglesey, but by whom is uncertain, about the beginning of the twelfth century. Rowlands, in his History of Anglesey, informs us, that the Provost of this College, the Archdeacon of the island, and the Prior of Penmon were the three spiritual Lords of Anglesey. In order to prove that this small island (Holyhead—Ynys Gybi) must have been a place of considerable resort of the religious in former days, we need only mention, that the sites and ruins of no less than five small chapels are still pointed out by the inhabitants; viz. 1, Capel y

Llochwydd; 2, Capel y Golles; 3, Capel St. Fraid; 4, Capel Gwyngenau; 5, Capel St. Gwenvaen. It must no doubt, from its insular and remote situation, have been considered as a place of great security, in time of internal discord and commotion. It is evident, however, that it occasionally suffered from pirates, and that when the Irish invaded and plundered the island of Mona, (Anglesey,) they did not always spare this remote and isolated corner; for we read that Caswallon Lawhir immortalized himself by killing Sirigi Wyddel with his own hand, in a conflict with those daring invaders, and thus drove the Irish out of the island; his men, previous to the battle, having voluntarily chained themselves together, in order the better to sustain the attack of the enemy, and thus to conquer or die. Cybi, or Keby, was one of the seven church patrons, or saints, who were entitled to hold lands *in capite* in this island, and before the Reformation there was a *nawddva* or sanctuary here. Indeed, it seems to have been a scheme or artifice of our Saxon and Norman conquerors, to gain the Welsh, and make them submit to a foreign yoke, by conciliation in this respect; for as the memories of David, Padarn, and Teilo were held in great estimation and reverence in South Wales, so also were those of Cybi, Daniel, Beuno, &c. in North Wales; they therefore contrived to obtain the Pope's permission to constitute two pilgrimages to St. David's, and to have them considered and admitted as equal to one to Rome; and by the same authority, the churches dedicated to those saints were pronounced more holy than others, and thus they became what were termed sanctuaries, or places of refuge, from whence it was deemed highly wicked and sacrilegious to carry away any person, even the greatest criminal, who had been fortunate enough to gain admittance into any of them, and to reach the altar. It was also the policy of the Normans and Flemings who invaded Wales, to form matrimonial alliances with the princes and the chief nobility of the country, in order to retain their conquest, and give greater stability to their government and dominion: thus Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke, married Nest, the daughter of Griffith, prince of South Wales. On the north side of Caer-Gybi Church is the following inscription in Gothic characters,—"Sancte Kybi ora pro nobis." Rodri ab Owen Gwynedd, Lord of Anglesey, was buried here about the year 1175; his tomb was found at the reparation of the choir, in 1713.

2. Llanvaes.

The name of this place signifies, the Church in the Field, which was probably a field of battle between Egbert, king of the West Saxons, and the Welsh. The Friars' house near this church was founded by Prince Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, over the grave of his wife Joan, daughter of King John, who died in 1237, and was interred here. This was also the burial place of a Danish king, and of Lord Clif-

ford, and many barons and knights who fell in the Welsh wars. It was dedicated to St. Francis, and consecrated by Howel, bishop of Bangor, who died in 1240. These Friars were of the Franciscan Order, or, as they are sometimes called, Minor Friars. Their church and house were destroyed, and their lands wasted, in the insurrection made soon after the death of Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales of the British line, by his relation Madoc. Edward II., in consideration of their misfortunes, remitted to them the payment of the taxes due to him, which before the war were levied at the rate of twelve pounds ten shillings. These Friars were strong favourers of Glyndwr; and King Henry, in his first march against Owen, plundered the Convent, and put several of the Friars to the sword, and carried away the rest; but afterwards he relented, and set them at liberty, and made restitution to the place, but peopled it with English recluses. It appears to have been again reduced to ruin; for Henry V., by patent, established here eight Friars, but directs that only two of them should be Welsh. At the dissolution, Henry VIII. sold the Convent and its possessions to one of his courtiers. It remained afterwards for some time in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, who sold it, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to Robert Vaughan, of Talhenbont, who had been long in the Earl's family, and had taken the surname of White; in this family it continued, until it was purchased by Lord Bulkeley, and it is now the property of Sir Richard Williams Bulkeley, Bart. Eleanor, daughter of Simon Montford, and wife of Llewelyn ap Griffith, was buried here about A. D. 1270.

3. Penmon.

Penmon is about three miles east of Beaumaris, on the sea shore, opposite Priestholm. Eineon, the king of Lleyn, a saint who lived about the beginning of the sixth century, is mentioned in the "Cambrian Biography" to have founded a College at Penmon, over which he placed his nephew Seiriol as principal, and where the people of Scandinavia resorted generally for instruction in the Christian faith.

The Priory was endowed, if not founded, by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, for black monks, and was dedicated to St. Mary, if not also to St. Seiriol; the time is not exactly known, but it is supposed to have been before the year 1221. The prior, as before noticed, was one of the three spiritual lords of Anglesey. The revenues at the dissolution were valued at £47. 15*s.* 3*d.* Part of the old church is in present use, and there are some remains of the refectory. It was granted by Queen Elizabeth to John More.

4. Priestholm.

This is a small island, situated in Beaumaris Bay, on the east coast of Anglesey, about a mile from the shore. It is sometimes called Puffin Island, and is termed in Welsh, Ynys Seiriol and Glanach. Here a recluse or holy hermit, named Seiriol, who was contemporary with Cybi, and nephew of Eineon or Engan Vrenin, built a cell, and led a religious life. Many years afterwards it became the property of the monks of Penmon, and some of the fraternity no doubt resided on the island. It abounds with rabbits, and in the summer season with puffins, auks, and other birds of passage. The only vestige now remaining, either of the cell, or dwellings where these monks resided, is a square tower, seemingly built from the ruins of the ancient structure. Many human bones are frequently found scattered up and down, which is a proof that many bodies were brought here for interment, it being the wish of the people that their mortal remains should find a grave in an island considered as holy ground, which they imagined to be the ready way to heaven.

5. Llanddwyn.

Llanddwyn, or Llan Ddwynwen, at the west end of the island of Anglesey, and not far from Newborough, was a place very much frequented by superstitious devotees before the Reformation; Dwynwen, to whom the church is dedicated, being considered the tutelar saint of lovers, at whose shrine offerings were made to gain the hearts of the objects of their affections.* The church is now in ruins.

6. Llanelian.

This place is situated near Amlwch, and was of a similar description with the preceding. It was the custom of the devotees to visit a well, called Fynnon Elian, situated in the barren part of the pa-

* The fund arising from the offerings at the shrine of St. Dwynwen was very great, and in process of time the church became an Abbey for monks of the Benedictine Order, who derived a large revenue from the resort of strangers who came to enquire their future destiny, which was predicted by the leaping of a fish, and the appearance of the water of a well still called Fynnon Vair, or St. Mary's Well. In the time of Henry IV. its revenue was greater than of any other religious house in North Wales; and in the survey of Henry VIII. it was the richest prebend in all the Principality. Lewis' Dict. of Wales.—Ed. Tr.

rish, on the eve of the saint's festival; and after drinking the water, to kneel for some time before the altar of a small chapel erected over it. At present the spring is nearly dried up, and the chapel is in ruins.

IX. CARNARVONSHIRE.

BANGOR—CLYNOG VAWR—BARDSEY—CONWAY (MAENAN OR ABERLLECHOG)—BETHGELERT—GOGARTH.

1. Bangor.

This town is situated in a valley between two hills, near the small river Cegin, now called Port Penrhyn, and not far from the Menai Straits. It is on the great Irish road both from Chester and Shrewsbury, and of late years has become a place of considerable resort, particularly in the summer season, and is consequently much increased and improved, both in commerce and opulence. Here one Daniel, a learned and pious man, founded a College about the commencement of the sixth century; and as it was a place of education and learning, it is very probable that a church or chapel also was built about the same time; but whether it became a bishop's see so early and that Daniel was the first bishop, cannot be clearly proved. Daniel is said to have died about the year 554, and to have been buried at Enlli (Bardsey Island.) It however appears, from authority which cannot well be doubted, that it was advanced to the dignity of a bishopric in very early times, but the regular succession of bishops cannot now be ascertained beyond the time of William the Conqueror. Owen Glyndwr greatly defaced the Cathedral, but Bishop Dean repaired it in 1496. Most of the bishops, from 1130 down to Queen Elizabeth's time, were either Normans or Saxons; and the few Welsh, who were consecrated bishops of this see, were either nominated by the Pope, or in the English interest. Tudor the son of Goronow, generally called by the Welsh Tudur Hen o Benmynydd, built and founded a Monastery at the east end of Bangor, and was buried there in the year 1311, as were also his son Goronow, and his grandson Tudor. This last was an officer in the army, and was knighted by King Edward III. He spent the latter part of his life at Trecastell, in Anglesey, of which place, as well as Penmynydd, he was proprietor. Leland, in speaking of Bangor, says,—"A Priory of White Freres by Bangor, dedicate to Jesu;" but by Willis it is called a House of Black Friars, and by Tanner, of Friars Preachers; and both these last suppose it to have been erected as early as 1276; but Mr. Rowlands' authority, in his

Antiquitates Parochiales* of the Commot of Menai, in Anglesey, is more to be depended upon. The site of this place was granted to Thomas Brown and William Breton, 7° Edward VI. and converted into a free school, by the trustees of Jeffrey Glynn, brother to Bishop Glynn, and Advocate of Doctors' Commons, shortly after the year 1557. In the time of Bishop Warren, a handsome new house was built for the head master, and the school house re-erected under his Lordship's patronage, towards which undertaking he was a liberal contributor; and another good house has been built since for the second master.

2. Clynog Vawr.

This place, called Clynog Vawr yn Arvon, is of very great antiquity, and there seems to have been a College for the education of young men established here before Bangor in Arvon was much distinguished; and Mr. Rowlands informs us, that Clynog Vechan, near Newborough, in Anglesey, was given as an appendage to Clynog Vawr, by either Idwal Voel or Idwal Iwrch, the latter of whom flourished about the year 720, and the former about 913; and there was a third Idwal, the son of Meurig, who lived about 993; all the three were princes of Gwynedd, or North Wales, and it cannot be correctly ascertained which of them was the benefactor to Clynog. It is however specified, that Clynog Vechan, and other lands and tenements, were granted as a prebend to the Collegiate Church of Clynog Vawr; and the same writer, Mr. Rowlands, has, in the same unpublished manuscript, given a list of donations and benefactions to Clynog, which he owns he transcribed from the works of the celebrated antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Esq., whereby it appears, that one of the first bequests was from one Gwytheint, a petty prince or chieftain of this part of the country, who gave Clynog Vawr to God and St. Beuno, then Abbot of the Abbey or Monastery of Clynog, for himself and his cousin Cadwallon, free from all taxes or demands whatever. By the same document it appears, that King Cadwalader gave Graianog; Tegwared, a petty prince, gave Porthamel; Prince Mervyn gave Carngawch; Cadwgan ap Cynvelin gave Bodweilion and Bodvel in Lleyn; and Rodri the son of Mervyn gave Deneio; Gruffydd ap Tangwm gave the third part of Maestrev; Idwal gave Penrhos; Rodri gave the third part of Neigwl, &c.; but the list is too long to be inserted. Pennant says,—After St. Beuno had assumed the monastic habit, he here founded a Convent about 616. Cadvan, king of North Wales, was his great patron, and promised him much land; his son Cadwallon performed the promise, and received from the saint a golden sceptre, worth sixty cows. The land was claimed in behalf of a little infant,

* This work is in manuscript, and is well worthy of publication.

and his title proved good; the king refused either to give other land in lieu, or to resign the present. Beuno cursed him, and went away; but was appeased by Gwrddeint, or Gwytheint, first cousin to the king, who overtook him, and gave the town of Clynog for ever to God and St. Beuno, for his own soul's sake, and that of the wicked Cadwallon. Long after his time, the Carmelites, or white monks, had here an establishment; who were suppressed, but at what period is uncertain.

At the time of the Lincoln Taxation, in the year 1291, this Church was Collegiate, consisting of five Portionists or Prebendaries, and it continued so to the dissolution.* The rectory is a sinecure, annexed to the Headship of Jesus College, Oxford. The vicarage is in the gift of the bishop; the church is one of the most venerable and magnificent structures of its kind in North Wales; it was built in form of a cross, and the length thereof from east to west is about 138 feet, and from north to south 70. Near the altar are three neat stalls, divided by pillars supporting Gothic arches, in which were the seats of the officiating priests. "Clunnock Vawr yn Arvon," says Leland, "is a great paroch [parish] and the fairest church in all Carnarvonshire, much better than Bangor;" and in another part of his Itinerary, he observes,—"Clunnok Vawr, a Monastery sometime of white monks, suppressed many years ago: but the original of this Monastery was by St. Beuno, of whom mention is made in St. Winifrede's Life.—The white monks were of a newer foundation. Gweithin [Gwytheint] was the first giver of Clynnog Village and place to St. Bennow [Beuno.]—The Church that is now there, with cross aisles, is almost as big as St. David's, but it is of a new work. The old church, where St. Bennow lieth, is hard by the new."† "This Clunnock," saith Leland in addition, "standeth almost on the shore of the main sea [Carnarvon Bay] about ten miles south of Caer Arvon, toward the Country of Lline" [Lleyn.] The fine old church of Clynog was lately repaired by subscription; and it is to be lamented that there are no certain or regular funds for this purpose. The offerings of calves and lambs which happen to be born or dropped with the *nôd Beuno*, or what is called St. Beuno's mark (a kind of slit or nick in the ear) are at present nearly discontinued. They used to be brought to the church on Trinity Sunday, the saint's anniversary, and delivered to the church-wardens, who usually sold and accounted for them, and then put the money in a strong oak chest, called Cyff Beuno, made of one piece of timber, and placed in the church, and secured with three locks, and which used to be opened once a year by the clergyman and church-wardens, and the contents given to the poor, or applied to parochial uses. From the great strength and solidity of this old chest, the Welsh in these parts have a proverb for attempting any very difficult thing,—"You may as well attempt to break open St. Beuno's Chest—(Yr un peth i chwi geisio torri Cyff Beuno.")

* Dugdale's Monasticon. † Leland's Itinerary, Vol. 5. p. 15.

3. Bardsey.

This small island, called in Welsh, Ynys Enlli, is at the south west extremity of the county of Carnarvon, and about two or three leagues from Aberdaron, a village nearly at the point of Lleyn, (Langanum Promontorium,) where pilgrims and superstitious devotees generally took boat for Bardsey, before the Reformation. The island is nearly a mile in length, and upwards of two in circumference. It produces excellent barley, and nearly the whole of it is a fertile plain. On the east side is a small hill or eminence, on which a light-house has of late years been erected. The Abbot's House is converted into separate habitations for the natives; and not far from it are the remains of a curious chapel or oratory, a long arched edifice, with an isolated stone altar at the east end. The tradition or history respecting the origin of the reputed sanctity of this isle (*Insula Sanctorum*, as it was called,) is as follows. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, almost worn out with age, resigned his see to St. David, soon after the Synod of Brevi, and retired, together with some other learned and devout men, to this remote spot, which was then nearly an uninhabited island; and here they spent their time, chiefly in religious exercises, and partly in instructing those young men who resorted hither for the purpose of education.* The slaughter of the monks, or more properly of the learned and religious members of Bangor Iscoed, or Bangor Maelor, about the year 607, on account of their firm and strenuous opposition to the demands of St. Augustine, as stated by Pennant and other writers, is supposed also to have contributed in no small degree to the population of this island; for not only the members of that College, who escaped, but numbers of other pious Britons fled hither to avoid the rage of the Saxons. Mr. Pennant thinks it probable, that this island must have been one of the seats of the Culdees (or Colidei,) ancient Christian priests, who retired to islands, and to secret and remote corners, for prayer and meditation, and the instruction of young persons who resorted to them; and that this may have been the reason that induced Dubricius, and those pious and learned persons who fled from the seminary at Bangor Iscoed, to fix upon Bardsey as a place of security and religious retirement. "The *Colidei*," says Pennant, "were the first religious recluses of Great Britain, who sought islands and desert places, in which they might with security worship the true

* The monkish writers of the middle ages, in their accounts of Wales, have taken pains to represent Dubricius and his followers, and in short all the learned men of that age, as living in monasteries and convents, and subject to rules, orders, and exercises similar to those which were afterwards established by the numerous fraternities of monks and friars; but it must be evident to every unprejudiced person, who examines the writings of Archbishop Usher and Bishop Burgess, that those institutions did not prevail universally in Great Britain, and certainly not in Wales, until after the conquest by the Normans, when those foreigners brought in with them a regard for traditions, legends, heretical opinions, and superstitious practices.

God." This island was certainly resorted to in very early times, for it is mentioned in the Welsh Histories that it flourished as a convent, college, or religious seminary in the days of Cadvan, king of Britain. After the arrival of the Normans, and probably subsequent to the conquest of Wales by Edward I. an Abbey was built here; for it appears from some of the Sebright MSS. that a petition was presented by the Abbot of Bardsey to Edward II. complaining that the sheriff of Carnarvon had unjustly demanded payment of the sum of sixty eight shillings and sixpence from him, contrary to his deed of feoffment; on which the king directed Roger de Mortimer, Justiciary of Wales, to make inquiry into the matter, who reported that the Abbot held his lands in the county of Carnarvon in pure and perpetual alms, *(in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam,)* without any service or secular acknowledgment. "The king therefore, by his special favour, and by advice of his Council, did for ever remit the said sum, and all arrears, and directed that no one in future, either on his account, or that of his heirs, should ever molest the Convent."

The revenues of this establishment at the dissolution were £46. 1*s.* 4*d.* according to Dugdale, and £58. 6*s.* 2*d.* according to Speed. The island was granted by Edward VI. to his uncle, Sir Thomas Seymour, and after his death to John Earl of Warwick. The late Sir John Wynne, ancestor to Lord Newborough, of Glynn Llivon, purchased it of Dr. Wilson of Newark, and it still remains in that family. The extreme point of the mainland opposite Bardsey is called Braich y Pwll, and the other small promontory near it Maen Melyn Lleyn; near the latter are the ruins of an old chapel, dedicated to St. Mary, called Eglwys Vair. This chapel, as Mr. Pennant thinks, was placed here in order to give the seamen an opportunity of invoking the tutelar saint for protection through this dangerous sound. On the side of Maen Melyn rock, about half way down to the beach, was a well called Fynnon Vair, which was in a dangerous situation, and the descent to it very hazardous; and if the pilgrim or devotee could succeed in bringing up a mouthful of water along a narrow path or staircase to the summit, it was considered that his wish, whatever it might be, would be accomplished. When the weather was too boisterous to cross Bardsey race, (Frydiau Caswennau,) the pilgrims remained at Aberdaron, and paid their devotions to St. Hywyn, the patron saint: this place was also considered a sanctuary.*

* There are two poetical compositions (Cywyddau) on the subject of the twenty thousand saints who are supposed to have sought graves in Bardsey, one by Thomas Celli, and the other by Hywel ab Ieuan ap Davydd ap Rhys; they are both in the writer's possession, but they abound in fables, legends, and superstitious tales. Thomas Celli begins thus,

"Awn i Enlli rhi yn rhod,
O nwyf bur i Nev barod."

And the other thus,

"Mi af i luniaw fy medd
I'r ynys oddiar Wynedd."

And there is also extant a facetious satyrical Ode, called "Awdl y Caws," the purport of which is to expose one Madoc the Abbot, and to give him a severe castigation on account of his

The following are some of the celebrated persons, who are said to have been buried here:—

1, Lleuddad (Laudatus) ap Dingad ap Nudd Hael, otherwise called Llawddog, who, with his brothers Baglan, Gwytherin, Tegwyn, Tevriog, and his sister Eleri, went from the congregation of Cattwg with Dubricius to the College of Bardsey, about A. D. 520. 2, Cadvan. 3, Hewyn or Hoywyn. 4, Dubricius. 5, Daniel, bishop of Bangor. 6, Durdan. 7, St. David. 8. Cawrda, to whom Abererch is dedicated. 9, Padarn. 10, Merddyn ap Morvryn. 11, Dervel. 12, Cadwallawn ab Owain Gwynedd.—Beuno is also in some manuscripts said to have been buried at the place.

Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas, who was killed in a duel at Pennal, in Merionethshire, or rather died of his wounds, for he had killed his adversary, David Gough, a kinsman of Matthew Gough, was also buried here.

The following are the names of some of the Abbots:—Cadwallon son of Prince Owain Gwynedd, about A. D. 1169. Ieuan, about 1460. Madoc y Caws, about 1480. John Conway was the last Abbot: he was heir of Bodnithoedd, in Myllteyrn.

It is stated in the "Cambrian Biography," without mentioning upon what authority, that Eineon Vrenin, son of Owen Danwyn, founded a College at Bardsey, in conjunction with Emyr Llydaw. There is a fine old church in Lleyn dedicated to this Eineon, and still called Llan Engan Vrenin; and there is a curious inscription on the church tower, noticed in Rowlands' Mona Antiqua. Leland calls it "Llanengan Brenin, i. e. Fanum Niniani [Einiani,] and to which there was of late great pilgrimage." There is a small creek or harbour near Aberdaron, called Porth y Meudwy, (corruptly Porth y Neudwy,) i. e. the Hermit's Harbour, where pilgrims are supposed to have embarked for Bardsey,—

"Mudais i Borth y Meudwy
Aber mawr heb arhoi mwy."

I hied me then without delay
To Meudwy Port in Bardsey's Bay.

Tradition says that the tithes of Aberdaron, Bryncroes, and Nevin at one time belonged to Bardsey; but at present those of the former are the property of St. John's College, Cambridge, and those of the two latter belong to the Cefnamwlch family. A tenement called Court, in the parish of Aberdaron, was once annexed to Bardsey, and was purchased, together with the island, by Lord Newborough's ancestor. Part of Lleyn is to this day called the Lordship

niggardly and penurious disposition, and for giving the Bard some bread and hard (and nearly indigestible) cheese instead of good roast beef, and some whey to drink instead of strong ale—

"Madawg a'Mhadawg wr hynaws—ei dy
Wedi ei doi a gwyn-gaws
Ac eilio ei nenn, ac hen-gaws,
A chau ei logell a chaws, &c."
Deio ab Ieuan Du a'i cant.

or Manor of Bardsey, and a kind of leet court is still held in rotation at Aberdaron, Bryncroes, and Tydweiliog, which is called the Court of the Lord of the Manor of Bardsey. This court was held formerly, in all probability, at the House now called Court from that circumstance. The burial place of the inhabitants of Bardsey is at Aberdaron, and there they are married and their children baptized. John Wynne ap Hugh, of the family of Bodvel, was standard bearer at the battle of Norwich, in the time of Edward VI. and had Bardsey and Court in Aberdaron given him for his services. He was sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1551. This island is frequently mentioned by the Welsh bards:—

"Pan oedd saint Senedd Vrevi
Yn ol gwiw bregeth Dewi
Drwy arch y Prophwydi
Yn myn'd i Ynys Enlli
Govynent i Gybi
Pwy borthiant ar weilgi, &c."

"Oes unlle Ynys Enlli
Oll yn ei hyd well na hi?
Cyveilles yw, Cavell Saint
I Ddaear y Maddeuaint."

The whole island is full of dead men's bones, as the poet says,—

"Mae'n llawr hon main allor ha'
Medrodau fel Modryda."

There was a small church or chapel, on a little island near Penrhyn Du promontory, dedicated to St. Tudwal; and the road or harbour adjoining, as well as the island, take their names from that reputed saint; and there is another small island adjoining it, called Marchros, or Ynysvarch. It is rather singular that Enlli is but once mentioned by Leland, and then he spells it Enthli.

*Cywydd i Eineon Vrenin, a'i Eglwys Llan Engan yn Lleyn.**

Y crevyddwr cryv addwyn
Aur yw dy vedd er dy vwyn
Einion vawr Einion Vreiniol
Vrenin a'th werin i'th ol
Dawnus vab Owain Danwyn
D'wysog llaw eurog yn Ll'yn
Hwyr awn a chwyr i'n iachau
Einion Yrth yr un wrthiau
Wyr Guneddav arav wyd
Wledig rhinweddawl ydwyd
Mae'th Eglwys vawr yn llawr Llyn,
Mwy yw'r adail ym Mrydyn

* Poem on King Eineon, and his Church of Llanengan in Lleyn, full of monkish superstition.

Seintwar Einion, Sant Driniaw
Sy'n bur dros yr Hwmbyr draw
Mawr a theg i'th anrhegwyd
Wrth Vôr Udd mor werthvawr wyd
Gwnaethost yn dy wlad adail
Gorsedd ar Wynedd yw'r ail
Mae Tudwal yn dy ardal di
A'th wenllaw im wrth Enlli
Gorphenaist Gaer y Fynnon
A thir rhydd i wneuthur hon
Deugain saer i'th Dy Gwyn sydd
Deri a main o dri mynydd
Ac aur lle'r wyd yn gorwedd
A roed o Von ar dy Vedd
Dynion sy'n cael daioni
Dydd tâl yw pob dydd i ti
Pob Cristion gwirion a gwâr
Diau cyrchid o'u carchar
Dy Eglwys i gynnwys gwân
Dy Gôr i'w doi ac arian
Dy lûn a dalai Wynedd
Iechyd i vil uwch dy vedd
Ac aur sydd o vlaen ac ôl
Ar dy grys wr da grasol
Bychan gyd a d' arian, dau
Gan allawr o ganwyllau
Holl wragedd Gwynedd a'u gwyr
I'th barth gyd a'th aberthwyr
A'th nawdd-dir, a'th newydd-dai,
I bawb a roed i bob rhai
A'th blwyf urddasol a'th blâs
A'th arddwyr cânt fyth urddas
A'th oror a'th ddaear-rôdd
Ar mor Soch* tir mawr sydd * Avon Soch
Mordir a phlasoedd mawr-deg
Meibion merched tirion teg
Gwylia d'orsedd galw deirsir
A chadw hwynt mewn iechyd hir
Dy Ddelw di a addolant
Ac yn y Cor y cân cànt
Dy goron deg a eurwyd
Dy glôg mor drugarog wyd
Dy râd gyd a'th wlad a'th lu
Dy râs gar bron Duw'r Iesu

HYWEL AP REINALLT.

Gochel y Surdoes, chwedyl Sion Davydd Rhys yn ei Ramadeg.

But there were some enlightened bards in those dark ages; witness the following lines from a Cywydd by Grufydd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan :—

"Beth a dâl ir diovala
Bod yn ddall a'r byd yn dda

Nid yn ddall fol heb olwg
Ond yn ddall trwy ddeall drwg
Dyma'r dallder a arverwyd
Delwau yn well na Duw lwyd
Mab Mair ei 'sgluso ymhob modd
Mawrhau diawl mawr hudolodd
Roi urddoliant ar ddeulin
A ddylai Grist i'r ddelw grin
Fyniant Gwenfrewi fynnon
Fiaidd a hyll yw'r fydd hon
I Elian ofrymid eilwaith
A'r grog o Gaer* gorwag waith
Gwelwn cymerwn g'wilydd
Mor fol yr aethom o'r fydd
Fydd dduwiol yr Apostolion
Hofai Dduw y fydd hon
Trown ninnau i gyd byd bedydd
O ran ei pharch i'r un fydd
A rhown heibio tro trymddig
Ganhwyllau a delwau dig
A'r tyrs cwyr a'r llaswyrau†
A'r gleiniau o breniau brau
Ni all angel penvelyn
Na llu o saint ddim lles yn
Na dyn byw wedi ei eni
Is y nev ond Iesu i ni."

* Caerlleon ar Ddyfrdwy

† Salltwyrau

4. Conway.

Conway, Maenan, or Aberllechog Abbey was removed by Edward I. higher up the river, to the neighbourhood of Llanrwst, as he was distrustful of its members, who were Welshmen. He acted however with kindness towards the monks, and left them all their lands and privileges, and preserved to them the presentation of their Conventual Church at Conway, now made parochial, provided they found two able and worthy Englishmen as Chaplains, and a third a Welshman, for the benefit of those who did not understand English; one of the Englishmen was to be perpetual Vicar, and named by the Convent on every vacancy, and approved of by the Diocesan. This Abbey was founded by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of North Wales, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and All Saints, about the year 1185, according to Dugdale and Pennant; but the said prince did not commence his reign until the 1194. He however endowed it with lands to a very great extent in Carnarvonshire and in Anglesey, and with privileges of great value; among the lands are mentioned Caput Wedva vawr, (the top of Snowdon,) and Caput Gribboch, another hill in Llanberis parish, not far from Snowdon or Wyddva, and Morva Dinllin.* It was exempted also from the

* Dinlle probably in Llandwrog parish; for Dinllyn is near Nevin, viz. Porth Din-Lleyn.

maintenance of all men, horses, dogs, and hawks, even those of the prince. No one was to interfere in the elections or affairs of the House. They were to enjoy all benefits of wrecks on the shores of their property, in the same manner as the prince did on his; but no advantage was to be taken of similar misfortunes to religious men, but all their goods so wrecked were to be restored. They and their servants were to be exempt, in all parts, from tolls, pontage, and the like; and their free passage over the Menai, Conway, Barmouth, (Abermaw,) and Dyvi is particularly provided for. Numbers of other privileges are mentioned, the Charter of which is dated from Aberconwy, and witnessed by Iorwerth Gam, Gwin ab Ednowain Ydon, the Prince's Chaplain, and by Madog ap Cador. This shows that Conway was a place of some note before the English Conquest. It probably had some sort of a fortress before the existence of the present magnificent and much admired castle. Its ancient name was Caer Gyffin, from the stream which flows into the creek beneath the Castle, called Gyffin, i. e. the boundary streamlet. Camden asserts, that Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, fortified the place on his march to Anglesey. It was a Cistercian Abbey. Among the illustrious persons buried in the church, was Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, who was interred here in the year 1200, in a monk's cowl, which in those dark days was considered as a kind of passport to heaven. Its great founder also, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, sometimes called Llewelyn the Great, was buried here; but at the dissolution, his coffin was removed to Llanrwst, where it is still to be seen. About the year 1216, Howel ap Griffith ap Cynan was buried at Aber Conwy; also David ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth died at Abergwyngregin, and was buried at Aber Conwy, in the same grave as his father, in 1246; and also Griffith ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, who died in London, in an attempt to escape from his confinement in the Tower, 1244.

Maenan, to which place Conway Abbey was removed by King Edward I. is about nine miles south of Conway, and about three north of Llanrwst; and notwithstanding it is on the eastern, or Denbighshire side of the river Conway, it is yet within the county of Carnarvon. It is at present a dwelling house, known by the name of the Old Abbey, or Abbey House, and is the property of Lord Newborough. There is a Welsh Poem (Cywydd) extant, written by the bard Tudur Aled, and addressed to David, the Abbot of Aberllechog, (the name it was then generally known by,) to request he would generously bestow a horse on a friend or relation of his, of the name of Cynrig (Kenrick.)—Dugdale reports its revenues at the dissolution at £162. 15*s.* 0*d.* but by Speed they are represented as being of the value of £177. 10*s.* 10*d.*

About the year 1230, Llywelyn ap Maelgwn died, and was buried at Aber Conwy.—(Brut y Tywysogion.) There is an Awdl, or Welsh Ode, extant, which was composed by Casnodyn, a bard who flourished between 1290 and 1340, and addressed to Ieuan ab Rhys, Abbot of Conway, or Maenan Abbey, who appears, by some of the lines, to have resided occasionally at Amlwch, in Anglesey—the Ode is highly eulogistic.

5. Bethgelert.

Bethgelert, alias Bedd Gelart, or Bedd Killhart, generally supposed to be the grave of Prince Llewelyn's dog, so named, is a small village, twelve miles south east of Carnarvon, on the road to Bala and Dolgellau; it is situated at the confluence of two small rivers, the Glaslyn, which comes down through Nant Hwynant from Llyn Glas and Llyn Llydaw, at the foot of Snowdon, (Troed yr Wyddva,) and the Colwyn. This is supposed to have been one of the most ancient religious establishments in Wales. It was first erected most probably by some benevolent and charitably disposed individual, as inns were scarce in those days, as an Hospitium, or place of hospitality, in this bleak, barren, and inhospitable spot, surrounded by high mountains; and as colleges and places of education were, in those turbulent times, built in such retired situations, for the purposes of security from the incursions of enemies, and the ravages of pirates and sea rovers, Beddgelart may have had its small chapel and school house adjoining the Hospitium; and afterwards, in the course of time, a Convent or Monastery was built here, probably by Owain Gwynedd, who appears, from old Deeds quoted by Mr. Rowlands in his Antiquitates Parochiales Comoti de Mænai, to have been a great benefactor to this place, if he was not the founder of the Monastery; and the same writer has clearly proved, that nearly the whole parish of Llanidan, in Anglesey, belonged to this Convent, and that the Prior had a house there, where he generally resided; and as no grain or corn could be grown at Bethgelert, no doubt the resident members were supplied with that and other necessary articles from Anglesey. It further appears, from the said unpublished writings of the same author, that, in order to induce King Edward III. to renew, and confirm for ever, grants to the said Abbey of Bethgelert, Eineon, then Bishop of Bangor, sent his letters patent up to London, to testify to his Majesty, that he had perused some grants of lands and privileges to that Monastery, made by different Welsh princes, particulary one by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and another by Owain Gwynedd, of Treveirdd and other Tenements in the said parish of Llanidan, and which Deeds had unfortunately been since destroyed by fire.* There were lands in Carnarvonshire also appertaining to this Convent, some of which were the following, viz. the Grange of Llecheiddior in Eivionydd, and part of a mill; the Grange of Ventidillt, and village of Gwehelyn, uncertain where situated; the Grange of Tre'r Beirdd in Anglesey, before mentioned; one plough land, and a certain share

* The words are as follow:—"Et quia venerabilis Pater Eneanus, Bangorensis Episcopus, misit nobis litteras suas patentes, per quas testatur se vidisse Chartas diversorum Principum, Prioribus et Conventui ejus loci i. e. Bethcelert factas, viz. Chartam Leolini Magni et Chartam Owini Principis, de tota Villa quæ vocatur Treveirdd apud Cymmyd Mænai, &c."

of the bees, it being considered that no mass ought to be celebrated except by the light of their wax. David Llywelyn also bestowed on this House certain lands in Pennant Gwernogan, belonging to Tudor ap Madoc, to which the prince had no right; this occasioned a law-suit between the sons of Tudor and Philip the prior, which was tried before William de Gandison and R. de Stanedon at Carnarvon, when it was decided against the Convent. The prior had in addition an allowance of fifty cows and twenty two sheep. The expenses of the House must be large, as it was situated on the great road from England and South Wales into North Wales, and from Ireland and North Wales into England. In 1283 this Monastery was so much damaged by fire, that in order to encourage benefactors to come forward and contribute towards the rebuilding of it, Anian (Eineon) bishop of Bangor remitted to all such as sincerely repented of their sins, forty days of any penance inflicted on them; and in order to enable this place to keep up its usual hospitality, after such an unfortunate catastrophe, Edward I. very munificently repaired most of the damages, when private contributions had been found inadequate for the purpose. There are now no remains of the Monastery; but the present church was probably built with part of the materials of the old, which was dedicated to St. Mary, and the Brethren were of the Order of Augustines; and Mr. Pennant conjectures, from the name of an adjoining meadow, Dol y Lleian, i. e. the Nun's Meadow, that the establishment was of that class denominated Gilbertines, and consisted of both men and women, who lived under the same roof, but strictly separated from each other by a wall. The revenues at the dissolution were estimated according to Dugdale at £70. 3*s*. 8*d*. and according to Speed at £69. 3*s*. 8*d*. Mr. Pennant says, that he had in his possession a drawing of the seal of the Priory, dated 1531, and on it the figure of the Virgin and Child, but no part of the legend remained except BETHKELE.—A beautiful ballad, intitled Gelart's Grave, has been published by several Tourists, founded on the tradition, that one day as Llywelyn was entering the room where his child was asleep, he saw his greyhound all covered with blood, and the cradle overturned, and that in his rage he killed the dog; but soon afterwards he discovered, to his great joy, that his infant was alive, and that the faithful dog had destroyed a large wolf, which in all probability would have devoured the sweet innocent, had not Killhart been successful in the combat. There is an old saying still common in Wales,—"Mae mor edifar genyv a'r gwr a laddodd ei filgi," (I am as sorry for it as the man who killed his greyhound.) It appears, however, that a story exactly similar is related of a gentleman who lived in Monmouthshire.* In 1535, this place was bestowed by Henry VIII. on the Abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey; and in 1537, both were given as appurtenances

* Might not this place have taken its name from a Hermit's Cell, Bwth, (a common Welsh word,) and Cil-Arth, i. e. Cilvach Garth? The latter is frequently applied to any hill, rock, or promontory; for instance, Garthewin, Garthmeilio, Garth Angharad, &c.

to Bisham, in Berkshire. On the dissolution, the king gave the family of the Bodvels all the lands in Carnarvonshire that belonged to this Priory, and all those in Anglesey to the Prytherchs, except the township of Tre'r Beirdd.—Leland spells the name Bethkelarth.

6. Gogarth.

Gogarth, now called Great Ormshead, is in the parish of Llandidno, near Conway. There appears to have been a Religious House here at one time; afterwards it came into the possession of the bishops of Bangor, who had a palace and manor at the place. The tithes of Llandidno belong to the Archdeacon of Merioneth.

X. DENBIGHSHIRE.

NANTGLYN—GWYTHERIN—RUTHIN—VALLE CRUCIS.

1. Nantglyn.

This place is four miles west of Denbigh. "There is in the County of Denbigh in Wales," saith Leland, "a Chapel by a Parish Church, in a place corruptly called Nanclin, for Nantglyn, by Astrad Brook, where divers saints were of ancient times buried."

2. Gwytherin.

Gwytherin is a village between Denbigh and Llanrwst. There is a fabulous legend, that after St. Winifrede had been raised from the dead by St. Beuno, when she had been beheaded by the dissipated, unprincipled prince Caradoc, she was directed to come to Gwytherin, to holy Elerius, by whom she was appointed Abbess of that place after the death of St. Theonia; that St. Winifrede in the course of a few years died, and was buried there; but that in consequence of her appearing in a dream to the Prior of Shrewsbury, her body was afterwards removed to that place.

3. Ruthin.

Leland mentions that a priest of Saresbury (Salesbury) told him, that there was a House or Cell of Bonhommes at Ruthin, in Denbighland, and that it was since translated [converted] into a parish

church; and in another part of his Itinerary he says,—"There were once White Freres at Ruthin, in Dyffryn Clwyd." The church of Ruthin before the Reformation was collegiate; John, son of Reginal de Grey, Lord of the Cantrev of Dyfryn Clwyd, made the chapel of St. Peter here collegiate in the year 1310, for seven regular priests, and assigned 205 acres of land as an endowment.

4. Valle Crucis.

Abbey de Valle Crucis, i. e. Abbey of the Vale of the Cross, called by the Welsh, Monachlog y Glynn, Monachlog Glynn Egwestl, and Monachlog Pant y Groes, is situated in a beautiful little valley, about two miles north west of Llangollen, and on the north side of the river Dee. It is extremely well sheltered, being surrounded by high hills, the sides of which are well wooded; and the rich, luxuriant valley is watered by a clear, beautiful stream, and no place can be better fitted for study, devotion, or holy contemplation. This place was doubtless first known by the name of Pant y Groes, the flat, hollow, or vale of the Cross, long prior to the erection of the Abbey; and it was so called from an ancient pillar or cross, which stood about a quarter of a mile above the ruins of the old Monastery. It was a round column, and one of the most ancient inscribed British pillars now existing; it continued entire until the civil wars in the time of Charles I., when it was thrown down and broken by some ignorant fanatics, because it had the appearance and name of a cross, for the field it lies in is still called Llwyn y Groes, or the Grove of the Cross. The pillar was a sepulchral cross, erected by Concen to the memory of Eliseg, as appears by the inscription, which was as follows:—CONCEN FILIVS CATHELI CATHELI FILIVS BROCHMAIL BROCHMAIL FILIVS ELISEG ELISEG FILIVS GWILLAWG Concen itaque pronepos Eliseg edificavit hunc Lapidem proavo suo Eliseg.*

Eliseg was father of Brochmail Ysgithrog, prince of Powys, and is supposed to have fallen in battle, and to have been buried on this spot.

This was a Cistercian Abbey, and was founded in the year 1200, by Madoc ap Griffith Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, and grandson by the mother side to Owain Gwynedd, prince of North Wales; some of its endowments were the following, viz. half the tithes of Wrexham, bestowed on it by Reyner, bishop of St. Asaph, who died in 1224; and the other half given by his successor, bishop Abraham, in 1227. Bishop Howel ab Ednyved presented it with the church of Llangollen. The monks obtained also the patronage of several

* Cynghen son of Cadell, Cadell son of Brochmael, Brochmael son of Eliseg, Eliseg son of Gwillawg. Therefore Cynghen, great grandson of Eliseg, built this stone memorial to his great grandfather Eliseg.—Ed. Tr.

other livings, such as Wrexham, Rhiwabon, Chirk, Llansainfraid, and Llandegla; but their title to these, as well as to Llangollen, was disputed by Bishop Anian, commonly known by the name of Y Brawd Du o Nannau, i. e. the black brother of the House of Nannau, a Dominican, consecrated in 1268, who brought his cause before the Pope's delegates, the Official of Canterbury, and the Abbot of Talley, or Talyllychau, in Carmarthenshire, and obtained a decision in favour of himself and his successors; but as there was some doubt about the patronage of the church of Llandegla, the delegates allotted in lieu of it, to the Abbey, a third of the tithes of Bryneglwys. In the year 1291, the Abbot was found to have, near the Monastery, a Grange, with three plough lands, a mill, and other conveniences, valued at £3. 0*s*. 0*d*.; the Granges of Bodeang, Tregam, Rudryn, and Baketon, set for £5. 10*s*. 0*d*.; also the dairy farm of Nant, the Grange of Nustroyz, Conveneth, and Grennychawt, set for £3. 19*s*. 8*d*.; also the Grange of Wyrcessam, consisting of one plough land and some pasture, valued at 15*s*. 0*d*.; and thirty cows at the expense of thirty shillings.

The freemen of Llangollen made a grant of a Fishery, in a part of the river near the town, to the Monks of Valle Crucis; and for want of a seal of their own, they affixed to the grant that of Madog, the founder of the Abbey. The Monks, however, having erected new works on the river, for the purpose of taking the fish, this caused a dispute between them and the freemen; and these last referred the matter for decision to the Abbot, and five monks of their own choice, who were to determine the matter on oath. Madoc, and his Secretary, John Parvus, appointed a day for the purpose; the assembly was held, the oath solemnly administered, and the Abbot and Monks made the decision (as might have been expected) in their own favour. They alleged that they had bought the right of erecting what works they pleased, and of repairing them, from the Heirs of Llangollen. The prince confirmed the decree, and the donation of the fishery, by an instrument dated 1234. This House was dissolved in 1535, and is said to have been the first of the Welsh that underwent that fate. At the dissolution, its revenues were £188. per annum, according to Dugdale; but Speed estimates them at £214. 3*s*. 5*d*. The last Abbot was John Hern, who received an annuity of £23. on his surrender; this and £10. 13*s*. 4*d*. in annuities to some surviving Monks, were the only charges remaining in 1553. It remained in the crown till the 9th of James I. who granted it to Edward Wotton, afterwards created Lord Wotton. In 1654, we find that a Lady Margaret Wotton, a recusant, was in possession thereof, and that it was put under sequestration by orders of the commissioners from the ruling powers. Considerable parts of the church walls, and some portions of the Abbey are still remaining; the latter is now converted into a farm house. The former was built or repaired at different times, and in different styles of architecture. The most ancient part is the east end, where the windows are in form of long and narrow slips, pointed at top. The window at the west end is large, divided by stone tracery, and above is a round

window of elegant workmanship. Above this window is an inscription in memory of the person who repaired or rebuilt this part, an honour frequently paid in those days to benefactors of this kind. It is somewhat in this form:—AD ADAM DMS FECIT HOC OPVS Pace beata quiescat Amen; and just beneath are the letters MD... probably part of the date, the rest being lost. The person intended to be commemorated in this line cannot now be ascertained; but it is conjectured that he was one of the house of Trevor, in which that name frequently occurs; as Adam or Adda Vawr, of Trevawr, and Adam or Adda ab Iorwerth Ddu, of Pengwern, &c.

The capitals of the pilasters within the church are finished with elegant foliage. In the north transept is a cloister of two arches, an arch that once contained a tomb, and near it a *benetoir*, or holy water pot. A great part of the building is made of the coarse slaty stone of the country; but the doors and window frames are of fine freestone. The Abbot's apartment was contiguous to the church; and there is a small space, into which there is an opening, and where he might stand to hear the holy offices performed. The lower part of the Abbey was vaulted, and supported by rows of low pillars, and is now divided into different rooms. In front is a large window, with curious stone tracery, which reaches to the ground; and there seems to have been a staircase within, which led to the Fratry, a paved room above the arches. In one of the present bed chambers in the farm house is a stone, now part of a chimney piece, carved with running foliage, and having this inscription,—"Hic jacet ... ... ARVRVET." This is the only relique of any tomb; that of the founder, who was buried here, having disappeared; nor are there any remains of the monument, which was, no doubt, erected to the memory of Griffith ap Madoc Maelor, who was also interred here, in 1270, after unnaturally siding with the enemies of his country.*

There is a Cywydd (Welsh Poem,) and also an Awdl (Welsh Ode,) printed in Rice Jones of Blaenau's Gorchestion, composed by Guttyn Owen, to celebrate the munificent hospitality of David, one of the Abbots; and another in manuscript, by Gutto o'r Glynn, addressed to the same Abbot David, to thank him for a sword and buckler; and an Awdl in manuscript, by this last bard, to Abbot John, to celebrate his generosity, kindness, and hospitality. This John was probably a relation of the other, for he is called Sion ap Dafydd; but he could not have been a son, as Abbots were not permitted to marry. There is also an Awdl by Gutto o'r Glynn, to the said Abbot David, being likewise an eulogium.

This old Abbey is but very slightly noticed by Leland. In one place he says,—"Llan Egwhiste, alias Vallis Crucis, is in Yale, half a mile from Dee ripe" [bank;] and in another part of the same work (Itinerary)—"Llan Egwiste, alias Vallis Crucis, an Abby of white monks, 3 quarters of a mile by West North West from Castle

*There is an Elegy on the death of Madoc ap Griffith Maelawr, the founder, by Einiawn Wann, printed in the Myvyrian Archaiology.

Dinas Brane." A certain writer, after viewing the ruins of this sequestered old Abbey, makes the following observations:—The most rigid anchorite could not have selected a spot more completely secluded from the busy hum of men, than that in which this ruined pile is situated; built at the very bottom of a deep dell, it is screened from view, till a person is close to it, by the high and well wooded hills which surround it; and there is something exceedingly tranquil and soothing in the scene, which its decaying fragments exhibit; a pleasing melancholy pervades the whole, and creates an emotion infinitely more delightful, than that which a more splendid and more perfect structure might produce.

Hail, mould'ring arches of yon reverend pile,
  That seem in age's hoary vest to shine;
All hail! for here creative Fancy reads
Of ages past the long forgotten deeds.

Say, ivied Valle Crucis, time-decay'd,
  Dim on the brink of Deva's wandering floods,
Your riv'd arch glimmering through the tangled glade,
  Your grey hill towering o'er your night of woods;
Deep in the Vale's recesses as you stand,
And, desolately great, the rising sigh command—

Say, lonely ruin'd pile, when former years,
  Saw your pale train at midnight altars bow,
Saw Superstition frown upon the tears
  That mourn'd the rash, irrevocable vow,
Did works of mercy e'er their hours beguile,
Or conscious innocence cause thy sons to smile?

XI. FLINTSHIRE.

ST. ASAPH—RHUDDLAN—HOLYWELL—BASINGWERK—BANGOR ON THE DEE.

1. St. Asaph.

According to Bishop Tanner, Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, being driven out of Scotland, founded an episcopal seat and Monastery here, about the middle of the sixth century, and became the first bishop. Upon his return into Scotland, he made Asaph, an eminently pious and good man, his successor; and from him, both the church and place have since been called St. Asaph. But from his death, in 596, there is no account of the Monastery; and little or none of any of the bishops, till the year 1143.

2. Rhuddlan.

At this place are some remains of a Priory of black monks, founded before the year 1268, when Anian de Schonan, its prior, was made bishop of St. Asaph. His Cathedral having been burnt down in the wars of Edward I. he obtained that king's permission to transfer the see to Rhuddlan, with a grant of land, and 1000 marks towards the building; but his application to the Pope having been rejected, the design was abandoned.

3. Holywell.

This place, called by the Welsh Trefynnon, is celebrated for its Well, and the fabulous legend respecting Winifrede, daughter of Thewith, a nobleman of these parts. She was instructed in the Christian religion by her uncle Beuno; and being remarkably handsome, Cradoc, the king's son, fell desperately in love with her; and finding her one day alone, solicited her to comply with his impure desires. She repulsed his advances; and he continuing importunate, she fled from the house through a back door towards the church, which had been built by Beuno at her father's expense; but before she could get down the hill, the prince overtook her, and in the violence of disappointed passion struck off her head with his sword, and a miraculous stream of water gushed out from the place where the head fell. Beuno, as soon as he perceived what had happened, replaced her head on her body, and she immediately revived, lived some years afterwards, and became Abbess of a Convent at Gwytherin.

4. Basingwerk.

This place is called by the Welsh, Monachlog Dinas Basing. Maes Glas, or Maes Gwerdd, translated to Greenfield, and corrupted into Basingwerk, appears however to have been the most ancient name. It probably was also called Maes-ëang, the open, wide, or extensive field, or plain. A religious house, as it is generally conjectured, was established here by some of the Welsh princes, probably Owain Gwynedd, which was afterwards enlarged and improved by Ranulph, third Earl of Chester, who endowed it with some lands. This honour, however, is attributed by Tanner to Randal, the second Earl of Chester, in 1131; but Bishop Fleetwood differs from both, and asserts that King Henry II. was both the founder

and the most liberal benefactor to this place. In those Charters preserved by Dugdale, the Earl is mentioned as a contributor to its revenues, but there is no hint of his having been the founder; on the contrary, there are other deeds, by which it appears that Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, and his son David, confirmed several donations, made by their ancestors, to God and St. Mary, and to the Abbey of Basingwerk. Randal was certainly a great benefactor, for it appears that before his days the monks had only a chapel here. From that period it improved; and a great part of the buildings, of which there are still considerable remains, were erected in his time, for the conveniency of its inhabitants, who were of the Cistercian Order. The architecture is mixed, having the round Saxon arches and short columns in some parts, and narrow slips of sharp pointed Gothic windows in others. The church was on the east side; but at present there are few or no remains of it. The refectory is pretty entire, and on one side has a great recess with two arches; above were the cells for the lodgings of the monks, with a small window to each. Henry II. after his escape from the ambuscade in Eulo woods, left Basingwerk Castle restored, and well fortified and manned, in order to secure a retreat on any future disaster; and he did the same with the Castle of Rhuddlan. In his days, the inland parts of Wales were a dangerous wild of forests; and after this defeat, he never trusted himself in the interior, but made his marches along the open shores. The same monarch also left here another species of garrisou, for he established at the place a house of Knights Templars, a military order introduced into England in the preceding reign. They were first instituted in the Holy Land, for the protection of pilgrims; and possibly Henry might have the same view in fixing them here, to secure the English devotees in performing their vows to St. Winifrede, at Holywell, who seems to have come into great repute about this time. In the Life of St. Werburg, by Bradshaw, it is mentioned that Richard, Earl of Chester, on his return from Normandy, where he had been educated, began his reign with an act of piety; for in 1119, he attempted a pilgrimage to the Well of St. Winifrede; but either in going or returning, he was attacked by the Welsh, and obliged to take shelter in Basingwerk. He applied to St. Werburg for relief, who miraculously raised certain sands between Flintshire and Wiral, and thus gave means to his Constable to pass to his assistance, which sands ever since have been called the Constable's Sands. Bradshaw styles the place of his retreat an Abbey, a proof that there had been here a religious community before the time usually assigned for the foundation of this House. The Chapel of the Knights Templars is a spacious building; the windows are long, narrow, and pointed, and the pilasters on the inside between them slender and elegant. Within the last century, much of the habitable part was standing, and sometimes used by the proprietors, the Mostyns of Talacre; and a lady, living in Mr. Pennant's time, was born within the walls. During the preparation for the conquest of Wales by Edward I. the Abbey was taken under the protection of the English, on condition that the members held

no intercourse and had no communication with the Welsh, who are denominated rebels. The Convent appears to have been firmly attached to the English king; for among the lists of Summons in the Tower, there are writs for calling the Abbot into Parliament, in the 23, 24, 28, 32, and 34 of Edward I. The particular endowments, according to Dugdale, were these. Henry III., by Charter, grants and confirms ten librates in Longeredale in Derbyshire, with the church of Glossope, and all its appurtenances, to be held by them, as freely as William Peverel held the same in the time of Henry his grandfather. And the same Charter confirms the donations of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and other Barons, viz. Holywell, Fullbrook, the Chapel of Basingwerk, the ancient residence of the Monks, with the mills and their appurtenances; likewise Holes, and a moiety of Leech, and one hundred shillings of the revenues of Chester, the gift of the said Earl; Calders, with its inhabitants; and lastly, Kethlenedei, the gift of Robert Banaster. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, Prince of Wales, and contemporary with Henry III. confirms all the donations of his ancestors, particularly the site of their House, the mill before their gate, and the land before their doors; which last was granted to them by Ranulphus, and his brother Æneas. The same grant gives them also the land of Meredith Wawor (Vawr) in Holywell, Fulbrook, and a community of pasturage on the mountains; Hanot de le Weech, (q. Havod y Weeg?) aud Creigcraft, with all their appurtenances. His son and successor David, by another Charter, confirms the donations of his father, and adds the lands of Huttred (q. Uchtryd?) brother to Meredith Wawor (Vawr) of Holywell, the grange of Fulbrook, the church of Holywell and the chapel of Colsul, and the land and pasturage of Gelli, before granted by his father. He also empowers them to buy and sell every thing toll-free, in all his territories, for the use of their house. Also, the fifth part of the fish taken in his fisheries at Rhuddlan, and the tenth of the fish belonging to him in other parts. He confirms to them all the village of Wenhewm, with all its inhabitants and appurtenances, being the gift of Howen (Owen) de Porkenton, and confirmed by Helyso (Elissa.) He at the same time confirms the lands and pasturage in Penthlin (Penyllyn,) the gift of his father. This Charter is dated from Coleshill, in 1240, and witnessed by Hugh, bishop of St. Asaph, and his chancellor, the famous Ednyved Vychan, and others. Tanner mentions also the tithes of Blackbrook, and the wood of Langdon; lands in Chanclesworth, the manor of West Kirby, in Cheshire; the silver mine near Basingwerk; free warren in Gethli; Menegrange, Ouregrange, Beggerburg, and Holywell. The Abbey was also possessed of the Hospital or Chapel of Sponne, near Coventry, which had been originally founded by Hugh Ceveiliog, Earl of Chester, who probably bestowed it on these monks. The revenues of the Abbot amounted in the whole, including those arisng from the mills, lands, cows, and sheep, to £46. 11*s.* 0*d.* In the grant to the Abbey of Basingwerk of the lands in the Peak of Derbyshire, there is a clause reserving the venison to the king, with the consent of the Abbot and Convent, for the pre-

servation of which two foresters were appointed by the king, but the grantees were allowed to kill hares, foxes, and wolves. According to the valuation of its revenues in 1534, the gross sum at the dissolution was, according to Dugdale, £150. 7*s.* 3*d.* and as made out by Speed, £157. 15*s.* 2*d.* In 1553, there remained in charge £4. in annuities. In 1540, the house and lands in the neighbourhood were granted to Henry ap Harry, of the tribe of Ednowain Bendew, whose only daughter Anne, by her marriage with William Mostyn, Esq. of Trelacre, conveyed them into that family, in which they now remain.

There is a *Cywydd* printed in Mr. Rice Jones of Blaenau's Collection, addressed to one of the Abbots, Thomas ap David Pennant, composed by Guttyn Owain, in commendation of his liberality, hospitality, and friendship. Some of the lines are as follow:—

"Punnoedd mab Davydd Pennant
Perai, a gwin per, i gant
Tai melus win Teml Saint
Tair Cavell Ty i'r *Cwvaint*
Tai mis Mai Thomas a'i medd
Tan gwin Tai Owain Gwynedd
Ty da i'r yd or tu draw
Ty brag sydd ty *brics* iddaw
Gwal gerrig wrth Gilgwri
A thy porth ar ei thop hi."

From one of the above lines, (Tan gwin, Tai Owain Gwynedd,) it may be justly inferred that Prince Owain Gwynedd was the founder.* The above Thomas ap David Pennant resigned, and abjured the monastic life, and married Angharad, daughter of Gwilym ap Griffith ap Gwilym, of Penrhyn, near Bangor, Carnarvonshire; and his son Nicholas succeeded him in the Abbey, and was the last who filled that situation.

There is an Elegy, composed by the celebrated bard Iolo Goch, on the death of Ithel ap Rhotbert ab Iorwerth ap Ririd, of Coed y Mynydd, who was buried in this Abbey; in which it is mentioned that the multitude, who attended the funeral, was so immense, that the foremost were within a short distance of the Abbey, before the last had scarcely left Coed y Mynydd. (Yr oedd y blaeniaid o'r Cynhebrwng yn y Bol Hyl, a'r oliaid yngHoed y Mynydd, says the Introduction to the Elegy.) Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, lodged one night at Basingwerk Abbey, when on his tour through Wales preaching the Crusade with Giraldus Cambrensis.

* Although founded for a number of nearly useless drones, providence seems to have made use of these religious establishments, which were held sacred, and which it was considered profane and sacrilegious to pillage and desecrate, for the preservation of many valuable manuscripts, and probably, had it not been for these, even the Holy Scriptures themselves would not have been conveyed down to us in the manner they have been.

5. Bangor on the Dee.

This place, called by the Welsh, Bangor Vawr yn Maelawr, and Bangor Isgoed, is celebrated for being the site of an ancient British Monastery, or rather Seminary or College, which contained two thousand four hundred members, who were employed alternately in study, labour, prayer, and devotion; one hundred being constantly engaged in divine worship and celebrating the praise and glory of God, one band relieving another every hour. The members of this community, in common with all the British Clergy at that time, were strenuous opposers of the errors and usurpation of the Church of Rome. Seven bishops, viz. those of Hereford, Landaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, Worcester, Llanbadarn Vawr in Cardiganshire (Paternensis,) and Morganensis, (other writers mention the president of Bangor College, as one of the bishops, instead of this last,) together with a great number of learned men, were deputed from Bangor, to meet Augustine the Monk, the Pope's Missionary or Legate, at a place since called Austin's Oak, in Worcestershire, when he insisted on their compliance with his demands, and that with so much insolence, that they left him, being determined to maintain the original rites and doctrines of their own Church. Augustine however threatened them, on their non-compliance with his demands, with the resentment of the Saxons. How far he instigated Edilfred in his invasion, does not appear; but if Bede may be credited, and there is no reason why he should not, the massacre of the members of this religious seminary soon followed the menaces of this haughty priest; after which time, the seminary probably went into decay, for William of Salisbury, who lived shortly after the Norman conquest, saith that there remained in his time only the traces of so great a place, but of so many ruinous churches, and such heaps of rubbish, as were hardly elsewhere to be met with.

XII. MERIONETHSHIRE.

Cymmer Abbey.*

The ruins of the old Cistercian Abbey, called by the Welsh, at present, Y Vaner, founded, as is generally supposed by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth about A. D. 1200, are the only monastic remains of any note in the county of Merioneth. It was situated in a rich little vale, nearly at the junction of the two rivers Wnion (or Wynion) and Mawddach, almost opposite Llanilltyd church, and within about

* Written also by the English, Kimmer, and Kimner.

a mile of Dolgelley. It is now converted into a farm house, the walls of the refectory and Abbot's lodgings forming some part of the building. The fragments of the church, which was dedicated to St. Mary, are merely sufficient to enable the curious visitor to conjecture what it once was; the other parts are much shattered, and the old walls are repaired in such a way as to make them useful to the farmer. The east end is the most perfect, and through its thick mantle of ivy one may just discover three lancet windows. Against the south wall are a few Gothic pillars and arches, and an aperture therein, in which was probably kept the holy water; in this part of the building there has also been a semicircular door, opposite to two small arches, and near them a mutilated stone representing the head of a human figure. Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the celebrated antiquary, attributes the foundation to Meredith and Griffith, the sons of Conan ab Owain Gwynedd, in the year 1198. Tanner, after quoting Speed as his authority for stating Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to have been the founder, observes in a note, that though he appears to have been a benefactor, and, as prince of North Wales, to have confirmed the donations of his ancestors and others, and also to have contributed himself to the same institution, yet that there did not appear any great reason to think him the founder. It seems to have been in a flourishing condition in 1231; when, in the wars of Henry III. with the Welsh, his army would have burnt it down, had not the monks purchased their forbearance with three hundred marks. About the year 1197, some of the monks of the Abbey of Cwm Hir, in Radnorshire, are said to have come to Kymmer Abbey, for greater safety and security, there being some connexion and a friendly intercourse between the members of the two Monasteries.

In the year 1291, as appears from an ancient roll in the Augmentation Office, the Abbey had in yearly revenues £11. 14*s.* 11*d.* the whole sum arising from granges, pastures, and other temporal possessions, except sixty shillings for the profits accruing from sixty cows, and six shillings and three pence from twenty five sheep, which then formed the live stock of the Abbey. No valuation or survey has been found between that period and the twenty sixth year of Henry VIII.; when it was returned by the Commissioners as being worth annually, in spiritualities and temporalities, £51. 13*s.* 4*d.* Not long after this survey had been taken, Cymmer was dissolved, in pursuance of the Statute 27 Henry VIII., and the receiver of the Crown then answered for the rents and profits. These accompts of the Crown's ministers or receivers are deposited in the Augmentation Office; and from the thirty first year of Henry VIII. it appears that the site of the Monastery, with lands, tenements, and mills, were valued at £2. 15*s.* 4*d.*; the rectory of Llanelltid, £5. 13*s.* 4*d.*; the rectory of Llanegryn, £13. 13*s.* 4*d.*; the rectory of Llanfachreth, £6. 18*s.* 4*d.*; and twenty four cranocks and two hoppets of wheat £10. 6*s.* 6*d.* which were all then upon lease to John Pewis. The other possessions, there described as being lately appertaining to the Abbey, were, town of Redcrow, lands, and tenements

£3. 5*s.* 4*d.*; town of Llanelltid, divers tenements, &c. £10. 15*s.* 2*d.* town of Dolgelthy, divers tenements, £2. 8*s.* 4*d.*; town of Kumcadein (Cwm Cadein,) tenements and mill, £3. 2*s.* 0*d.*; town of Transbryn (q. Trawsvryn?) divers tenements, £5.; town of Llanecithe, tenements and rents, £2. 18s. 0*d.*; Chapel of Kydis, 10*s.*; fines and perquisites of courts, 10*s.*; so that the whole sum of the yearly income of the Crown in right of the Abbey was then £65. 15*s.* 10*d.* The site remained in the Crown for several successive reigns, not being granted away, till Queen Elizabeth bestowed it upon Robert, Earl of Leicester, about the twentieth year of her reign. There is a view of the ruins in Mr. Moore's Monastic Remains. Upon a little bank near this old Monastery, now called y Pentre, once stood Castell Uchtryd, otherwise called Castell Cymmer, which the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn overthrew in the year 1113, upon some displeasure conceived against the sons of Uchtryd ab Edwin, who had built it.

In the year 1402, the Abbot of this House concerted a benevolent plan, in order to bring about a reconciliation between Owain Glyndwr and his relative Hywel Sele, as they were at variance; and for that purpose he contrived to bring them together, but his efforts were unsuccessful; for, when they were walking out in Nannau Park, Owain (treacherously it is said) shot Howel, and hid his body in a hollow oak, where it remained many years undiscovered. This was the celebrated oak afterwards called Ceubren yr Ellyll. Some writers however assert that Hywel Sele made an attempt first upon Glyndwr's life, by turning suddenly round with his bow and arrow, and aiming at *him* instead of shooting one of the deer.

From Archbishop Usher's "Religion professed by the Ancient Irish," and the authorities there quoted, it appears that there were no Abbeys or Monasteries amongst the Britons or Welsh, from the destruction of Bangor Maelor, or Bangor Isgoed, in Flintshire, until the erection of Tŷ Gwyn ar Dav, in or about 1146; and it is evident from the same authority, that the Welsh and Irish Monasteries, prior to the Norman conquest and the introduction of Popery, were colleges for the education of young men for the ministry, and that the reading of the word of God, so far from being forbidden or prohibited, was encouraged and commanded, nay, enforced as a regular practice. "For our Monasteries in ancient times (says the Archbishop) were the seminaries of the ministry, being as it were so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people resorted for instruction, and from whence the Church was regularly supplied with able ministers; the benefit whereof was not only contained within the limits of this island (Ireland,) but extended itself to foreign countries also; for this was what drew Egbert and Ceadda (for example) into Ireland, that there they might lead a monastic life, in prayers, temperance, and meditation of the Holy Scriptures; and hence were those famous Monasteries planted in England, by Aidan, Finan, Colman, and others, unto which the people flocked apace on the Lord's Day, not for the feeding of their bodies, but for the learning of the Word of God, as Beda witnesseth. And besides,

this was the principal means, whereby the knowledge both of the Scriptures, and of all good learning, was preserved, in that inundation of barbarism, with which the whole Western World was in a manner overwhelmed." And it may be proved from history and undoubted evidence, that celibacy was not enjoined, or marriage forbidden to the clergy in those days; and it is evident that the Welsh clergy continued to marry long after the Norman conquest; for the Pope Innocent the Third, about the year 1218, commanded his legate, Johannes Salernitanus, to abolish the custom which prevailed in Wales and Ireland, that sons and grandsons should succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their bishoprics, livings, or preferments, or ecclesiastical benefices, as then expressed.

XIII. MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

YSTRAD MARCHELL—LLANLLUGAN—LLANGADVAN.*

1. Ystrad Marchell.

The Abbey of Ystrad Marchell, also called Strata Marcella, and Alba Domus de Marcella, or Pola, was founded, according to Tanner, in the year 1170, by Owain Cyveiliog, sometimes written Keveiliog by the English; and his son, Gwenwynwyn, in 1201, gave to God and the Holy Virgin, as mentioned in the grant, and the Monks of Strathmarchel, for the repose of his soul, all the pasturage in the province or district of Cyveiliog. Tanner conjectures that Madog ap Griffith Maelor refounded this Monastery; but by his Charter it appears, that he only gave to it a piece of land on which to erect a cell, as an appendage to it; and this he says was done at the request of four Abbots, among whom is mentioned Philip himself, actual Abbot of Strathmarchell, a proof that the House was then in existence. About the beginning of the reign of Edward III. the Welsh Monks were removed to English Abbeys and replaced by English ones, and this Monastery was made subject to that of Bildwas, in Shropshire. It was situated within a few miles of Welshpool, on the banks of the Severn, in the township of Gyngrog Vawr, and was a Cistercian Abbey. It was found endowed, 26° Henry VIII. with £64. 14*s.* 2*d.* per annum, according to Dugdale, and £73. 7*s.* 3*d.* according to Speed; and was granted, 8° Elizabeth, to Rowland Hayward and Thomas Dixon. This Abbey was chiefly constructed of timber, and

* Near Chirbury, on the borders of Montgomeryshire, there was a Priory of Benedictines, founded in the reign of King John.

what now remains of it is occupied as a farm house. It is now the property of the Earl of Powys. Those lands which were granted to this Abbey by Gwenwynwyn, son of Owain Cyveiliog, became the property of the Pughs of Mathavarn at the dissolution, and afterwards by sale became vested in the Wynns of Wynnstay.

This Abbey is thus noticed by Leland:—"Strate Marcelle Abbey —White Monkes in Lowe Powys, two miles from the Welsh Poole, hard on the farther bank of the Severn."

There is a place marked down in the Map attached to Warrington's History of Wales, as Cridia Abbey, which appears to have been seated near Ystrad Marchell. If there be no brook near it bearing the name of Marchell, this Abbey probably took its name from a reputed female saint so named.

Gruffydd, one of the Abbots, died about the year 1195, as we read in Brut y Tywysogion; and from the same authority, we find that Owain Keveiliawc died, about the year 1196, after assuming the monastic habit, and was interred here. (Y Vlwyddyn honno y bu varw Owein Kyveiliawc yn Ystrat Marchell wedi cymryd Abit crefydd am danaw.) About the year 1154 died Ithel, Abbot of Ystrad Marchell. (Yn y flwyddyn honno sev ynghylch 1154 y bu varw Ithel Abat Ystrad Marchell.)*

Llywelyn Moel y Pantri, a very celebrated bard, who flourished about the year 1400, was buried at Ystrad Marchell; and there is an Elegy written on his death by Gutto o'r Glynn, which is here subjoined:—

Mae arch yn Ystrad Marchell
Yn monwent Cwvaint a'u cell
Ag yn honno gan annerch
Ar saith gelvyddyd a'u serch
A chledd dewredd diareb
A cherdd, yn iach ni chwardd neb
Lle rhoed o waith llaw a rhaw
Llewelyn lle i wylaw
Llin y Moel nid llawen Môn
Llyvr annerch llaw vorwynion
Di-wên Cerdd di-wad i ca'd
Drych ac edrych i gariad
Mawr yw anav Cerdd Davawd
Mawr os gwir marw Eos gwawd
Tristach ydyw'r byd drostaw
Trespass drud dros Powys draw
Cwyn mawr yw accw'n y main
A mwy uchod yn Mechain

* Llyma Englyn a gant Cynddelw gwedi anvon Mynach o Vyneich Ystrad Marchell i'w wrthod ac i ddywedyd nas cleddynt yn eu Monachlog:—

Cen ni bai ammod dyvod—im herbyn
A Duw gwyn yn gwybod
Oedd iawnach i vynach vod
I'm gwrthvyn nag im gwrthod.

Benwyn hil am na bai'n hen
Eos eilwaith o Sulien
Gweiddi maent am Gywyddwr
Gweddw yw'r gerdd am guddio'r gwr
Gwedd gwlad o gywyddau glwys
Gwedi Bwa gwawd Bowys
Gweddw yw serch gwyddor son
Gweddw Arwystl gwydd irion
Ni chyrch [chan] nag eos na chog
O Lwyn Onn i Lan Wynog
Nid byw cariad taladwy
Nid balch ceiliog mwyalch mwy
Clywed y mae merched Môn
Cloi derw am serchglod aeron
A bwrw gordd berw ag urddas
Awen, dan gelynen las,
A thewi Bronvraith Ywain
Yn wr mud yn nerw a main
A marw awdwr Meredydd
Marmor yn y Côr a'i cudd
A thorri canllaw Awen
Athraw gwawd, a threio gwen
Ail Iolo oedd Lywelyn
Ail Rufydd neu Ddavydd yn
Awdwr cywyddau ydoedd
Edn o nev i'r dynion oedd
Naddai bob awenyddair,
Val mêl neu avalau Mair
Pwy piau gwawd tavawd hardd?
Pab Rhuvain Llyvr pob Priv-vardd
Ple cair un-gair o'i angerdd?
Ple gwedda gwra i'r Gerdd?
Aeth Priawd Cerdd Davawd hy
A'r awdurdod i'r derwdy
Tad Rifri ddivri ddovreth
Ti a wnaeth wasanaeth Seth
A ddaeth iw dail rhaniad rhen
Ac olew'r tair gwialen
Digost tithau doniau dyn
Ail olew i Lywelyn
Cafodd yn emyl y Cwvaint
Urddas Adda Vras ai vraint
Y gwr y sydd yn gorwedd
Dan allawr vaenawr ai vedd
Yntau Nav yn ein ty ni
A gladdwyd rhwng Arglwyddi
Ei gorph ev aeth i'r grevydd
Ancr i Vair yn y Côr vydd
Yr enaid i oreu-nev
A chowydd newydd i nev
Vy Nuw a vu yn ei wahodd
Yr wyl, a Nev yw ei rodd

Gutto o'r Glynn.

2. Llanllugan.

Llanllugan, sometimes called Llanlleian, was a Nunnery of the Cistercian Order, founded before the year 1239; but the name of the founder is unknown. In the aforesaid year, Hugh, bishop of St. Asaph, gave the tithes of Llanvair Caereinion towards its support, and his successor Eineon gave those of Llanllwchaiarn and Bettws for the same purpose, in 1265. It was valued, 26° Henry VIII. at £22. 14*s.* 8*d.* according to Dugdale, and £22. 13*s.* 8*d.* according to Speed; and was granted 37° Henry VIII. to Sir Arthur Darcy, Knight. Leland describes it, "A very poor little Nunnery, about the borders of Kedewyn, and nether Powys." The only remains are some fragments of painted glass in the chancel window of the parish church.

3. Llangadvan.

There are no remains of this Abbey or Monastery at present. It was in the township of Cyfin. The township of Cevnllys Uchav, in Llanervul, and Tir y Myneich, in Llanbrynmair, belonged to it; and after the dissolution it became the property of the Vaughans of Llwydiarth, by marriage with one of the Purcells of Nantycrubba. It stood at a place, since called Cae'r Myneich; but its site cannot now be ascertained. Many Monasteries, Churches, and even Castles, in those times being constructed chiefly of wood, i. e. strong timber frames, and the intervening spaces filled up with brick, this is the reason we read of so many Welsh Castles being burnt down. They were generally built on a high artificial mound, bank, or tumulus.—Tommen y Bala is the foundation of such a Castle.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CASTLES

OF

GLAMORGAN AND MONMOUTH.

BY

JOHN DORNEY HARDING, ESQ.

To whom the Royal Cymmrodorion Medal was awarded, and also a Premium of Ten Guineas, at the Cardiff Eisteddvod, 1834.

PREFACE.

The author is well aware of the many deficiencies, and the probable inaccuracies of this Essay; but having neither the leisure, nor the antiquarian learning necessary for searching ancient Chronicles and Records to any purpose, or even for verifying the quotations of others in many instances, he has only to trust to the indulgence of his readers. With respect to Monmouthshire, the learned and minute investigation of Coxe leaves very little to desire; but in the case of Glamorganshire, the "Beauties of England and Wales," and Malkin's "Tour in South Wales," are almost the only modern works, from which the author has derived any assistance in his labours; he is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Taliesin Williams, better known by his Bardic name of Taliesin ab Iolo Morganwg, for the perusal of some of his father's compilations, and amongst them, of a copy of a MS. purporting to be "An Account of the Cause of the Conquest of Glamorgan, by Sir Robert Fitzhamon and his twelve knights, by Sir Edward Mansel." The phrases,—"When the new shire of Monmouth was formed a late;" "the house of Llantrithyd as it is to be seen at this day 1591;" "my worthy friend Sir Edward Stradling;" are strong evidence of the genuineness of the work, but its authenticity is by no means so certain; the account, for instance, of the death of Fitzhamon being clearly false. The author was also favoured by Mr. Truman, of Bryntêg, near Bridgend, with the perusal

of some valuable MS. compilations made by that gentleman's grandfather; from one of which, a kind of Historical Account, that appears to have been carefully collected from local tradition, and personal knowledge, he has made some quotations distinguished by the letter T. With these observations, he submits the following pages to the indulgent consideration of the Institution.

INTRODUCTION.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE MONMOUTH AND GLAMORGAN CASTLES—SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF WALES—NORMAN CONQUEST OF GLAMORGAN—GRUFFYDD AP RHYS, PRINCE OF SOUTH WALES—PRINCE RHYS AP GRUFFYDD—LLEWELYN AB IORWERTH, PRINCE OF NORTH WALES—PRINCE DAVID AP LLEWELYN—LLEWELYN AP GRUFFYDD, LAST WELSH PRINCE.

The Castles of Monmouth and Glamorgan are, with scarcely one well ascertained exception, of Norman origin, and may for general purposes be divided into four principal classes. The first, or ancient Norman, consisting of a single square tower, or keep, of considerable size, surrounded by lower outworks: of this Ogmore is a good specimen. The second, or later Norman, though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two classes, varies in size, but is more commonly small, and without any keep: Penhow, and the castles round Wentwood Chace, in Monmouthshire, Candlestone and Newcastle in Glamorgan, may be cited amongst the numerous instances which occur of this class. These were often dependencies or outposts of the larger classes. The third, or latest Norman, are the most complete specimens of military architecture previous to the use of artillery: Caerphilly is a splendid specimen of this class. The fourth, or mixed, is the most modern class, generally altered about the time of the Tudor monarchs, and constantly exhibiting architecture of different eras, and showing some attention to domestic convenience; more particulary large chimneys raised high above the walls, never found in the more ancient buildings: Ragland and St. Donat's Castles are beautiful examples of this class.

The constant repairs and alterations which they have however undergone, must of course render a classification extremely difficult, and in many instances almost impossible; as it frequently happens that one or more towers, courts, or rooms of the same castle, were either built or repaired at widely distant periods. The following principles may, however, in general, guide us:—The square keep surrounded by low outworks, and the ornamented circular arch, are marks of the early Norman style. The high wall inclosing a small area, and flanked by plain round or square towers of a moderate size, often on rising grounds, and without a moat, and almost invariably unprovided with any outworks or keep, possessing only a single enceinte, are the later Norman.

The traces of a keep, and outworks, and of a more carefully constructed moat, and the attention shown to flanking and commanding the works by means of towers, mark the latest Norman. Small paved courts, into which the windows of the apartments look, tall and prominent chimneys, and the superior size and frequent detachment of the offices, are certain signs of the mixed, or most modern class.

The above classification is by no means technically correct, but it is hoped that it may answer the present purpose. Those who may wish for more accurate information on this portion of the subject, may consult with advantage "King's Munimenta Antiqua," a most learned and elaborate work, but one with which the author cannot always agree in conclusions.

The author proceeds, after giving a slight sketch of the early History of Wales, in connexion with the Norman invasions, to the History of the different Castles in each county; and has treated, first in order, of those that appeared most interesting and important, on which he has dwelt at greater length, than on the more numerous, consisting of small fortresses, for the History whereof very scanty materials exist.

In the Appendix will be found an account of the progress and failure of the attempt at a counter-revolution, which caused the battle of St. Fagan's, for which the contemporary authorities have been consulted; and a few particulars, some of which have been hitherto but little known, with respect to the History of Owen Glendower.* These subjects were in some degree, though but slightly, connected with the History of the Castles, and were entered upon, principally with a view of stimulating others more competent to the task, to the collection of the contemporary notices, yet to be found, respecting them, and of pointing out some of the sources of such information as has been already acquired.

Skecth of the Early History of Wales.—Before we enter into any detailed Historical Account of the Castles of Glamorgan and Monmouth, it would seem almost indispensably necessary to turn our attention, for a few moments, to the early state of that part of the country, which these two counties at present comprise, if not to a portion of the History of the Principality of South Wales itself; to many events in which, some allusion will necessarily be made in the History of particular Castles.

In the days of chivalry, the History of the Castles of a country involved in a great measure that of the country itself; and this is more particularly the case in the present instance, inasmuch as in the erection of these Castles, and their subsequent retention, we may trace the causes which most immediately led to the loss of the independence of the Principality, and its annexation to the Crown of England.

* For a most interesting account of the Castles, in the time of Owen Glendower; see the first dozen of Original Letters in Ellis's Work. Fist Series.

During that gloomy period in the History of Europe, designated as the middle ages, the Crown of England, burdened with the unwieldy trappings of the feudal system, destitute of that great appendage of modern thrones, a standing army, and scantily and precariouly supplied with money, was seriously weakened and embarrassed by the independent authority, vast individual influence, and turbulent spirit of its great feudatories. And when we consider that the arts of military defence had then obtained so great a preponderance over those of attack,* that more time was frequently spent in besieging the stronghold of a revolted baron, than in our days has sufficed for the overthrow of a monarchy, it will scarcely excite astonishment that a very high degree of importance should have been attached to the possession of even a small and isolated fortress. Such has been the case in every age and in every region, where a warlike and disciplined nation of invaders has sought to establish and confirm its dominion over the ruder inhabitants of a difficult country, and the Castles on the Marches of Wales offer in this respect no exception to the uniform experience of History.

The want of fortified places in the hands of the natives, and the advantage which their erection afforded the Normans, appear to have been, at least in Wales, among the chief causes of their ultimate success. The inaccessible nature of the country, and the difficulty of subsistence caused by the general poverty of the soil, combined with the devoted courage of the British race, to render the struggle long and doubtful; but even those fortresses, which the desperate valour of the Welsh so often acquired, their total inexperience in the arts of military defence rendered them unable to retain. Though they might overrun the open country, the men at arms, secure behind their walls, waited until the storm had subsided; and then, penetrating deeper into the bowels of the land, never failed to erect new and stronger fortresses, whence they again issued to narrow the circle into which they gradually but unceasingly forced the children of the soil. But for two hundred years the Cymry defended themselves against numbers and resources far greater than those which in a single battle overthrew the Saxon monarchy; often did they battle with, and more than once defeat the sovereigns of England at the head of the flower of their chivalry, and supported by those bold yeomen, against the terror of whose shafts the bravest hearts were scarcely proof.† Destitute of armour and of horses, they defeated mail-clad cavalry in the open field; without military engines they stormed and entered the strongest fortresses; at a later period,

* It will at once occur to the reader that, previously to the introduction of artillery, this was remarkably the case. Even in the days of Henry IV. we find that garrisons of twenty men stood long sieges from armies of several thousands. See several letters relating to the Castles besieged by Owen Glendower, in Ellis's Original Letters. Second Series. Vol. I. pp. 34—36.

† "De his igitur hoc spectabile, quod nudi toties cum ferro vestitis, inermes cum armatis, pedites cum equitibus congredi non verentur, in quo plerumque conflictu sola fiunt agilitate et animositate victores." Giraldus, Cambriæ Descriptio, Cap. 8. Henry II. in a letter written to Emmanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, particularly notices the courage, which they displayed in attacking men in complete armour, of which they were themselves destitute.

headed by a private Welsh gentleman,* they again recovered their independence, invaded England, and though ultimately subdued by that policy and those resources which had acquired one kingdom, aided by the valour and the military genius which soon afterwards conquered another, they sheltered and protected, until his death, the sovereign of their choice. The history of such a people, at least in their external relations, can scarcely be devoid of interest; and the want of connexion which the nature of this subject renders it next to impossible to avoid, will be, perhaps, in some measure, though but inedequately, obviated by a slight sketch of its principal events.

The obscurity in which much of the early History of Wales is enveloped, renders it difficult, at the present day, to determine whether Monmouthshire, which was anciently known by the name of Gwent, or Gwentland, formed at any time an independent territory.† Sometimes indeed the resistance opposed by some native chieftains to the inroads of the invaders forms an episode in its history, but if it ever had an independent existence, the Saxons probably put an end to it, when under the command of Harold, who built a palace at Portskewith, they wrested the territory from the hands of the native Britons. It appears to have been divided by the Monnow into Over and Nether Went, though it is, at this distance of time, impossible accurately to define boundaries, which varied with the disposition and fluctuating fortunes of each succeeding chieftain. Part of it, however, seems to have been comprised in the Lordship of Glamorgan, which, from the earliest historical times, appears to have been a distinct territory, governed by its own chieftains in hereditary succession. It is said to have derived its name from a prince named Morgan: this derivation is alluded to by Spenser in the Second Book of his Fairy Queen.‡ At what time the first Norman conquests were made in Monmouthshire,

* Owen Glendower.

† Sir Edward Mansel, in his "Account of the coming in of the Normans," (the shorter of the two,) informs us that "Iestyn ap Gwrgan, Lord or Prince of Glamorgan, was besides, Lord of all the country between the river Uske and the bridge of Glocester; that part of it between the Severn and the Wye he had by waye of dower portion with his wife Angharad, daughter of Elystan Glodrydd, Earl of Ferlex or Hereford." He also tells us that Iestyn had "all Gwentland, and that part between Glocester bridge and the Wye river, called of old Ferlex, but now the Forest of Dene; which countryes with all Gwentlogue, except what lies between Tave and Rumney river south of Senghenydd, Sir Robert Fitzhamon could not win from Owen ap Caradoc ap Rhytherch, eldest son of Iestyn, by Denis his first wife, daughter of Blethyn ap Convyn, Lord of Powys." From this it would appear, that this part of Monmouthshire was a separate and independent territory from the earliest times. See, Williams's History of Monmouthshire; Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire; Caradoc (Powell,) and Warrington's Histories of Wales.

‡ "When as he to these wooded hills did fly,
"Which hight of him Glamorgan."

Rice Merrick, Morganiæ Archaiographia, 3, says that Morganwg was compounded of Morgan ei wg, "Morgan's displeasure," from his having wasted part of the country which comprehended all Glamorgan and Monmouth, and part of Carmarthen, Brecknock, Hereford, and Gloucester shires.——After Fitzhamon's conquest, the appellation of Morganwg became limited to the country between Usk and Neath. Edward Williams. Beauties of England and Wales, xviii. 542.——Morgan Hen was Lord of Morganwg when Edgar was King of England, about the yeare of our Saviour's incarnation 965, soe as a very old booke in the Welsh tongue called Cutta

or over what portion of the county they extended, is a point involved in much antiquarian obscurity. No one individual appears to have been considered as the head of the invaders; but each Norman knight, acting independently of his comrades, conquered and retained, by the aid of his followers, as much territory as he could; on which he usually erected a Castle, and in almost every instance held it immediately of the king, by virtue of a grant commonly made in anticipation of such enterprizes, which conferred upon the adventurer a legal right to all he could acquire from the Welsh,* upon the usual conditions incident to the tenure by knight service, that of aiding his sovereign in war. These first settlers had jurisdiction independent of the Crown itself;† and as their conquests extended, they became so numerous and important, as subsequently to form a distinct branch of the peerage, under the title of Marchionus, Marcher, or Marquis; and this state of things existed, not only in Monmouthshire, but in all the counties which bordered on Wales.

Norman Conquest of Glamorgan.—The History of the Conquest of Glamorgan is so well known, that it is not without some reluctance that the author here finds it necessary to enter on the subject. About the year 1088, Iestyn ap Gwrgan, prince of Glamorgan, having attempted to seduce the wife of Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of Deheubarth, or South Wales, (which circumstance is not however noticed by some authorities,) a furious war ensued between them;‡ and Iestyn, finding himself hard beset, desired Einon ap Collwyn, sometimes also called ap Cadivor, lord of Anglesea, who was then in London, to procure the aid of some Norman men at arms. Einon, who was already at feud with Rhys, entered eagerly into the project; he had but little difficulty in persuading Robert

Kevarwydd, written more than 200 yeares past, doth testify; of whose name that part which lyeth beneath the common portway thro' Glamorgan to the sea-side, betweene the rivers of Eley and Ogmor, was called Gladvorgan, that is, as much as to say in the Welsh tongue, as Morgan's Country, which the common use from antiquity to this present time preserved, sheweth to be true; for in the Brittaine speech, wee that inhabite the rest of that country, call them which dwell in that soyle only, and noe parts else, "gwyr Gladvorgan," as much as to say in English as "men of Glamorgan," for if wee speake to the inhabitants of Morgan, or to any out of the confines before specified, of "gwyr Gladvorgan," they take not themselves included; . . . . also the difference in limitations in all ancient precedents, recordes, and writings . . . . for in all those, this addition was used, "in comitatu Glamorgan et Morganwg."—Rice Merrick, Morganiæ Archaiographia, 2.

* Charters are yet extant in which the following words occur, "cum jure conquerandi super Wallenses."

† This was considered the peculiar characteristic of a Lord Marcher; instances of it are abundant, (see post "Cardiff.") There is a valuable MS. in the Harleian Collection, called "A Description of the Dominion of Wales;" it is apparently written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, but has no author's name or date. The difficulty of decyphering the hand writing prevented my making as much use of it as I could have wished. The subject of the Lords Marchers is peculiarly well treated in it, and at considerable length.

‡ According to Sir Edward Mansel, the quarrel arose owing to a claim made by Iestyn on behalf of his great grandson, who claimed (by the female side probably) to be descended from the first Princes of South Wales.

Fitzhamon, one of the Knights of the Privy Chamber to William Rufus,* son of Hamon or Hamo Dentatus, Count of Corbeuil,† to engage in the service of Iestyn. He was accompanied by twelve knights or gentlemen, twenty four esquires, and three thousand men, who landed at Porthkerry from Bristol; and joining the army of Iestyn, the combined forces defeated Rhys, after a hard fought battle, at Hirwaun Wrgan, A. D. 1091, and put the conquered prince to death, having taken him prisoner as he was attempting to escape after the battle.

No sooner however was the victory achieved, than a quarrel sprung up between Iestyn and Einon; the latter reproaching the Prince of Glamorgan with a disregard of the terms upon which they had agreed;‡ and having recalled the Normans, who had already embarked to return to England, he induced them to unite themselves with him against their late ally, and with their assistance defeated Iestyn on a plain near Cardiff, called the Little Down, according to Sir Edward Mansel, and compelled him to fly the country. According to some MS. accounts, he is said to have died in a monastery at Keynsham, near Bristol, of a broken heart, attended only by a devoted friend, his bard.

The confederates then divided the county between them; Fitzhamon reserved to himself Cardiff Castle, the towns of Cowbridge, Llantwit, and Kenfig, and some other detached property.§ Caradoc, Madoc, and Rhys ab Iestyn, the sons of the defeated prince, were amply provided for;‖ Einon had Nest in marriage, with the town and castle of Llantrissant; and the twelve principal leaders of the Normans had each considerable grants of land under Fitzhamon, whom they recognized as their Liege Lord, by the feudal acknowledgement of "suit and service." In more than one instance they erected castles, and became the founders of noble families; but no legitimate descendant of any of them, in the male line, is now to be

* See the Harleian MS. previously referred to, and one in the same collection, No. 6108, dated 1606, called "The History of the Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan, by Sir Edward Stradling, which gives a curious story of his having dreamt of his sovereign's death, the night before it occurred.

† He was a kinsman of William the Conqueror. From this has probably arisen the supposition that Fitzhamon was a natural son of William Rufus, which the best authorities do not mention. Sir Edward Mansel tells us that he had been in his youth brought up with Einon.

‡ A marriage with Nest, the daughter of Iestin, is said to have been one of the promises which Einon complained had been broken. According to Sir Edward Mansel, Sir Robert reasoned with Iestyn on the subject, who in return only "gaue churlish answers and hard words to Sir Robert, and many hard ungentlemanlike words which angered Sir Robert."

§ According to some authorities, Castell Coch was given to a Welsh chief, named Ivor Bach, or Ivor Petit, by the Normans; but this does not seem probable, as he afterwards surprized and took Cardiff. See Cardiff—Caerphilly. On Fitzhammon's share, commonly called "The Lordship of Glamorgan," were afterwards erected no less than eighteen castles. Harleian MS. "The History of the Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan," by Sir Edward Stradling, No. 6108. He exercised almost sovereign power, had his own courts of justice, chancery, &c. in which the knights presided; they also did military service for their lands in Cardiff Castle by turns. See Note on Cardiff.

‖ Caradoc had the town and castle of Aberavon, and Rhys the lordship of Sovlen, and Madoc the castle and lordship of Ruthen, according to Sir Edward Mansel.

met with in the county; for the family of the Stradlings, which was for a long time the sole surviving one, has been extinct upwards of a century, and that of the Turbervilles, of Ewenny Abbey, is only remotely descended through females from Sir Paine Turberville.*—Their names and castles were as follow:—

Sir William de Londres, Ogmore, with Corntown for his grange.

Sir Richard de Granavilla, (Granville in Normandy,) Neath, with Monknash as his grange.

Sir Paganus (Paine) Turberville, Coyty, with Court Colman for his grange.

Sir Robert St. Quintin, Llanblethian, with Colwinston for his grange.

Sir Richard Siward or Seward, Talyvan, with Merthyr Mawr† for his grange.

Sir Gilbert Humfreville, Penmark, with Cwm Cidi for his grange.

Sir Roger Berkerolles, Berkerouls, or de Berclos, (Berkley,) East Orchard; or, according to other authorities, St. Athan's; with Lamphey for his grange.

Sir Reginald de Sally, Sully, with St. Andrew's and Dinas Powys for his grange.

Sir Peter le Soore, Peterstone super Ely, with St. Fagan's for his grange.

Sir John Fleming, St. George, with Wenvoe, Leckwith, and part of Caerau for his grange.

Sir Oliver St. John, Fonmon, with Llancaidle and Porthkerry for his grange.

Sir William le Esterling, (afterwards spelt Stradling,) St. Donat's, with Llanmaes for his grange.

And in addition to these castles and granges, or large farms, each of them possessed one or more manors, which were in some instances situated at a distance from the castle. Many of them erected more commodious houses on their granges, where their families afterwards lived. Glamorganshire was thus divided into three parts; that reserved by Fitzhamon, to which alone the name of the Lordship of Glamorgan, or Morganwg, was given; that shared by the twelve knights; and the remainder, held by a very precarious tenure, by different Welsh chieftains, who waged almost an incessant war with the foreign settlers.

Fitzhamon was slain at the siege of Falaise in Normandy, leaving an only daughter, Maud, who was married by Henry I. to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, his own illegitimate son, by Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, an independent Welsh chief. The Earl was thus of Welsh blood by his mother's side, and had through his wife a fair

* Sir Edward Stradling, writing in 1606, (Harleian MS. 6108,) says that his own family was then the only one of the twelve remaining in the county; that some of the junior branches "of the Turbervilles, Flemings, Greenfields, and Sewards" yet existed, but says "they dwell in England, and have done away with their lands in Wales."

† Sir Edward Mansel tells us that he introduced wines into Wales from France, "and made fair vineyards at Merthyr Mawr, where he made much wine."

title to the lordship. Rhys ab Iestyn, who was a powerful chieftain, and acknowledged by his countrymen as their prince, had proved a formidable enemy to the Normans; but the king's policy conciliated him, and he died in peaceable submission to the dominion of England. But the inextinguishable hatred of the conquerors never slumbered long in the breasts of the vanquished race, and Ivor Bach, called by the Normans Ivor Petit, (Ivor the Little,) son of Gwenllian, daughter of Einon ap Collwyn, by Nest, daughter of Iestyn, and thus of royal descent by the female line, surprized Cardiff Castle, made the Earl and Countess prisoners, and obtained from them a treaty, said to have been confirmed by the king, which, amongst other important concessions, secured to the Welsh the quiet enjoyment of their lands, on condition that they should perform fixed military service alone in lieu of all other feudal services.* These terms were constantly violated in succeeding ages, and their only effect seems to have been that of impressing upon those, for whose benefit they were granted, a stronger sense of the wrongs they endured.

Gruffydd ap Rhys.—The doubtful tenure, by which Stephen held his crown, and the troubles which ensued in consequence, offered an opportunity to the Welsh, which they did not suffer to escape, and they rose in open insurrection under Gruffydd, son of their late prince, who had been bred up in Ireland for security until he was twenty five years of age; but after several gallant, but unsuccessful attempts, he was defeated and slain, A. D. 1137.

Rhys ap Gruffydd.—His martial and patriotic spirit was inherited by his son Rhys, who, when on the accession of Henry II. all the South Welsh chiefs did homage, refused to follow their example, and raised so formidable a revolt, that Henry was forced to return from Normandy, and was finally compelled to accommodate matters by agreeing to a truce. This was, as was almost invariably the case, soon infringed by the Normans under Walter Clifford, when Rhys subdued all Cardigan, and only submitted to the king in person, to whom he gave hostages. Henry then returned to Normandy; but no sooner had he quitted the kingdom, than Rhys was again in arms, and for the third time, in 1163, he compelled the king to retrace his steps to oppose him. The result of this campaign was similar to that of the former; Rhys did homage in person to the king at Woodstock, and for the second time gave hostages for his obedience. The success however which crowned the enterprizes of Owen Gwynedd in North Wales, was too alluring to be neglected by the indefatigable Rhys; and having united their forces, after a fatiguing campaign they totally defeated the king, who narrowly escaped with his life.

* According to Sir Edward Mansel, Ivor also took Kenfig, and destroyed West Orchard Castle, and kept a force of 1200 men on foot at his own castle, Castell Coch. This enterprize of Ivor's has been made the subject of an English Poem by Taliesin ab Iolo Morganwg.

It seems however singular, that after the repeated and desperate attempts of Rhys to secure the independence of his country, he should have altogether abandoned the enterprize at the moment success appeared about to crown his efforts; such however was the fact; for whether, convinced of the hopelessness of ultimately succeeding in his object, he wished to use his advantages merely for the purpose of securing favourable terms; or alarmed at the prospect of his own advancing years, and the frequent dissentions of his adherents; or, finally, yielding to the policy and address of Henry what he had, with so much difficulty, rescued from his military power, an accommodation took place between them; and Henry having had two interviews with Rhys, their harmony was never afterwards interrupted. This occurred about 1172. Four years afterwards, Rhys, who had accepted the office of Chief Justice of South Wales, exerted his influence successfully with Iorwerth of Caerleon,* who, in revenge for the murder of his son, had ravaged the Marches as far as Hereford and Gloucester; and this chieftain, with others, did homage to the king at Gloucester.

Ere three years had elapsed, his services were again called for; for William de Breos, Lord of Abergavenny,† having treacherously murdered Sitsyllt and other chiefs at a feast in his own castle, their kinsmen and followers took it by assault, as well as that of Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth, who, with several Norman Lords, was slain on the spot.‡ On this, the king advanced as far as Worcester, at the head of a formidable army, but was pacified by Rhys, and the peace appears to have continued uninterrupted until the king's death in 1189. Rhys survived his late antagonist and ally, and died in 1196. Although the absence of Richard I. in the Holy Land offered a favourable opportunity to the Welsh, such was probably the pacific character and tendency of Rhys's administration, that, with only one exception, the utmost tranquillity prevailed during his reign.

The great defect of Rhys's character appears to have been his want of faith; but we should remember, that when we hear of his frequent revolts, we are ignorant of the causes by which they may have been effected. The murder of Sitsyllt by de Breos, and that of the son of Iorwerth by the garrison of Newport, shew that neither the sanctity of the rites of hospitality, nor the obligation of a solemn truce, had any weight with the Normans; and that, although the conduct of the prince was not free from blame, the conduct of his enemies was such as to palliate, in a very great degree, his apparent deviation from the strict laws of honour. He certainly appears to have neglected a most favourable opportunity for securing the independence of South Wales; but the zeal and success, with which he defended the honour and freedom of his country, must be allowed to atone in some measure for the want of spirit and resolution, which in that instance has cast a gloom over the termination of his long and chequered career.§.

* See Newport, post. † See Abergavenny, post. ‡ Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. I. c. 4.

§ See in the Book of Margam an exaggerated eulogium, and a copy of Latin Pentameter verses on his death. The following is a specimen of the style of the former: "Alas! for the

With the reign of Rhys the history of South Wales, as an independent state, may with propriety be concluded, the subsequent risings being rather directed against the tyranny of various Lords Marchers, than with any view to the establishment of independence; but it will be necessary briefly to continue that of North Wales, as well as to refer to some of the more important of the many revolts and aggressions, which continued long, but uselessly, to desolate the southern districts of the Principality. During the reign of Richard I. a Welsh chief, named Gwenwynwyn, attacked the Norman borders, to revenge the death of Trahaern Vychan, who had been treacherously murdered by De Breos at his Castle of Abergavenny;* but he was defeated, with the loss of three thousand men, by that baron, aided by Geoffrey Fitzpeter, Justiciary of England.

Llewelyn ab Iorwerth.—In the subsequent reign of John, Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of North Wales,† who had married Joan, natural daughter of the king, gave evidence of a disposition, which soon alarmed and enraged the English government;‡ and the army, which assembled at Oswestry to invade Wales in 1211, numbered among its followers Gruffydd son of Rhys, who, with several of his countrymen, had been sent, in early youth, as hostages to England, and there educated.§ This expedition failed; but another, undertaken the following year,‖ met with a more prosperous result. Llewelyn, at the intercession of his wife, was admitted to do homage, and made terms with the king; but in 1213, when the disputes between John and his Barons were at their height, he joined the revolters at the instigation of the Pope, who formally absolved the Welsh from their allegiance to the Crown of England; and Llewelyn, being assisted by Reginald de Breos, who had married his daughter, and by other Marchers, speedily reduced nearly the whole of North and South Wales, and took Shrewsbury without resistance.* John, with a severity scarcely excusable, even under the peculiar circumstances, put to death all the Welsh hostages, in number twenty eight, most of whom were in the flower of their youth, and allied to the principal families of the country.

glorie of batteyles, the shielde of warlike men, the invincible defence of his countrey, the flower of chievalrie, the arme of fortitude, the right hand of liberalitie, the eie and lustre of meekness, the chiefe branch of magnanimitie, the glorie of disputes, the high attempting stomach of Hercules, another Achilles for austeritie of mind, the mildness of Nestor, the fortitude of Tydeus, the strength of Samson, the boldness of Hector, the fairness of Curialius, the comlines of Paris, the eloquence of Ulisses, the wisdom of Salomon, and magnanimitie of Ajax," &c.

* See "Abergavenny,"

† In 1201, he had made peace, or rather a special treaty of amity, with John. Fœdera, New Edition, I. 84.

‡ In 1208, apparently soon after his marriage, he received the royal pardon for previous offences. Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 102.

§ See the safe conduct granted to him by King John in 1200. Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 81.

‖ It appears from the Rot. Lit. Claus. I. p. 121, that gallies were employed on this occasion to ravage the Welsh coast.

* In the Book of Margam, mention is made of a ship fitted out by the confederates from Cardiff. Rot. Lit. Claus. I. 271.

The accession of Henry III. however entirely changed the scene; the revolted Barons immediately returned to their allegiance, leaving Llewelyn to make the best terms he could for himself:* and although, in the first transport of his rage for this unfair treatment, he attacked the possessions of his son in law, he was soon convinced of the inutility of offering, thus unsupported, any further resistance; and in 1218, he did homage to the king at Gloucester, promising at the same time to restore all the Castles he had taken in South Wales. It would be an unprofitable task to follow this remarkable man through his long and varied career, his frequent and successful attacks on the Norman power, and his no less frequent accommodations with Henry, which occurred in quick succession during the next ten years. In 1228, he surrounded and nearly captured the king at the head of his army, near Montgomery; but for some reason, of which we are now ignorant, he permitted them to retreat on very lenient terms; but in 1233, when he was joined by many of the revolted Barons, and assisted by the military experience of the Earl of Pembroke (Earl Marshal,) and Herbert de Burgh, Justiciary of England, he surprized the royal camp near Grosmont in Monmouthshire, and compelled the king to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of all his baggage,† and subsequently, almost without opposition, overran the whole of the Marches.

Three years afterwards, Henry was compelled to enter into new arrangements with Llewelyn, and a peace was concluded on terms highly advantageous to the Welsh prince. Thus was another opportunity afforded to the Welsh of securing their independence on the firmest footing; but Llewelyn, as Rhys had previously done, sacrificed to private considerations the independence of that country, which he had with so much skill and valour defended, and closed a brilliant and patriotic reign by a sudden and total departure from the principles, on which he had acted during his whole life.‡ Anxious to secure the throne for his younger son David, Henry's nephew, to the exclusion of Gruffydd the elder brother, he, in 1237, solemnly resigned his independent authority, and consented to hold his dominions as fiefs of the Crown of England.§ He survived this

* In Magna Charta, towards the end, is an article by which the King is bound to do justice to all Welshmen, banished or disseised without judgment of their peers, and then follows this clause:—"Nos reddemus filium Lewelini statim et omnes obsides de Wallia." In the articles for the Charter, the following politic exception is added,—"Nisi aliter esse debeat per cartas, quas Rex habet, per juditium archiepiscopi, et aliorum, quos secum vocare voluerint."

† See "Grosmont." It would seem as if a treaty was entered into on this occasion; the country at the time was so inundated, that the commissioners could not meet, and letters were exchanged by couriers. See Rymer's Fœd. N. E. I. 211.

‡ He had previously attempted to make the Welsh chiefs do homage to David, which had much alarmed Henry III. See Rymer's Fœd. N. E. I. 235.

§ This fact, though positively stated by Warrington, and the other writers on Welsh History, is certainly not borne out by the Fœdera. In 1238, we only find a "prorogatio treugarum" (of which there had been so many previous instances) mentioned; but in 1240, after the death of Llewelyn, David his son certainly entered into a solemn treaty with the King, in which it was stipulated that during that peace, "remanent domino Regi et hæredibus suis omnia ho-

event but a short time, and died in 1240, after a reign of fifty six years. From his people he received the title of "the Great," to which his military success, his activity, and resources appear in some measure to have entitled him; but which after-ages, overlooking his merit in the great qualities of his grandson, and the melancholy interest awakened by his fate, seem scarcely to have confirmed.

DAVID AP LLEWELYN.—He was succeeded by his favorite son, who delivered his elder brother as a hostage to Henry.* But David's short reign was disturbed by the adherents of the rightful prince,† who was killed in an attempt to escape from the Tower of London, in 1244.‡ His two sons were, however, chosen joint princes, on the death of David in 1246. Owen had been long imprisoned with his father, and he, and his brother Llewelyn, did homage to Henry, and for some years the independence of Wales was extinct.

LLEWELYN AP GRUFFYDD.—The ambitious and daring spirit of Llewelyn, however, soon caused a breach between the brothers, and having conquered Owen in battle, he assumed the sole direction of the government,§ and in 1256 rose in arms against the English with signal success,‖ having obliged Prince Edward (then only seventeen years old, afterwards Edward the First) to retreat before him, and subsequently compelled Henry to dissolve his army without effecting anything material. In 1258, he formed a league with the principal chiefs, to resist the English, and an eloquent speech which he made on the occasion has been preserved.* He thus became so formidable an enemy, that he found little difficulty in concluding a truce in 1258, which was renewed in 1261. The English monarch was however making great efforts to crush his daring enemy; and having levied a formidable army, commanded by Prince Edward and Simon de Montfort, the struggle was renewed with doubtful

magia baronum Walliæ quieta,"—(all the homages of the barons of Wales should remain undisturbed to the King and his heirs.) From which expression, there is some ground for supposing that Llewelyn had relinquished his sovereign authority before his death. Fœdera, N. E. I. 239.

* In 1241, David acknowledged, by treaty, that he held "in capite" of the King, and agreed to surrender all the castles he had taken from the barons, that he would give hostages, would not shelter any outlaws, and should obey all the royal orders. Rymer's Fœd. N. E. I. 242.

† In 1244, some of his more fortunate fellow-prisoners escaped. Fœd. N. E. I. 256.

‡ In 1245, David revolted. The King made preparations for excommunicating and going to war with him, but a truce was agreed on the same year. Fœd. N. E. I. 258, 259.

§ A spirited letter of Llewelyn's, asking redress from the King for an irruption of the Normans, is preserved in Rymer's Fœd. N. E. I. 339. It concludes ,—"Ne pro defectu justiciæ necesse habeamus, quod absit, qærere vindictam."

‖ See a Norman French letter, from Peter de Montfort and other barons, giving an account of a skirmish, (apparently the first,) in which the main body of the Welsh took refuge on the Blorange, near Abergavenny. Rym. Fœd. N. E. I. 339. These barons had 3000 foot and 80 men at arms, but Peter de Montfort soon found himself reduced to great straits. See Fœdera, p. 341.

* Matthew Paris, page 841.

success. In 1263,* Llewelyn had by the king's influence been excommunicated by the Pope, but with little effect,† for that very year he invaded the Marches with thirty thousand foot and three hundred men at arms, and Prince Edward was sent for in haste by the king.‡ The defection of Simon de Montfort however soon turned the scale; this powerful baron joined Llewelyn, betrothed to him his daughter Eleanor, though their union was deferred; and having by the battle of Lewes obtained possession of the king's person, and the complete controul of all his measures, he, in 1265,§ restored to Llewelyn the sovereignty of Wales, and the homage of all the Welsh Barons.

The first use the prince made of his power, was to ravage the territories of Gilbert de Clare in Glamorganshire. The battle of Evesham however having soon afterwards restored Henry to liberty, and crushed the league of the revolted Barons, Llewelyn in 1267 submitted to do homage, on condition that he and his descendants should be styled Princes of Wales, and receive the homage of all the Welsh Barons.‖ During the remainder of Henry's reign, these terms secured to Wales a precarious tranquillity. In 1272, Edward I. having succeeded to the throne, frequently summoned Llewelyn to appear at his court, and renew his allegiance; Llewelyn constantly refused to do so, unless the king provided hostages for his safe return; and Edward having detained Eleanor de Montfort, the betrothed bride of Llewelyn, whom he captured at sea, the latter, driven to desperation, flew to arms in 1276. Finding, however, that he never could hope to gain his object by force, he had again recourse to negociation; but the king insisted on his relinquishing all the castles he had taken, and in 1277 led an army into Wales. Llewelyn, deserted by many chieftains, and unable to withstand the strength of his attachment for Eleanor, accompanied the king to London, did homage, and celebrated at Worcester* with great splendor his long deferred nuptials.

For the next three years there was peace between the two countries, and Llewelyn found in the fond affection of his bride the reward of his constancy; but on her death, in 1280, the ancient feud was renewed; and Llewelyn, being joined by his brother David, who had hitherto fought with the English, amongst whom he

* On the twenty second day of August in this year, the King appointed commissioners to treat with Llewelyn. Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 430.

† The importance attached by Henry to the character and influence of Llywelyn, is curiously displayed in a letter thanking some barons for having sent him news of his supposed death, and giving them ample instructions for taking the necessary measures for preventing his brother David succeeding him. Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 420.

‡ Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 423.

§ See Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 457.

‖ See a sort of record of this treaty, drawn up by the Legate Ottobonus, in Rymer's Fœdera, N. Edit. I. 474. dated in October at Montgomery. Sufficient importance has scarcely been attached by the Welsh Historians to this treaty, which, had it been fairly observed, would have effectually secured the independence of Wales.

* Leland, Collect. III. 420.

had been educated, fought with his usual bravery and skill in North Wales; but after obtaining a victory at Menai, and protracting the campaign to an unusual length, was slain, in 1282, near Builth, in Brecknockshire, by Adam de Francton, a Norman man at arms, ignorant of his rank, whilst he was on his way to a conference with some of his chiefs. He appears to have been surprized, whilst almost unattended and unarmed, in consequence of the negligence with which a neighbouring ford was guarded, thus unfortunately terminating a brilliant reign of thirty six years.*

David was shortly afterwards taken prisoner, and expiated the crime of having long borne arms against his country, by suffering death as a traitor, for having too late deserted the standard of her invaders.† Neither of the brothers left legitimate male issue,‡ and with Llewelyn fell the independence of his country. Worn out by a long and disastrous struggle, and dismayed by the extinction of her royal line, Wales ceased to offer any organized or general resistance, and soon sank into a province of England. The revolt of Rhys ap Meredydd in 1287,§ and the last important struggle under Madoc and others in North Wales, and of Morgan in Glamorgan, in 1293,‖ served only to rivet the fetters of this brave but unfortunate people. Edward secured five hundred hostages of the first families; and cutting down many of the woods,* subdued both the spirit and the means of resistance.

Such was the fate of the last Welsh prince, and such the termination of the independence of the Principality; but the page which closes the annals of the British race is disfigured by no cowardice, disgraced by no corruption, stained by no treason; the only traitor to his country ultimately joined the ranks of her defenders; her sovereign did not live to wear in age the chains he had broken in his youth, or to behold the result which his talents and patriotic courage had so long rendered doubtful;† her warriors fought out her battle with the courage of despair, and only threw down their arms

* From two letters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Rym. Fœd. N. E. P. II. p. 619.) it appears that a paper was found on his person proving the existence of much disaffection on the part of some of the great English barons.

† The heads of both were sent to London, and exposed on Temple Bar.

‡ They left daughters, who were placed in a Convent. Rym. Fœd. II, 429. (The New Edition of Rymer's Fœdera from henceforth ceases to be quoted, not at present extending beyond the first volume.

§ Rym. Fœd. II. 353, 354.)

‖ The Book of Margam, 199. Jones' History of Wales, 111. Enderbie, 325, 331. Madoc is by some supposed to have been buried on the mountain above Margam, and that an inscription on a stone found there, given by Camden, BODAOC HIC IACIT FILIUS CATO TIGIRNI PRONEPOS E TERRA VENEDOC, alludes to him.

* Thomas of Walsingham attributes to this measure the final settlement of the country.

† The character and policy of Llewelyn have been so elegantly and concisely described by Le Pire d'Orleans, in his Histoire des Revolutions de l'Angleterre, (Vol. I. p. 362.) that it is impossible to avoid quoting from him.—"Tantot vaincu, tantot vainqueur, jamais rebute de combattre et toujours pret a attaquer, souvent reconcilie et toujours irreconciliable, il n'avait fait la paix que quand il n'avait pu continuer la guerre."

Thomas of Walsingham has preserved the following compositions on the death of Llewelyn. "De Lewelino," says he, "scripserunt duo religiosi metrice in hunc modum. Wallicus sic scripsit;

when they had neither a leader to follow nor a country to defend. And if, politically speaking, Wales be indeed no more; yet Poetry and Tradition, in preserving from oblivion the records of her once vigorous existence, and the tragic story of her fall, have kept alive a national spirit, which the lapse of centuries of foreign dominion has failed materially to weaken. The chord struck by her slaughtered bards yet vibrates in the breasts of their countrymen; unchanged by the closest contact with their conquerors, they still speak her language, cherish her customs, and fondly cling to her soil. The Cymry are to this hour a peculiar people, identified with their Saxon neighbours only by a participation in those equal laws, and free institutions, by which they have been more than repaid for the loss of a turbulent and sanguinary independence, and by a loyalty, which, in changing its object, has lost none of that fond and fearless devotion which has in all times so brilliantly illuminated the chequered pages of their history.*

'Hic jacet Anglorum tortor, tutor Venedorum,
Princeps Wallorum, Lewelinus, regula morum,
Gemma coævorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, dux, laus, lex, lux populorum.'

Anglicus ita scripsit;

'Hic jacet errorum princeps, et prædo virorum,
Proditor Anglorum, trux dux, homicida piorum,
Fæx Trojanorum, stirps mendax, causa malorum.'

Enderbie (Cambria Triumphans, p. 325.) has translated these lines into English prose, not inelegantly; the first is the most successful:—'Here lieth he that terrifieth the Englishmen; and Wales he did as valiantly defend; Lhewelyn the Prince of Northwales, the bulwark, the jewel of his time, a flower of Kings past, a pattern of future ages; the captain, the light, the beauty, and the law of the people.'"

* So kindly mixt, and up together grown,
As severed they were hers; united still her own.

Drayton, Polyolbion, 4th Song.

I. CASTLES OF GLAMORGANSHIRE.

CAERPHILLY—CARDIFF—PETERSTON—ST. GEORGE'S—ST. MARY'S—BEAUPER—ST. DONAT'S—OGMORE—COYTY—FONMON—LLANBLETHIAN—EAST AND WEST ORCHARD—SULLY—NEATH—SWANSEA.

1. Caerphilly Castle.

The early history of this Castle, which, in extent and magnificence, must formerly have been inferior to few, if any in the kingdom, is involved in much obscurity. It is uncertain even when it was erected; and the silence of the early writers respecting it, aided by the negligence of later compilers, has caused it to be confounded with the neighbouring, but insignificant castle, named Castell Coch, anciently called Sanghennydd'* It is not in fact once mentioned until the year 1270;† and the particulars relating to its previous history, given in several modern works, relate invariably to Castell Coch.

In the time of Edward I. "it was," says Mr. Malkin, "undoubtedly in the possession of Gilbert de Clare, on his marriage with Joan of Acres, the king's daughter, and then settled on her and her heirs for ever." The Fine Roll of the 18th Edward I. only gives the Monmouthshire possessions, and does not enumerate Caerphilly;‡ but it appears that Gilbert de Clare, the last but one of that name, had large possessions in "Morgannon," as it is called; for he, and the Earl of Brecknock, were in this reign imprisoned, and fined, because they had suffered their tenants, in the counties of Glamorgan and Brecknock, to carry on open war with each other. Gilbert, his son, Earl of Gloucester, was high in favour with his sovereign, and fell in his service on the fatal field of Bannockburn, without male issue. His vast possessions were divided amongst his three sisters, of whom the second, Maude, first married to Piers Gaveston, and afterwards to Hugh Audley, likewise Earl of Gloucester, had, amongst a number of others, the *manor* of *Lehennythe* (possibly Sangennydd) assigned to her as her dowry; and this similarity of names has given rise to much confusion.

* This remarkable confusion seems first to have been clearly explained by Sir Richard Hoare, in his edition of Giraldus Cambrensis, II. 372, Note. His arguments are confirmed by Mr. Truman's MS. T. (alluded to in the Preface,) p. 255. "St. Henydd, that is Red Castle upon Taff." And by Sir Edward Mansel; "To Cedrych ap Gwaethfoed, King of Cardigan, he (Fitzhamon) gaue the Lordship of Sengenythe, with two Castles, which be upper Sengenydd now called Morlais Castle, and lower Senghenithe called now Red Castle upon Taue, but Caerphilly Sir Robert kept in his own hands, and it always remained in the possession of the Lords of Glamorgan as a strong holt of defence."

† Beauties of England and Wales, XIII. 636. Unfortunately, no authorities are here given.

‡ Plac. Parl. 20th Ed. I.

There seems however no doubt but that Caerphilly became the portion of her sister Alianore, or Eleanor, married first to Hugh Le Despenser the younger, and afterwards to William Zouch of Mortimer; for we find that about 1320 Hugh, commonly called the younger Spenser,* had been for some time governor of Caerphilly. The Spensers were, as is well known, the favorites of Edward II. It would be foreign to our present purpose to go into the history of their rise and fall, or into that of the melancholy fate of their sovereign. Suffice it to say, that in 1326, when the queen and barons had executed the elder Spenser in the sight of his son and the king, then closely besieged in Bristol Castle, these two latter, according to Walsingham, Dugdale, and the generally received histories, put to sea, intending to go to Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel; but, after struggling for some days with storms and contrary winds, landed on the coast of Glamorgan, and after a brief visit to Caerphilly and Cardiff, took refuge at Neath Abbey.† Le Despenser seems to have left Caerphilly with his master, with whom he was soon after taken, at or near Lantrissent; betrayed, according to some accounts, by a monk, in whom they had trusted.‡ Hugh Le Despenser was soon after put to death at Hereford,§ with every mark of digrace, attainted, and all his property confiscated.

The tragic story of the death of the king his master is well known. The youngest Spenser however, also named Hugh, son of Hugh Le Despenser the *younger*, still held out in Caerphilly, where it is probable he had been left in command by his father, on his leaving it to accompany the king in his flight, and after a siege of great length seems to have accepted terms, by which his own and his garrison's

* Dugdale's Baronage, "Le Despenser."

† The author of an excellent Essay on Caerphilly Castle, in the West of England Journal, now discontinued, has attempted to shew the commonly received account of the king's voyage from Bristol to be erroneous, by a minute recapitulation of the dates of several of his writs, &c. still extant. It is certainly singular that none of them should be dated from Bristol; but we know not where he was between the 21st of November, when he was at Striguil, and the 27th, when he was at Cardiff; during which time he may have been at sea; and this would agree with the Book of Margam, at least with the English translation of it, (Lansdowne MSS. C. 74. p. 116.) "Upon the Sunday before St. Simon and St. Jude's day, the King and young Sir Hugh fled over Seavarn into Glamorgan, from Bristowe." St. Simon and St. Jude's day is Oct. 28th; the King was at Caerphilly on the 29th, and at Margam on the 4th of November. See Rymer's Fœdera in loco, and Calendarium Rot. Patentium, (published by the Record Commission.) On the whole I cannot see sufficient reason for rejecting the popular story.

"Who seeking succour offer'd next at hand,
At last for Wales he takes him to the seas,
And seeing Lundy, that so fair did stand,
Thither would steer, to give his sorrows ease;
That little model of a greater land
As in a dream his fancy seem'd to please,
For fain he would be King (yet) of an isle,
Although his empire bounded in a mile."

Drayton, Barons' Wars, B. IV.

‡ The Queen sent into Glamorgan, Henry Earl of Leicester, William Le Zouch, and one Ap Howell, (liberated from the Tower,) who, by their local influence, secured the King's person.

§ Leland, Collectanea, I. 469.

lives were spared.* The author is aware that the high authority of Dugdale may be quoted against this statement; but he has, no doubt, confounded Hugh Le Despenser the son with Hugh the *grandson*. The quotations from the Fœdera, and Walsingham, seem to put it beyond doubt that the facts were as are here stated. Sir Richard Hoare, in his edition of Giraldus, has followed Dugdale. Mr. Malkin seems to have been aware of this somewhat remarkable error.

The account given by Mr. Malkin of the cause of the inclination of the celebrated leaning tower, collected "from local sources," is curious, and, I believe, quite original. It affords an interesting solution of the appearance which has given rise to many conjectures. There was at the base of this tower a furnace (still to be seen, and now called "the mint") for heating metal, in order to annoy the besiegers, by pouring it upon them in a liquid state; when a desperate assault had put this tower in the possession of the besiegers, they, whether purposely or accidentally is not known, allowed the fused metal to escape, and poured water from the moat on it; the result was a tremendous explosion, which forced the tower into its present position. The accuracy of this account is strongly corroborated by some marks which resemble those of metal dashed against the wall with considerable violence, when in a state of fusion, which are still to be seen.†

On the execution of Hugh Le Despenser the younger, his wife was imprisoned until her marriage with William Zouch, of Mortimer, or, as he would now be styled, Mortimer, of Zouch; after which event, in 1330, her husband obtained a grant of the lands in Glamorgan, which she had inherited from Gilbert de Clare. She died in 1337. Hugh, her eldest son by Le Despenser, was kept in confinement for many years, and the custody of his lands entrusted to Alan Zouch of Mortimer, his stepfather's eldest son, by a previous marriage with Alice, widow of Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick;

* Rymer's Fœd. IV. 649. Kenilworth, 4 Jan. The King's pardon to John de Felton, and all others in Caerphilly Castle, for resisting the Queen and Barons, except "Hugoni filio Hugonis Dispensatoris Junioris."—Thomas of Walsingham speaks of "Hugolinus filius filii Hugonis Dispensatoris" holding out against the Queen's forces, and says he surrendered on terms that his life should be saved, and his garrison retain their property.

† Mr. Geo. T. Clark, the author of the Essay on Caerphilly, in the late West of England Journal, already alluded to, has minutely entered into the subject, and with great ingenuity laboured to prove, that the cause of the inclination was the explosion of a mine at the foot of the tower, which did not quite overthrow it. In confirmation of this, he states that other towers of the Castle have been destroyed by the same means. This seems certainly a more probable way of accounting for its present state than Mr. Malkin's; but the stones of which these towers are built would scarcely render it worth any builder's while to blow them up, while such masses of ruin are so easy of access on the very spot; and if, according to Mr. Clark's opinion, it had been done to dismantle the fortifications in the Civil War, it is scarcely credible there should be no record, or tradition of the fact; the more so, as the military operations in Glamorganshire, during the Civil War, are minutely detailed in the journals and pamphlets of the day. See Cardiff, post; and the account of the Battle of St. Fagan's, Appendix A. The silence however of Leland, and of Rice Merrick as to this tower, seems in some measure to favour Mr. Clark's supposition.

but was at length taken into favour, and was highly distinguished in the French wars; and in 1343, as "Lord of Glamorgan," sent a commissioner to Rome, to treat with the Pope about the King's right to the throne of France. He died in 1369; and though it does not expressly appear that he held Caerphilly, there can be little doubt of the fact, as his nephew Edward, who was his heir, and who is called by Froissart "a great baron and a good knight," and who distinguished himself in the French wars, particularly at Poitiers, had the lordship of Glamorgan, Caerphilly, with other castles granted to him.*

He died in 1375, leaving a son, Thomas, and four daughters; but his widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Burgershe, had, amongst other possessions, the Castle and town of Caerphilly as her dower. It probably however reverted to Thomas, the last of the Le Despenser name; he was placed under the guardianship of Edmund Earl of Cambridge, uncle to Richard III. and commonly called "Lord Despenser of Glamorgan and Morgannoc." He was created Earl of Gloucester, on account of his descent from Gilbert de Clare, and obtained a reversal of the sentence of Hugh le Despenser, his grandfather;† but, although active in deposing Richard II. he was deprived of his life and estates by Henry IV. for being concerned in the death of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, and was murdered by the rabble of Bristol in the first year of that king's reign, (1399,) and soon afterwards attainted.‡ Caerphilly followed the various changes in the descent of the Lordship of Glamorgan, after the extinction of the line of Le Despenser.§ It is said to have been taken by Owen Glendower,‖ and since that time has apparently been quite neglected; as Leland, in 1530, mentions its ruinous walls of immense thickness, and one of its towers which was used as a prison.

The present remains are most extensive and striking. In the days of its splendour, it it said to have been scarcely inferior to Windsor in size. The remains of the hall, which was about seventy feet in length by thirty in width, are very fine, as are also the north window of the chapel and the grand gateway. A minute account of the celebrated leaning tower would scarcely fall within the scope of this Essay. It is about seventy feet high, and deviates about eleven from the perpendicular. The castle, as it stands at present, has been generally supposed to have been erected by Edward I. Daines Barrington wrote a dissertation on the subject, in the first volume of the Archaiologia. The facts, on which he chiefly relies, seem to be that he once returned into England by way of South Wales, and

* Dugdale's Baronage, "Le Despenser."

† This refers to no less than fifty nine manors, or lordships.

‡ According to Dugdale, he he left a son, Richard, who died in 1414, a minor, without issue.

§ For these, see Cardiff, post.

‖ Orders were sent to Constance, Lady Despenser, widow of Thomas Earl of Gloucester, to prepare the Castles of Caerphilly and Ewyaslacy for a siege from Owen, in September, 1403. Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 329.

probably passed the Taaf near Caerphilly. Nor is the author aware of any better authority for the assertion. Some of it was probably erected by Gilbert de Clare; but there seems little doubt that the Spensers, and especially the elder, erected the greater part of the building which now remains, intending it to be his strong hold; and it is singular, that although it availed *him* nothing, yet its great strength probably procured for *his* son those terms, which prevented the name of Le Despenser from being at once extinguished by the vengeance of the barons, there being many accounts and traditions extant of the vast stores laid up in it, and of the great length of the siege which it underwent.

2. Cardiff Castle.

Fitzhamon, when he conquered Glamorgan, "built his new Castle of Cardiff by the West Gate, and finished the walls round the town begun by Iestyn ap Gwrgan," according to Sir Edward Mansel. At all events he erected the Castle, and made it the capital of his Lordship, which is said to have included thirty six knights' fees, containing eighteen castles, the towns of Cardiff, Cowbridge, Lantwit, and Kenfig; at Cardiff Castle the courts of law were held, and the twelve knights, who seem to have held their lands of the Lord by the tenure of castle guard, did garrison duty by turns. According to Sir Edward Mansel,* Payne Turberville† attempted, though fruitlessly, to ally himself with the Welsh, in opposition to his liege

* Sir Edward Mansel gives the following account of a dispute on the subject of tenure, between Fitzhamon and one of his comrades and feudatories, which seems not destitute of foundation in fact. "After the winning of the country by Sir Robert Fitzhamon, he took to him his twelve knights to supply the places in his courts of the lawful and right Lords of the twelve lordships; which caused discontent, insomuch that the Welsh Lords took arms under Pain Turberville and Caradoc ap Iestyn, and Madoc his brother, and they came to Cardiff Castle and surrounded it, insomuch that it was on the point of being taken, when K. Henry I. going to the top of the Raven tower to enquire concerning the tumult which was heard, he saw the place all encompassed by fierce armed men; whereupon he called a parley, when Pain Turberville told him the reason, saying that if rightful orders were not made, to restore the laws of Morgan the first, he and Robert Fitzhamon should feel at the ears very soon of what stuff the castle walls were. At the hearing of which, all in the castle councell'd together, and it was seen best to yield to the country that request, and soon after Sir Robert sent a band of men to bring Turbill a prisoner to the castle, where he was bound in chains, for that he would not pay what had been charged of him in tribute, which was a noble in the year; this noble Pain had paid to Caradoc, which gaue offence to Sir Robert and the other knights; but after they had taken Pain, all his men and the men of Caradoc took arms and beset the Castle of Cardiff, whereupon Sir Robert was compelled to let go Pain Turbill, and to giue him free of the noble a year, which, neuertheless, came by joint agreement to be paid the chief Lord, what time Ifor Petit rose up the country for that the old laws were not kept to, and at this time, it was again settled for the proper courts to be held in all the lordships, and the Courts to join with the chief Lord in his high court, which laws had been a second time broke by the Norman Lords, and in this engagement, as was said before, the Welsh Lords won the right, and it so remained till Wales and England were united in one realm."

† See also Coyty, post.

Lord, but the other knights and their descendants were probably regular in the performance of their feudal services. Some curious particulars of the Lord's Courts may be gleaned from various Manuscripts.*

Cardiff Castle is celebrated as the place of confinement of the unfortunate Robert Duke of Normandy, the brother of William Rufus and of Henry I.; and it has been confidently asserted, and generally believed, that he was deprived of his sight.† But both Otho Vi-

* A Manuscript, the property of Taliesin ab Iolo, which is stated to have been copied from Mr. Thomas Truman's book in 1782, gives the following account of these courts; which, though differing in some minute particulars, very nearly agrees with Sir Edward Mansell's. "In this new Castle he built an appartment for all the petty Lords, whom he called his peers; some say it was only for the twelve Norman Lords and that he left the Welsh Lords to rule in their own way, and others say that there were rooms for the Welsh Lords as well as for the Normans. Sir Robert held a court of justice the first Monday in every month, and all the peers were obliged to attend to give their opinion and judgment, and to bring with them each twelve yeomen, or franklins out of their Lordships. Each of the Lords held a court of their own in their own Lordships; the Lord was judge, and twelve squires and twelve yeomen made the court, and an appeal lay from this court to the court at Cardiff, where final verdict was given, according to the laws of Morgan Mwynfawr, and Howel Dda, and Rhys ap Arthfael, with new laws made by the Norman courts in full meeting every year according to the want of the country. Every Tuesday there was a court of Exchequer, when an account was given in of the number of acres of corn, and number of cattle; for every gentleman and yeoman was forced to raise corn and cattle according to law, that the country might not want food. Wednesday was a court of Conscience and Equity, without thought of the country law, where the chief Lord, and his chaplain to assist him, gave verdict according to what he thought it should be, according to right and conscience; after these courts were over, every one of the Knights went home to hold his own court, in the same manner as the chief Lord did. All the Knights, and their esquires and yeomen met every new year's day, to pay their parts of the tribute, and to make new laws; and this tribute was to be towards paying men of the law, and soldiers, and for such purposes as all the country wanted; but Turberville and the other Welsh Lords would never pay tribute or appeal to the Chief Court, saying that the Lord of Cardiff Castle had no just rule over them."

Sir Edward Stradling's Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan, Harleian MS. 6108.—"And because he would haue the foresaid twelue knights, and their ladies, to geaue attendance upon him at euery countie day, which was alwais kept by his Sherriffe in the utter warde of the said Castle, on the monday monethly, as is before said, he gaue euery one of them a lodgment within the said [. . . . illegible] and their heires, or those that purchased the same of their heires, doth enjoy the same at this day."

"Item, The morrowe after the said county day being the Tuesday, the Lord or his Chancelor satt alwais in the chancerie thereof, for the determininge of matters of conscience in strife, as well in that Shire fee as in the members, the which day also the said Knights used to giue attendance uppon the Lords, and the Wensday euery man drew whome, and then began the courtes of the members to be kept in order one after another."

Sir Edward Mansel gives a similar account of the courts, which he says had juries of Freeholders, "very much in the nature of the Juries that now are in the King's courts of Sessions. From the Lordships' members courts, appeal might be made, on some reasons, to the High Court of Glamorgan, after leave obtained of the Chancellor of Glamorgan. And once in the year was held a grand Council of all the Lords and freeholders, to enquire what was needful of new laws, and of amendment in the old ones, and this was always held at the Lord's Hall at Lantwit, until the same was broke down with fire and force by Owen Glendore; after that, it was always held at Cardiff Castell."

† "The while in Cardiff he a captive lies,
Whose windows were but niggards of the light;
I wrought this Henry's rage not to suffice,
But that he robbed Duke Robert of his sight,
To turn this little piece of day to night."
Drayton, The Legend of Duke Robert.

talis* and William of Malmesbury† give a different, and more favourable account of his treatment; which, when we consider the period at which they wrote, is certainly entitled to great attention. On an attempt being made, in the time of Robert Earl of Gloucester, second Lord of Glamorgan, to enforce the Norman laws with more than usual rigour, Ivor Bach (the Little) surprized the Castle, carried off the Earl and his wife as hostages, and did not allow them to return, until he had obtained for his countrymen the most favourable terms, which were confirmed by the king in person.‡ Their precise tenor is involved in obscurity; but it seems probable that they fixed and defined the services, which were to be required of the Welsh tenants, and these were almost entirely converted to military service, the most honourable and least oppressive tenure. These terms shared the fate of those, which the Welsh at various periods obtained; yielded only to fear, they were soon set at nought by treachery, and were never observed, but when those, to whom they had been granted, were in a situation to enforce them by arms.

The Castle was taken, but not destroyed, by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, and William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, in 1232.§ We also learn from Dugdale,|| that in the fourteenth year of Edward II. Roger Mortimer, "being a person stout and bold," when Hugh le Despenser the younger, the king's favorite, invaded Glamorgan, probably to secure his wife's inheritance,* joined Sir Roger Mortimer, of Chirk, his uncle, and Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford, opposed Spenser, and took Cardiff, subjecting all the neighbouring country to his authority, and carried away the governor, Sir George Gorges, as a prisoner to Wigmore Castle. The castle invariably followed the fortunes of the Lordship of Glamorgan, and nothing is recorded of it except its descent for centuries. In 1404, however, it was taken by Owen Glendower, who also burnt all the town, excepting the Franciscans' Street.†

It is commonly said to have been besieged and taken by Oliver Cromwell; but the author has not been able to find any notice of such a circumstance in Clarendon, or many other contemporary writers. It appears to have been held for the king at the commencement of the troubles; for on the Marquis of Hertford arriving at Cardiff from Minehead, whither he had been driven by the superior forces of the Duke of Bedford, in October, 1642, he seems to have got into the Castle. He sustained a loss of fifty three men how-

* (Fratrem) XVII annos in carcere servavit, et omnibus deliciis abundanter pavit. XII. 827.

† Nihil præter solitudinem passus mali, si solitudo dici potest, ubi et custodum diligentia, et jocorum præterea et obsoniorum non deerat frequentia. De Gest. Reg. XV. ad finem.

‡ See ante, Introductory Sketch of Welsh History.

§ Book of Margam. Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans, 299.

|| Art. "Mortimer." I. 144.

* See Caerphilly, ante.

† Leland's Collectanea, I. 313. The Franciscans had been accused of furnishing Owen with money; they were like him devoted adherents of Richard II. who had assumed their habit, as a disguise. Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd Series, I. 42. Note f.

ever, and the Castle was taken by the Parliamentarians.* At least, so says the title page of the pamphlet alluded to. It seems probable that it remained in the occupation of a Parliamentary garrison; for in January or February, 1645, encouraged by the activity of the garrison of Ragland, which occupied the attention of the Parliamentary troops, Mr. Carne, high sheriff of Glarmorgan, revolted in favour of the king, and easily gained possession of the town, but the Castle held out,† "the Parliament then having godly and faithful officers there," Colonel Prichard and Colonel Leighton.

Great expectations had been formed by the Royalists of the result of this rising, and some of the Royal troops actually marched out of Oxford to co-operate with Carne, who had a commission as Colonel. Sir Charles Kemys joined him from Monmouthshire, and they were soon at the head of three thousand men. But Major General Skippon, Sir Trevor Williams, and Lieutenant Colonel Langhorne marched from different quarters, and a squadron appeared in the offing, on the 16th of February, and fired signal guns to encourage the garrison. The forces under Carne, who had summoned the Castle,‡ then drew off; but being chiefly composed of unarmed countrymen, were overtaken and routed, with the loss of a hundred and fifty killed, and a great number of prisoners, including Colonel Carne and Sir Charles Kemys, upwards of twenty other officers, and eight hundred men.§ Langhorne's dragoons, and a detachment of Colonel Morgan's led by Colonel Kirle, distinguished themselves on this occasion. The troops had £1000, charged on the Excise, given them by Parliament; and Langhorne, who commanded, an estate, which was a few years afterwards forfeited.‖ Some of the prisoners were tried by a council of war, and condemned to be shot; but it is not mentioned whether the sentence was ever executed.

The remains of the Castle are very extensive, but do not appear to be as old as the time of Fitzhamon; the octagonal keep, on a mound in the centre of the area, is a striking object. A modern castellated residence, in the midst of the ancient remains, is inhabited by the noble family of Stuart, Marquises of Bute, to whom the Castle belongs. The area and ramparts are laid out in walks. The Gwent and Dyved Eisteddvod, for 1833, was held within the walls.

* See "A True and Joyful Relation of a great Victory obtained by the Inhabitants of Glamorganshire in Wales." London, 1642.

† See "A great overthrow given to the King's forces in Wales." London, 26 February, 1645.—"Mercurius Civicus," No. 145.—"The Scottish Dove," No. 124.—"Two Letters to the Honourable W. Leuthall, concerning the Great Victory at Cardiffe, 1645."

‡ It seems however that the garrison had been beaten in a sally, and lost a hundred and fifty prisoners, which were retaken by Langhorne.—"Perfect passages of each dayes proceedings in Parliament." No. 71.

§ "The Moderate Messenger," No, 5.

‖ See Appendix A.

It is thought proper to add in a note, in this place, the various descents of the Lordship of Glamorgan, to which the Castle was always attached.*

3. Peterston on Ely.

This Castle is said by Rice Merrick to have remained in the possession of the descendants of Sir Peter Le Soore, until the insurrection of Owen Glendower, by whom the Castle was taken, and Sir Mayo Le Soore beheaded, in 1402. It afterwards became Crown property by escheat. The Le Soores held it as late as Henry VI.†

4. St. George's Castle.

This Castle‡ seems to have remained in the Fleming family until the reign of Edw. III. when Sir W. Fleming, sheriff of Glamorgan,

* 1. Robert Fitzhamon; whose daughter and heiress, Mabel, married 2. Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry II. by Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. 3. Their son, William Earl of Gloucester; whose daughter, Amicia, married 4. Richard de Clare, created Earl of Gloucester in her right. 5. Their son, Gilbert de Clare, fourth Earl. 6. Richard, fifth Earl. 7. Gilbert, sixth Earl. 8. Gilbert, seventh Earl; who married Joan of Acres, daughter of Edward I. 9. Their son, Gilbert de Clare, the last Earl, and last of his name, who was slain at Bannockburn, and whose sister, Eleanor, married 10. Hugh Le Despenser the Younger, who was beheaded and attainted. She also married, secondly, 11. William Zouch of Mortimer. 12. Her son, Hugh Le Despenser the Youngest. 13. His nephew and heir, Edward Le Despenser, married Elizabeth de Burgersahe, who had Caerphilly for her dower. 14. His son, Thomas Le Despenser, created Earl of Gloucester, and had the attainder of his ancestor, Hugh the Younger, reversed. He was beheaded and attainted, in the first of Henry IV. 15. His son, Richard, died without issue. His sister and heiress, Elizabeth, married 16. Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. 17. Their son Henry, Duke of Warwick, died without issue. His sister and heiress, Anne, married 18. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick. They left three daughters; first, Isabel, married George, Duke of Clarence; second, Mary; third, Anne, married, first, Edward, Prince of Wales, who was stabbed after the battle of Tewkesbury; secondly, 19. Richard III. 20. Henry VII. granted it to 21. Jasper Duke of Bedford, his uncle, who died before him. Rice Merrick says he had seen a Grant of Henry VII. in which he is styled, in addition to his other titles, "Dominus Glamorganiæ et Morgannwg." 22. William Herbert, created Earl of Pembroke by Edward VI. married Ann, only sister to Queen Katherine Parr, a great heiress, with whose fortune he purchased a great part of the Lordship. 23. Henry, Lord Herbert. 24. William, Lord Herbert. 25. Philip, Lord Herbert. 26. William, Lord Herbert. 27. Philip, Lord Herbert, married Henriette de Queronialle, sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth. Their daughter and heiress, Charlotte Herbert, married, first, John, Lord Jefferies, son of the Judge; secondly, 28. Herbert, Lord Windsor. Their daughter and heiress, Charlotte Jane Herbert, married 29. John Stuart, Marquis of Bute, Baron Cardiff, the grandfather of the present proprietor, who still possesses the greater part of the original Lordship of Robert Fitzhamon.

† MS. Pedigree of the St. Johns in the Harleian MSS.

‡ Rice Merrick.—Jestyn Homfray's Castles of Glamorgan.

was executed at Cardiff, and attainted by the Statute of Rhuddlan, for wrongfully putting to death Llewelyn Bren, of Sanghennydd. It is supposed to have escheated afterwards to the Crown, and to have been in the possession of Jasper Duke of Bedford, in the time of Henry VII.

5. Beauper Castle.

This Castle is stated by Malkin* to have been successively possessed by Llewelyn, Conan, and Robert ap Sitsyllt, Welsh chieftains. Sir James Sitsyllt, son of Robert, was a distinguished partizan of the Empress Maude, and slain at the siege of Wallingford Castle, in the fourth year of the reign of Stephen; his son, John, was taken prisoner at the siege of Lincoln; Eustace, son of John, married a daughter of Sir Walter Pembridge, and had by her Baldwyn Sitsyllt, who was slain in his father's life time, at the siege of Cardiff, in the reign of Henry II. Sir John Sitsyllt, in the reign of Edward III. (sixth in descent from Baldwyn) was a distinguished soldier; and, after a solemn argument, established his right to the family arms, as the direct descendant of Sir James, slain at Wallingford. From this family are said to be descended the Earls of Exeter and Salisbury. The English name is Cecil. The Castle came by purchase to the Bassets of St. Hilary;† of its subsequent fortunes we are ignorant. There is a vague tradition that Magna Charta was here composed. A Sir Philip Basset was indeed Lord Chief Justice of England, but at a period long subsequent to the date of Magna Charta.

The present remains of the Castle, which are about half a mile from St. Mary's Church, at a place called Beauper (Beaupré,) are very curious and interesting. The porch of the chapel has three stories, supported by Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian pillars, with an Attic story above all; the Doric pillars are about eight foot high, the others smaller and rather tapering. The arch of the doorway is a pointed ellipse, which is certainly a fault, but the masonry is beautiful, and the whole has a good effect. A gateway has also a very elegant porch, of the Ionic order. Inscriptions state them to have been built by Sir Richard Basset, and Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Johns, and they have the respective dates of 1586 and 1600. There are very good grounds for supposing these remains to be one of the first attempts ever made in England to revive the Grecian style of architecture. Inigo Jones, who was born in 1572, having

* Tour in South Wales, 116.

† The numerous branches of this family formerly so illustrious, are supposed to have descended from Sir Thurstane de Bassett, Grand Falconer to William I. His son, John, came into Glamorgan with Fitzhamon.

been the first to bring it to any degree of perfection,* Malkin ingeniously suggests that the architect might have worked at Old Somerset House, built by John of Padua for the Protector in the minority of Edward VI.

The following curious tradition is preserved on this subject. Two brothers, named Twrch, or Hog, being enamoured of the same damsel, quarrelled, and vowed never again to speak to each other. To this vow they rigidly adhered; and though compelled to work together at their common trade of stone masons, only communicated with each other by signs. The fair cause of the quarrel, on discovering the fierce animosity which their rivalry had caused, declared that she would thenceforth admit of the addresses of neither. One of the brothers, driven to despair by her determination, left England, and by many years' sojourn in Italy acquired the skill which has been here displayed.

6. St. Donat's Castle.

This Castle is a splendid ruin in remarkably good preservation, part of it being still inhabited. It is situated on the edge of a wooded ravine running down to the sea. The greater part seems to have been repaired, and much beautified, about the time of Queen Elizabeth. It continued in the possession of its founders, the Stradlings, for about six hundred years; and on the death of the last of that name, about the end of the seventh century, it came by marriage to the Mansels; from whom, about a century ago, it passed by will to the family which at present possesses it—the Drakes, of Amersham, in Buckinghamshire. Its picturesque situation, its extent, and its preservation render it worthy of being compared with almost any ruin in the kingdom; but there are no facts of any interest connected with its history, that are known. There is a detached watch-tower overlooking the sea, which is supposed to have been erected for the purpose of looking out for wrecks.

7. Ogmore Castle.

This Castle is a very curious specimen of the earliest Norman style of military architecture; and though on a smaller scale, is on the same model as Rochester and Bamborough. It has a large square keep of considerable height, surrounded by lower outworks; but it stands under the brow of a hill, from which the garrison might have been annoyed by good archers. Of these, however, the

* The classical style of architecture was introduced into England in the reign of Henry VIII. and called Romaine work. Inigo Jones flourished later than the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Welsh were nearly destitute; and the height and thickness of the walls, with its moat supplied from the river, must have rendered it nearly impregnable. The great grandson of William de Londres,* the original founder, left an only daughter, married to one of the Sewards; and their daughter married Henry, Earl of Lancaster. His son was created Duke of Lancaster, and thus the Castle was annexed to the Duchy.†

8. Coyty Castle.

This Castle is a fine and extensive ruin. The outer walls and towers do not certainly appear to be earlier than Edward III. and in the interior are marks of alterations and improvements as late apparently as Henry VII.‡ Sir Richard, ninth in descent from Sir Payne Turberville, who was called "Le Diable," had no male issue, and remaindered his Castle in succession to the husbands of his four sisters, Berkerolles, Stacpole, Delabere, and Gamage. The Stradlings had it in the time of Henry IV. through the Berkerolles; but

* One of his descendants built Kidwelly.

† Sir Edward Stradling.

‡ A curious account is given by Sir Edward Mansel of the manner in which Sir Pain Turberville settled himself at Coyty, which, when taken in conjunction with that given by the same author, (Vide Notes on Cardiff,) seems, if a little too poetical in its details, to be at all events substantially correct. He says in his "shorter story" of the conquest of Glamorgan,—"After eleven of the Knights had been endowed with lands for their service, Pain Turbervill asked Sir Robert, where was his share? to which Sir Robert answered, 'Here are men, and here are arms, go get it where you can.' So Pain Turbervill with the men went to Coity, and sent to Morgan, the Welsh Lord, a messenger to ask if he would yield up the Castle; upon this Morgan brought out his daughter Sara in his hand, and passing through the army with his sword in his right hand, came to Pain Turbervill, and told him, if he would marry his daughter, and so come like an honest man into his Castle, that he would yield it to him quickly; 'and if not,' said he, 'let not the blood of any of our men be lost, but let this sword and arm of mine, and those of yours, decide who shall call this Castle his own.' Upon this, Pain Turbervill drew his sword, and took it by the blade in his left hand, and gave it to Morgan, and with his right hand embraced the daughter; and after settling every matter to the liking of both sides, he went with her to church and married her, and so came to the Lordship by true right of possession, and being so councelled by Morgan, kept in his Castle two thousand of the best of his Welsh soldiers. . . . . Upon account of getting possession by marriage, Pain would never pay the noble that was due to the chief Lord every year to Sir Robert, but chose to pay it to Caradoc ap Jestin, as the person he owned as chief Lord of Glamorgan. This caused hot disputes about it, but Pain, with the help of his wife's brothers, got the better, till in some years after that, it was settled that all the Lords should hold of the seignory, which was made up of the whole number of Lords in junction together." See also the Notes on Cardiff. In the MS. quoted at page 284, we find this Note on the insertion of the name of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, as Lord of Glamorgan. "In his time, the Lords of Coyty lost their Royal Dominion and title of Lord." In another part of the same MS. of Sir Edward Mansel, we find the following:—"And it was agreed between Sir Robert with the other Lords and Pain, that he should hold his Castles and Manors of Coyty and Newcastle and Court Coleman of himself, and pay no tribute and render no fealty, but that he should sit in court as the Substantiate of the Welsh Franklins, with one right of speech for himself and another for the country, and so it was with his heirs, and remained till the time of Sir John Beauchamp, when they lost the Royalty sole."

it ultimately descended to the Gamages. It was in the possession of Sir William Gamage, when Leland wrote. Sir Robert Sydney, who married Barbara,* daughter and heiress of John Gamage, the last of that name, was created Earl of Leicester, in the reign of James I. It since became by purchase the property of the Wyndhams, and is now the property of the Earl of Dunraven, by his marriage with Caroline, only daughter and heiress of Thomas Wyndham, Esq. of Dunraven Castle. The only fact of any historical interest connected with Coyty, is its siege by Owen Glendower, in 1405, which appears to have lasted for a considerable time, as several prelates and noblemen, on the eighth of October, in that year, offered to raise a loan, in order to levy troops for its relief.†

9. Fonmon Castle.

This structure is of great extent, and in remarkable preservation, being yet inhabited. The various alterations and improvements it has undergone, during so many centuries, render it almost impossible to determine at what time the greater part was erected. It continued the seat of the family of St. John, from the conquest of Glamorgan to the reign of Edward IV. when they moved to Bletso, which they acquired by the marriage of Sir Oliver St. John with Dame Margaret Barham or Berham. It was still in their possession in 1616; but the author is ignorant of the means by which it became the property of the family of Jones, its present possessors; probably by confiscation at the time of the civil war, as there is a tradition to that effect, and Colonel Jones, of Fonmon, was a distinguished Parliamentary officer, and a member of Cromwell's council. A fine original portrait of the Protector is preserved in the Castle.

10. Llanblethian Castle.

Sir Edward Mansel says, that "Sir Robert St. Quintin new builded the Castle of Llanblethian three times, and at the last time made it but little to what it had been before; saying it was men with strong hearts he wanted, for he had found castles with strong walls of no service against the Welsh, for he had builded the castle very large and strongly walled two times, and it was beaten to

* Her portrait is preserved at Penshurst in Kent, the seat of the Sydney family; and a remarkable clump of trees is called after her and her daughters.

† "Pour le rescous du Sire de Coytiff et de son chastell assegez par les enemys rebels en Galles." Rot. Parl in loco. Cobbett's Parl. History, I. 295.

pieces by the Welsh of the mountains; this Sir Robert was the worst beloved of any Norman Lord by the Welsh, for he gave them no lands in frankpledge as the others did."

11. East and West Orchard Castles.

These Castles are said, by Sir Edward Mansel, to have been erected by Sir Roger Berkerolles to defend "two fair orchards of all sorts of fruits and apples," which he employed Flemings to plant and cultivate. West Orchard was destroyed by Ivor Bâch. According to the same authority, such was their fame, that fruit and trees were sent from them to the royal table and gardens; but Henry I. being invited to see them, said, "He was afraid some Devil of a Welsh Lord would tempt his men to eat of them." In the thirteenth year of Henry IV. (1411) East Orchard came to the Stradlings, by the marriage of one of that family with Gwenllian, only sister and heiress of Sir Lawrence Berkerolles.*

12. Sully Castle.

This Castle belonged to the daughter and heiress of Sir Reginald de Sully, who, according to Mr. Truman's MS. (T.) married Sir Thomas de Avan, grandson of Iestyn ap Gwrgan; their great-granddaughter and heiress, Jane, married Sir William Blount, who exchanged her lands with the Clares for property in the North of England. Sir Edward Mansel says it was destroyed by Owen Glendower.

13. Neath Castle.

This Castle was built by Sir Richard de Granavilla, or Granville, said to be the founder of the noble family of that name, and a brother of Robert Fitzhamon. He founded the Abbey of Neath.† The

* Jestyn Homfray's Castles of Glamorgan, which gives no authorities. In this work we also find a romantic story of Owen Glendower's coming into this Castle disguised as a harper; his suddenly resuming his real character is said to have so terrified Sir Lawrence, as to have deprived him of the power of speech for the remainder of his life.

† In Sir Edward Mansel's "Account of the cause of the Conquest of Glamorgan," it is said that Sir Richard, being on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, had a dream in Cyprus, in which a grave old man appeared to him, and told him that he had done wrong in depriving the Welsh of their lands, and that if he did not do them justice, his pilgrimage would be of no good to him; upon which he returned to Jerusalem, and swore on the holy

Castle was burnt in 1231 by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, but subsequently rebuilt; for at the time of Owen Glendower's insurrection, that is, in 1402 or 3, it was a Royal garrison of thirty lances and a hundred archers, commanded by John St. John.*

14. Swansea Castle.

This Castle, in common with most, if not all, of those in the Seignory of Gower, an ancient Lordship Marcher, was erected by Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Warwick, the conqueror of the Lordship, in 1113. In the reign of Henry II. Thomas Beaumont, Earl of Warwick, conveyed the Seignory to the Crown. It remained in the Crown until the fourth year of John, (1202,) and was then granted by that monarch to William de Breos.† In this family it continued until the reign of Edward II. when Eleanor de Breos conveyed it by marriage to John, Lord Mowbray. It had previously been burnt by Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the last prince of Wales, and was rebuilt by Mowbray.‡ John de Mowbray had a son by Eleanor; but the subsequent descent of the Castle and Seignory is lost, until we find,§ in the reign of Edward IV. that William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, was Lord of Gower; his only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Sir Charles Somerset,‖ ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort, who now possesses the Castle and Lordship. The Crymlyn brook is usually considered the boundary of Gower to the eastward; it is also the boundary of the Sees of Llandaff and St. David's. English alone is still spoken in the greater part of Gower, which is popularly attributed to the settlement of a colony of Flemings there by King Henry I. who placed Englishmen with them, from whom they learnt that language. They are still a distinct race from the Welsh.—Of the many other Castles, dispersed throughout the county, no historical notices of any authority are to be found.

tomb, that if he lived to return, he would do right to all; he accordingly, on his return, "gave of his lands to all who could prove a rightful claim, and other of the land unclaimed he gave to God and his saints for ever," i. e. to the Abbey of Neath.

* Sir H. Nicolas' Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, II. 68.

† Swansea Guide.

‡ Leland, Collectanea III. 94. says he built it; see also I. 448. "Ex statuto Hugonum Dispensariorum.—Monsieur Jehan de Moubray pour les terres de Gower."

§ Swansea Guide.

‖ For further particulars of Sir Charles Somerset, see Ragland, post.

II. CASTLES OF MONMOUTHSHIRE.

RAGLAND—CHEPSTOW—MONMOUTH—ABERGAVENNY—USK—NEWPORT—GROSMONT—CALDECOT.

1. Ragland Castle.

Of all the Monmouthshire Castles, Ragland, from the splendour of its remains, and the interesting historical associations connected with it, holds the first place.* Dugdale has two accounts of the descent of this Castle, quite at variance with each other; according to one,† it belonged to a Sir J. Morley in the reign of Richard II. and by the marriage of his daughter came to the Herberts; according to the other account, which appears the least probable, it belonged to the Clares, and was by Richard, surnamed Strongbow, given to Walter Bluet, from whose descendants it passed by marriage into the family of Berkley.‡ In corroboration of the first account, we find that Sir William ap Thomas, who was slain at Agincourt fighting by the side of Sir David Gam, son of Thomas ap Gwillim ap Jenkin, of Llansanfraed, by Maud, daughter of Sir John Morley, was possessed of it in the reign of Henry V. His eldest son, William, was by Edward IV. created Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Raglan, Chepstow, and Gower, in 1467. By royal order his pedigree was made out by four bards, and he was commanded to discontinue the Welsh custom of changing the surname on each successive descent, and to assume that of "Herbert,"§ in honour of his ancestor, Herbert Fitz-Henry, chamberlain of Henry I.

Sir William ap Thomas, or Herbert, proved himself grateful to his benefactor, and was a most devoted partizan of the house of York, during the furious wars of the Roses. He was entrusted with the custody of the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. whom he treated with the greatest consideration at Ragland; but who was released from his confinement during the absence of his keeper, and conveyed into Brittany, by his uncle, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke.‖ Jasper was attainted for this, and his title bestowed on William ap Thomas, by his new name of Herbert; and hence the origin of the illustrious family of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke. At the head of a considerable body of his Welsh tenantry, he fought bravely against the great Earl of Warwick, the king-maker; and being taken prisoner at Danesmoor, was, by the orders of Sir. J. Con-

* Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire, p. 136.—Heath's Account of Ragland Castle.
† Baronage, art. Lord Herbert of Cherbury. ‡ Ibid. art. Berkley. § Ibid. art. Herbert.
‖ Buck's Life of Henry VII.

yers, beheaded at Banbury. With his last breath he expressed a hope that his younger brother, taken with him, might be spared.* By the account of his possessions, preserved in Dugdale, it appears that he must have been one of the most powerful barons in the kingdom.

William, his eldest son, succeeded him; but was created Earl of Huntingdon, Baron Herbert of Chepstow, Ragland, and Gower, in 1479, Edward IV. wishing to confer the title of Pembroke on his own son, the Prince of Wales. William died in 1491; and his daughter, Elizabeth, conveyed to her husband, Sir Charles Somerset, Ragland and large possessions elsewhere. Sir Charles was the natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, beheaded as a Lancastrian, in 1463. Being by blood, though not in law, related to King Henry VII. John of Gaunt being their common ancestor, he was rapidly advanced to be Admiral of the Fleet, Captain of the Guard, and Lord Chamberlain. He was twice ambassador to Maximilian, Emperor of Germany; on the first occasion to deliver the ensignia of the Order of the Garter, and on the second to conclude a treaty against the Turks. In the succeeding reign, he fulfilled the greatest trusts with the utmost honour and ability. His conduct, at the cession of Tournay at the peace, when he refused to allow the French to take possession with the honours of war, in order to shew that it was only yielded to negociation, on the ratification of the treaty in 1518, and during his successful mediation between Charles V. and Francis I. in 1521, are satisfactory proofs of his worth and ability.† He was subsequently appointed Lord Chamberlain for life, having been created Earl of Worcester in 1514. He represented the person of the King at the coronation of the Princess Mary, Queen of Louis XII. and was also commissioned to betrothe the King's infant daughter to the Dauphin, soon after the accession of Francis I. He died in 1526, full of years and honours, and was buried in the Chapel of Windsor.

Ragland continued the chief seat of his posterity, for upwards of a century. By reason of his descent from the royal family, through John of Gaunt, he bore the royal arms, with the usual bar of bastardy; and his descendants continue to bear them. But the event, from which Ragland derives its chief interest in the eyes of the historian, is the siege which it sustained in 1646. Its then possessor, Henry, fifth Earl of Worcester, created a Marquis in 1642, was a Roman Catholic, and a staunch Royalist. At an expense of sixty thousand pounds, he raised for the King a force of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, commanded by his son, Lord Herbert, afterwards so well known as Lord Glamorgan. The horse were under the immediate direction of Lord John Somerset, and the foot of Colonel Lawley, an experienced officer, unfortunately killed by a

* "Let me die, for I am old; but save my brother, who is young, lusty, hardy, mete and apt to serve the greatest Prince in Christendom."

† Lord Herbert of Cherbury's History of Henry VIII.

stone in a skirmish, as the troops marched through Colford, in the forest of Dean. They took up a position, and entrenched themselves at a place called the Vineyard, on the bank of the Severn, nearly opposite Gloucester. Having apparently no experienced leaders, and being unaccustomed to service, they most unaccountably suffered themselves to be surprized, and totally dispersed, by the Parliamentary General Waller, who had marched by cross roads, in an incredibly short time, from Malmesbury, crossed the Severn at Framilode, and galloped into their lines at day-break.* Lord John, with three or four troops, being at some little distance in the rear, escaped, and made a skilful retreat into Gloucester, Lord Herbert being at Oxford at the time.

Charles I. was more than once at Ragland, (which he left for the last time on the fifteenth of September, 1645,) and was always sumptuously entertained by the Marquis; who, when the King empowered him to make requisitions in his name, nobly replied, "I humbly thank your Majesty, but my Castle will not stand long, if it leans upon the country. I had rather be brought to a morsel of bread, than any morsels of bread should be brought me to entertain your Majesty."† On another occasion, when Sir Trevor Williams, and four principal gentlemen of Monmouthshire, were arrested on a charge of treason, and the King, moved by the tears and protestations of Sir Trevor, suffered him to be released on bail; the Marquis said, "Well, Sir, you may chance to gain the kingdom of heaven by such doings, but if you gain the kingdom of England by such ways, I will be your bondman." The anticipations of the Marquis were soon verified; for in the spring of 1646, Sir Trevor began to harrass the garrison, by surprizing one of their outposts, and taking forty five prisoners, with a captain, and ten gentlemen.

The garrison consisted of eight hundred fighting men, including a hundred horse; they had thirty five guns of all sizes, and were well stored and provisioned for twelve months.‡ By the end of May, the investing force, under Sir Trevor, Colonels Morgan and Langhorne,§ amounted to five thousand men; but this did not prevent the garrison from making repeated and vigorous sallies, with various success. However, four battering guns, four thousand barrels of powder, and a supply of entrenching tools, soon enabled the besiegers to prosecute their operations with vigour. A Captain Hill Cooper, of great reputation as an engineer,‖ directed the attack.

* "Before the enemy had any notice, we fell upon their backes, and in a short time, without the loss of above two, they surrendered the place upon quarter, when we had one thousand four hundred and forty foure common prisoners well armed, commanders and gentlemen about one hundred and fifty, many of the chiefs of Wales and Herefordshire."—Waller's Dispatch.

† "Witty apothegms delivered at different times by King James, Charles the first, and the Marquis of Worcester." London, 1658. By Dr. Baily.

‡ Three Victories in Wales. London 1646.—Mercurius Civicus, No. 150.—The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer, several Numbers.

§ See Appendix A, On the Battle of St. Fagan's.

‖ He was called by the soldiers, Captain Kill Castle.

The Marquis replied to a summons, "That he would rather die nobly, than live with infamy."* Fairfax soon joined the besieging army from Bath; his force was increased to ten thousand men, and a long negociation ensued between him and the Marquis. During the time it proceeded, the siege was pressed vigorously; and when the trenches had been pushed to within sixty yards of the works, and six mortars were ready to open their fire, the garrison surrendered by capitulation, on the 16th of August. The troops were to march out with the honours of war, all officers and gentlemen to have passports and protection, and the Marquis to be at the disposal of Parliament.

Plenty of provisions were found in the place, but only three barrels of powder were left. The prisoners were the Marquis, who died broken hearted, aged 88, in the following December; Lord Charles Somerset, his sixth son, who afterwards became a Canon of Cambray, where he died; the Countess of Glamorgan; Sir Philip, and Lady Jones; Dr. Baily, and Commissary Gwillim; four Colonels, eighty two Captains, upwards of twenty subalterns, and fifty two gentlemen swelled the train. The Castle was demolished, and £100,000 worth of timber cut down in the park. The sequestered revenue was computed at the Restoration at £20,000 per annum. The Chase of Wentwood, and Chepstow Park and Castle, were bestowed on Cromwell.

Edward Lord Herbert, son of the late Marquis, was created Earl of Glamorgan in his father's life time; he is well known as having been entrusted by the King with the most ample powers in a secret commission,† in order to induce the Catholics of Ireland to espouse the Royal cause. He was empowered to confer all titles from that of a Baron to a Marquisate; and the hand of the Princess Elizabeth for his son, with a portion of £300,000 was held out as his reward.‡ The King, as is well known, afterwards disavowed him to the Parliament; but it would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into any further account of what Clarendon calls "those strange powers and instructions given to Glamorgan, which appear to me inexcusable to justice, piety, or prudence." Glamorgan afterwards followed the fortunes of Charles II.; and being sent by him to England to procure intelligence, was arrested and sent to the Tower, in 1653. He requested an interview with Cromwell, offering to make important disclosures, but was refused.

* "An exact and true relation of the many several messages that have passed between his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Marquis of Worcester, Governor of Ragland Castle, for the surrender thereof, certified in a letter to a Member of the Honourable House of Commons, and commanded to be printed." 1646. Mercurius Civicus, No. 34, 168. Scottish Dove, No. 146. Sanderson's History, p. 896. Clarendon. Rushworth. Williams' History of Monmouthshire. Heath's Account of Ragland. Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire.

† For the commission, which is dated 1644, see Sanderson, 855.—Collins's Peerage, 206. I.

‡ This sum was acknowledged to have been expended by his family in supporting the Royal Cause.

His son, however,* "was introduced by Colonel Philip Jones, became a convert and a great favorite," kissed the Protector's hand, had lodgings assigned him at Whitehall, and a pension of £2000 per annum. He was in favour at Court after the Restoration, but was frequently reduced to great pecuniary distress. He was the author of the well known "Century of Inventions," of which the titles of the different inventions is almost all that remains. He seems to have been acquainted with the principle of the steam engine, afterwards introduced by Captain Savary as his own, who is accused of having bought up and destroyed the Marquis's book, to prevent the discovery of the imposition. He died in 1677, and was buried in Ragland Chapel.

The Castle was never restored; and though now presenting a striking contrast with its former magnificence,† has still a great interest in the eyes of the antiquary and historian. The ruins, including the citadel, a detached hexagonal tower with bastions and a moat, situated to the south of the Castle, occupy a space of about a third of a mile in circumference. None of the remains are of an earlier period than that of Henry V. and the greater part are of a later date, probably erected by the first Earl of Worcester.

2. Chepstow Castle.

Next perhaps to Ragland Castle, in extent and importance, is that of Chepstow, anciently called Striguil.‡ It was built, as appears by Domesday Book, soon after the Conquest, by William Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford; who was related to the Conqueror, being Lord of Breteuil, in Normandy, a great adviser of the invasion, and much distinguished at the battle of Hastings. His third son, Roger Brito, or de Britolio, was imprisoned, and his lands forfeited, for disobedience to the king. In the time of Henry I. we find this Castle in the possession of Gilbert de Clare, Earl Marshal of England, who was frequently called Earl of Striguil. His successor was Richard, surnamed Strongbow, the first invader of Ireland, whom Giraldus has described as a most experienced soldier and consummate politician.§ His daughter and heiress, Isabel, married

* Rogers's Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire.

† Churchyard, who wrote about the time of Elizabeth, says,—

"Not farre from thence a famous castle fine
That Ragland hight stands moted almost round
Made of free stone, upright as straight as line
Whose workmanship in beauty doth abound
The curious knots wrought all with edged toole
The stately tower that looks ore pond and poole
The fountain trim that runs both day and night
Doth yield in showe, a rare and goodly sight."

‡ Castellum de Stroguil, i. e. Chepstow. Leland's Collect. III. 416.—Coxe, p. 369.

§ The Conquest of Ireland, translated by Hollinshed, C. 28.

William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and by right of his wife, also called Earl of Striguil, the greatest warrior and most loyal subject of his day. He was the chief supporter of King John, broke the formidable confederacy of the barons, and fixed Henry III. on the throne. He died in 1219. On the death of his five sons without issue, his vast property was divided amongst his daughters.

Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, acquired Chepstow by his marriage with Maud, the eldest.* She was created by Henry III. Earl Marshal of England; but on receiving her baton of office, she transferred it to her son and heir Roger. She afterwards married John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, and on her death, was buried at Tintern. Her grandson Roger surrendered his estates to Edward I. who regranted them to him and his heirs. He however left no issue; and on his death, Edward II. by virtue of the surrender, granted to his brother Thomas Plantagenet, called de Brotherton, all the estates of the Bigods, including Chepstow, and also the Earldom of Norfolk.

On his death, Chepstow was assigned as part of the dower of his widow, Mary, daughter of William, Lord Rous. She died in 1362, and it then came in purparty to Margaret, wife of Sir Walter Manny, who was the daughter of Thomas Plantagenet by his first wife, Alice Hale. Lady Manny was subsequently created Duchess of Norfolk; her daughter, Anne, married John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, and he had Chepstow Castle in her right; but on his death, and that of his son, without issue,† they became the property of Thomas Mowbray, grandson of Margaret, Duke of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal.‡ He was a great favorite of Richard II. but in the succeeding reign was banished, and died in exile in 1399. His second son, his eldest having been beheaded, succeeded him in his title and estates; and on his death, in 1434, the Castle was assigned to his widow, Catharine, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, as her dowry. His son John, according to Churchyard, sold it to the Herberts.§ Elizabeth, grand-daughter and heiress of

* Dugdale's Baronage, I. 134.

† Rice Merrick has the following:—"Jaspar (Tudor, Duke of Bedford,) being at Cheapstowe, where his nephew the Erle of Richmond was, (being then but a child,) and minding to fly the realme, at what time Sir Roger Vaughan, halfe brother to the Lord Herbert, Earle of Pembrock, beheaded at Banbury, had received in commandment to apprehend Jaspar if hee did arrive in Wales, whoe, with a great power came to the West Gate of Cheapstow, being shutt, the wickett only open; into which Sir Roger and few more being entred, it was fast closed, and immediately Sir Roger's head chopt off. Who said, (as fame continueth,) that his head was too white to be cutt off. To whome Jaspar answeared, that Oweyn Tudyr's head (his ffather, who was beheaded at Mortimer's Crosse,) was also white. And thereupon, taking the Earle of Richmond, his nephew, with him, tooke shipping, and sayled to Pembroch Castle, where hee was straightly beseidged by Morgan Thomas, and rescued by David Thomas; and then with his nephewe sayled to Brittayne."

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, art. Bigod, Manny, Hastings, and Mowbray.—Edmonson's Heraldry, Vol. I.—Account of the Marshals of England.

§ Churchyard's Worthines of Wales, p. 7.

"Then after that to Mowbray it befell,
Of Norfolke Duke, a worthy known full well;

William, Earl of Pembroke, conveyed this Castle, as well as Ragland, to her husband, Sir Charles Somerset, in whose family it has ever since continued.

At the breaking out of the civil war, Chepstow was garrisoned for the king; but in 1645, the town was surprized by Colonel Morgan, from Gloucester, and the Castle, after a siege of four days, surrendered by its governor, Colonel Fitzmorris, an Irishman. It continued in the possession of the Parliament until the sixth of May, 1648, when Sir Nicholas Kemeys and Mr. Thomas Lewis again surprized it. Cromwell, who marched from Gloucester to oppose Poyer's insurrection,* having summoned and attempted to storm it without success, continued his route to Pembroke, leaving Colonel Ewer with a train of artillery, seven companies of foot, and four troops of horse to press the siege; which he did vigorously; but the garrison, though only a hundred and twenty strong, defended themselves for three weeks, and are reported to have planned an escape by means of a boat, which they kept on the Wye, at the foot of the cliff on which the Castle stands, but which was cut adrift by a soldier of the besieging army, who swam across the river for the purpose. At length the guns of the Castle being silenced, and a small breach made, Mr. Lewis made a parley, on the twenty fifth of May; and whilst negociations were going on, several of the garrison endeavoured to escape by the breach. On this the besiegers marched in, and killed Sir. R. Kemeys, and "him that betrayed the Castle," that is, the person by whose assistance it had been surprized; two majors, eight captains, six subalterns, and a hundred and twenty privates were made prisoners.† The messenger who brought the news was rewarded with £50 by the Parliament, and a letter of thanks addressed to Colonel Ewer and his troops. In 1645, this Castle and Park, with other estates in Monmouthshire, to the value of £2000 per annum, had been settled on Cromwell. At the Restoration it was restored to the Somerset family.

In the first story of the eastern tower, was the apartment occupied by Henry Marten, the regicide,‡ during his long confinement. The eastern entrance has a fine Norman arch. The general character of the architecture is the later Norman; but various alterations have been evidently made at a later period. Its situation is strikingly picturesque.

Who sold the same to William Herbert, Knight,
That was the Earl of Pembroke then by right."

* See Appendix A, On the Battle of St. Fagan's.

† "A great fight at Chepstow Castle, &c." London, 1648. "A full and particular relation of the late besieging and taking of Chepstow Castle, &c. in a letter from Colonel Ewer to the Honourable Sir William Lenthall, Speaker." London, 1648. But neither of these accounts mentions the story of the boat.

‡ See Appendix B, On Henry Marten.

3. Monmouth Castle.

There was a Castle at Monmouth in the time of the Saxons, as we find from Domesday Book, that "four carucates of land in the Castle of Monmouth, part of the royal demesne," were given in custody to William Fitz-Baderon, who took the surname of Monmouth.* In his family it continued until the reign of Henry III. when John, de Monmouth, was deprived of it for his adherence to the rebellious barons. It was frequently besieged, and often changed hands during those turbulent times. At a later period it was granted to Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, surnamed Crouch-back, whose grandson, Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, leaving no son, his vast possessions were divided amongst his daughters, of whom Maud died without issue, and Blanch married John of Gaunt. He, as well as his son, Henry IV. made it a favorite residence, and here Henry V. was born, and passed his infancy, and was frequently called "Henry of Monmouth."

On the dethronement of Henry VI. Edward IV. gave it to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; but it seems to have reverted to the crown, and Henry VII. entailed it on himself and his heirs. In the time of James I. it was the property of the crown, and in ruins. Before the end of the seventeenth century it belonged to the Beaufort family, to whom it was probably sold by Charles I. who alienated a good deal of the Duchy property. Monmouth was garrisoned for the King, probably by the Marquis of Worcester, early in the civil wars; for we find from Sanderson,† that about the first of April, 1643, Sir William Waller advanced towards it, when "Lord Herbert's garrison retired." In a small volume, published in 1690, containing a chronological account of the events of the civil war, and which, from its date, might be supposed to give the chronology of the war correctly,‡ under the date May 8, 1642, we find "Monmouth surrendered to the rebels." It is certain that in 1644, it was garrisoned for the King; and on the whole the author cannot reconcile the above statement, with that of any of the historians of the time. In the latter year, we find in Sanderson§ an account of the treacherous conduct of Colonel Kirle, then governor for the King, who, having led out a strong detachment into the Forest of Dean, was, by a previous arrangement, there attacked by Massey, to all appearance by surprize. A Cornet, who escaped to the town, nearly frustrated the whole plan; Kirle however rode up to the gate, pretending to have returned with prisoners, the garrison admitted him with a small party, and then drew up the bridge; but he fell upon

* Coxe's Tour.—Williams's History of Monmouthshire.
† Vol, I. p. 654.
‡ "The Historian's Guide, or Britain's Remembrancer."
§ Vol. pp. 733, 738.

the guard, overpowered it, and let in the Parliamentarians, who took prisoners, a Major, three Captains, and sixty men. It was retaken by the Royalists the next week. Massey having left the town under the command of Throgmorton, who was what was then called Sergeant Major to Colonel Harley, the governor designed by Parliament marched with about three hundred horse for Chepstow. During his absence, cavaliers from Ragland and Goodrich surprized the town, forced the gates, galloped up to the main guard, and took the garrison of Colonel Broughton, four captains, as many subalterns, and two hundred men, together with the Parliamentary Committee for the county, several pieces of cannon, and three hundred muskets. The author has not been able to discover when or how it again came into the hands of the Parliament.*

4. Abergavenny Castle.

Soon after the conquest, Hamelin, son of Dru de Baladun, or Balun, subdued Over Went, and built a Castle at Abergavenny. Dying without issue in 1090, it came to his nephew, Brian de Wallingford, or de L'isle. Brian went to the holy land, and left it to his nephew, Walter de Glocester, Earl of Hereford, Constable of England.† His son Milo left only three daughters, one of whom, Bertha, brought as her portion to her husband, Philip de Breos, or Braose, this Castle, and all the lands of Brecknock and Over Went. He and his immediate descendants were powerful Lords Marchers, and in almost constant hostility with the neighbouring Welsh Princes.

In the time of his son, William de Breos, Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal and other chiefs surprized the Castle, but delivered it up to him again on composition.‡ In revenge, he invited them all to a feast, when he basely murdered his guests, and then proceeding to Sitsyllt's house, he put his son Cadwallader to death in his mother's sight. The kinsmen and friends of Sitsyllt in revenge took the Castle by assault, and William afterwards incurring the displeasure of John, paid the penalty of his crime.§ Being arrested, with his wife, and son William, the latter were starved to death in Windsor Castle, whilst he, escaping in the disguise of a beggar, wandered from place to place, and died in exile at Paris, in 1212. He was succeeded by his son, Giles de Breos, bishop of Hereford; on whose death in 1215, Reginald his brother succeeded him, whose son, William de Breos, is said to have been hanged in 1230, by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, who suspected him of an intrigue with his wife.

* In these operations no particular mention is made of the Castle, which however probably formed part of the works.

† Coxe.—Powell's History.

‡ See the Introduction.

§ In the Fœdera, New Edition, I. 107. is preserved a royal proclamation setting forth his various offences.

Eve, one of the five daughters of the said William, by his wife Eve, daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, conveyed Abergavenny as her dower to her husband, William de Cantilupe, who was succeeded by his nephew, John de Hastings, who married Isabel, sister, and ultimately one of the coheiresses of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. Their descendants thus uniting the two titles, John, fourth in descent, entailed the Castle and Lordship, on failure of his own issue male, on his cousin, Sir William Beauchamp, fourth son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, by Katharine Mortimer; and this took effect, on his eldest son being killed at a tournament, at the age of seventeen.

Sir William highly distinguished himself as a soldier under John of Gaunt, and refused to surrender Calais, of which he was governor, although commanded by the king, Richard II. who wished thus to purchase the assistance of Charles VI.* He was imprisoned for this spirited conduct; but soon released, and summoned to Parliament as Baron Bergavenny, in 1392. He was highly favoured by Henry IV. who made him Justice of South Wales for life.† He died in 1411, after entailing his estates, in default of his own issue male, on his brother, Thomas, Earl of Warwick.

His only son, Richard, created Earl of Worcester by Henry V. married Isabel, one of the sisters and coheiresses of Richard Le Despenser. He died early, in 1420, in consequence of a wound, and left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Edward Neville, fourth son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, to whom she conveyed by her marriage all her father's lands, except this Castle, which, by virtue of the entail, came to Richard, (son of Thomas,) Earl of Warwick, one of the most gallant and accomplished gentlemen in Europe, the companion in arms of Henry V. who made him guardian of his son. He was highly distinguished at the battle of Shrewsbury, and in the French wars. He travelled through Europe, and to the holy land, performing many feats of arms, and died at Rouen, in 1439, in command of the English forces then in France. His son was created Duke of Warwick, who died in 1445,‡ leaving an only daughter, Anne, who died an infant. On her death, the possession was long disputed by two branches of the Neville family; Sir Edward, claiming it in right of his wife, Elizabeth Beauchamp, had livery of the Castle, by petition to the crown; but was kept out of possession by Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, who married Anne, sister of the late Duke, and got the Earldom of Warwick and the Castle, and was killed at the battle of Barnet. His widow was after his death restored to her inheritance, but compelled to surrender large possessions to Henry VII.

* On this occasion he put under arrest John de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the King's Commissary.

† In this capacity, orders were sent him to prepare for a siege from Owen Glendower, on the 8th September, 1403. Rymer, VIII. 329.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, I. 244.

To the detriment of her grandson, the Earl of Warwick, who was imprisoned, and beheaded, Abergavenny was then granted to Jasper de Hatfield, Earl of Pembroke, and Duke of Bedford; and on his death without issue, was by Henry VIII., upon petition, granted to George, grandson of Sir Edward Neville. It was however involved in litigation, which was not concluded until 1605,* when the dispute was compromised, by one of the claimants, Sir Edward Neville, receiving the title of Abergavenny, and the other, Mary Fane, that of Despenser.† The descendants of Sir Edward Neville still possess it. The title, like that of Arundel, is a local dignity, held by inheritance and possession of the Castle.

5. Usk Castle.

This Castle belonged to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, in the time of Henry III.‡ On the death of Gilbert, the last Earl of that name, in 1314, his sister Elizabeth conveyed Usk, with large possessions, to her husband, John de Burgh, son of Richard, Earl of Ulster. Their son, William, left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.§ whose only daughter, Philippa, married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Roger Mortimer, their son, born at Usk, was by Parliament, in 1386, declared heir apparent to the throne, by reason of his descent from Lionel. His eldest son, Edmund, was detained in custody at Windsor by Henry IV.‖ who knew him to be heir to the throne; but on his uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer, joining Owen Glendower, and Hotspur,* they, with his mother, contrived his escape. He was however retaken, and more closely confined. Henry V. generously released him, and gave him livery of all his lands; and he was ever afterwards devoted to the service of his benefactor.

On his death, his lands came to his nephew, Richard, Duke of York, son of his sister Anne, by Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who lived at Usk, where Edward IV. and Richard III.† were born, who

* Camden's Britannia, title "Abergavenny."

† On a question of precedence afterwards arising, the then Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal decided in favour of the title of Despenser.

‡ Murdered by Iorwerth of Caerleon, whilst travelling from Usk into Brecknockshire. He had imprudently dismissed his escort, and was accompanied only by two minstrels.

§ He died in Ireland, where he had done good service as Lord Lieutenant.

‖ In 1402, Usk was a royal garrison of twenty lances and sixty archers, commanded by one John Greyndre. Sir H. Nicolas, II. 68.—John Greyndre was a distinguished soldier, who served under Prince Henry against the Welsh at Grosmont, and was thanked by Parliament in their address to the king. 3 Parl. Ro. p. 577.

* See Appendix C.

† Churchyard's Worthines of Wales, p. 19.

successively owned the Castle, as did subsequently Henry VII. by reason of his marriage with the daughter of Edward IV. It afterwards came into the possession of the Herberts, probably by purchase from the Crown. Philip, the last of that name, could, it is said, have travelled on his own manors from Monmouth to Newton Down, in Glamorganshire. It subsequently came by purchase to the Dukes of Beaufort, who now hold it.

6. Newport Castle.

This Castle was originally built, in all probability, by Robert, son of Henry I. first Earl of Gloucester, and second Lord of Glamorgan, who married Maud, daughter of Robert Fitzhamon; and followed the fortunes of the Lordship of Glamorgan. (See Cardiff.) In the time of William de Clare, the second Earl, Owen, son of Iorwerth of Caerleon, was treacherously slain by the garrison,* as he travelled under a safe conduct to treat with Henry. On the death of Gilbert "the Red," at Bannockburn, it fell to the share of his sister Margaret, who married Hugh de Audley; from whom, his brother in law, Le Despenser, wrested it, and kept it until his death, when it was restored to its rightful owner. Margaret, daughter and heiress of Hugh de Audley, married Ralph, Earl of Stafford, much distinguished under the Black Prince at Cressy; in whose family it continued until the execution and attainder of the last of them, in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1402, however, it had a royal garrison, commanded by one Gilbert Denys.† It was subsequently sold or granted to the Herberts, and from them came by purchase to the Beaufort family.

7. Grosmont Castle.

This Fortress, White Castle, and Scenfreth were probably built by Brian Fitz-Count, who came to England with the Conqueror, and conquered this part of Monmouthshire; they subsequently belonged to the Breoses. Henry III. seized and granted them to

* Or according to the Book of Margam, by "the Earle of Bristowe's men, coming from Cardyffe."

† Sir H. Nicolas, II. 68. In the same work, II. 215. is preserved a curious writ, directed to Gilbert Denys, Sheriff, Morgan ap John ap Jenkyn, his Deputy, and Morgan ap Rosser, Coroner of the Seigniory of Newport, as guardians of the Seigniory during the minority of the Earl of Stafford. It appears they had been levying distresses wrongfully upon Edward Stradling, Esq. for the Lordships of Basaleg and Seatton, holden of the Seigniory of Newport. It is dated 23rd February, 1417.

Herbert de Burgh, who falling into disgrace, was forced to resign them; and they, together with that of Monmouth, were granted to Edmund Crouch-back, from whom they came to John of Gaunt, and they are still part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Near Grosmont, the camp of Henry III. was surprized by the confederates under Llewelyn; and William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, with his forces totally routed.

8. Caldecot Castle.

This Castle was anciently the property of the Bohuns; of whom, Humphrey de Bohun did homage for it in 1221. The last male of this branch died in 1373, leaving two daughters, Eleanor, who married Thomas, of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and Mary, who married Henry, of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV. Thomas, of Woodstock, was made Constable of England, and had this Castle. Probably the attainder, which preceded his death in 1397, transferred it to the Crown. It was afterwards granted out, and again forfeited to the Crown, on the execution of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521.

With respect to the numerous other Castles in Monmouthshire, the author regrets that he has not been able, from want of time, to collect any interesting historical particulars.

APPENDIX.

A. THE BATTLE OF ST. FAGAN'S.—B. HENRY MARTEN.—C. OWEN GLENDOWER.

A.—The Battle of St. Fagan's.

As the author has no where met with a connected account of the insurrection, which was terminated by the battle of St. Fagan's, although a very correct report of the battle itself is given in Vol. XIII. of the Beauties of England and Wales, he has endeavoured, from various sources, to collect the following details.

In the year 1648, when the Parliament, alarmed at the probable consequences of keeping on foot a numerous and victorious army, in which great individual liberty and general freedom of opinion prevailed, endeavoured to disband a portion of it, the measure met with great opposition, both from officers and men; nor were the Royalist

and moderate party slow to take advantage of the discontent, both by rising themselves in formidable force in Kent, and in the northern counties, and by fomenting the discontents, which led the troops in many garrisons to open mutiny.

This was the case at Tenby, and Pembroke, where Colonel Poyer, the governor, joining the mutineers, and many of the Royalists in that county lending their assistance, they soon became formidable, seized a ship with arms and ammunition, which had grounded on the coast, and having defeated the troops who first opposed them under a Colonel Fleming, who was supposed to have shot himself in despair, when his party were surrounded in a church near Pembroke, marched through the neighbouring counties without opposition, relying on the favourable feelings of the majority of the Welsh, and the hope of being joined by any troops which might be sent to oppose them. This was indeed the case with many of Fleming's men, and with four troops of Colonel Horton's regiment, who were taken prisoners in the hills near Brecknock. A drummer sent by Poyer to that officer, with an offer of terms of ransom for some of the officers, appeared at the outposts with a blue and white ribbon, the royalist colours, with the inscription "We long to see our King," and a declaration was numerously signed by the gentry and yeomanry of South Wales, to the effect, "that they would effectually endeavour to restore the King's Majesty and his royal posterity to all their rights and privileges, and the book of Common Prayer and the settling of Religion, as it was established in the time of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the beginning of his now Majesty's reign*

Poyer, and Lieutenant Colonel Powell, who acted with him, had now possession of the whole of South Wales, as far westward as Swansea; Colonel Horton, at the head of an inferior force, a large proportion of which consisted of cavalry, made vain attempts to bring them to action; they wisely avoided fighting, and daily adding to their numbers, appear to have deluded Horton with false intelligence, and to have kept his troops constantly marching. They harrassed him with frequent skirmishes, broke down the bridges, and roused such a spirit in the country, that the houses were deserted wherever the Parliamentary troops appeared, the cattle driven away, and the forges and bellows so effectually destroyed, that an eye-witness asserts "a horse shoe was not to be had within twenty miles for forty shillings."† Poyer's bold and determined tone, and the accessions of strength he was constantly receiving, at length alarmed the Parliament; and on the sixth of May, Cromwell left London for Gloucester, where he arrived on the eighth, and mustered his troops, consisting of his own regiments of foot and

* See "Colonel Poyer's forces totally routed, &c." London, 1648. and "Declarations and Propositions of Major General Langhorne and Colonel Rice Powell, &c." London, 1648.

† See some Letters at the end of "Lord Inchiquin's Desires and Propositions," in the Tracts relating to Charles I. in the British Museum; also, the "Declaration and Resolution of Colonel John Poyer," London, 1648; and the Newspapers of that time.

horse, Hudson's, Pride's, and some others', amounting to six thousand eight hundred men, and harangued them in his usual blunt and animated style, to which they responded by throwing up their caps, and declaring "they would march with him against any enemy whatsoever."*

Four days previously, Major General Langhorne, who had before that time been so active on behalf of the Parliament in Glamorganshire, joined the insurgents; having, as Lord Clarendon says, waited until he had got an assurance under the hand of Lord Jermyn, on the part of Charles II. that he should be supplied with what assistance he required, and receive particular orders as to the time of rising. On his joining the head quarters of the insurgents, he was received by salutes of musketry and rejoicing; and taking the command, he immediately advanced from Swansea towards Cardiff. Horton, who seems to have been induced to march to Brecon by some false intelligence, countermarched in haste, in order to throw himself between the enemy and Cardiff; which he succeeded in accomplishing, and for two days the armies marched and countermarched in each other's presence, neither apparently seeking or avoiding an engagement; for which Horton could not have been anxious, knowing that Cromwell would join him in a few days; and which Langhorne probably delayed, on account of the accessions of strength which every day brought to him.

The news of the seizure of Chepstow on the sixth, by Sir Charles Kemys and Mr. Lewis, seems to have alarmed Horton for the fate of his communications with Cromwell, and his only line of retreat, and probably encouraged Langhorne in the same proportion; for on the morning of the eighth, the day on which Cromwell left Gloucester, the advance of Langhorne's army having driven in Horton's outposts, near the village of St. Fagan's, in a disorderly manner, found his main body drawn up in battle array, between two and three thousand strong, consisting of his own and Colonel Okey's regiments of horse and dragoons. Langhorne's corps to the number of eight thousand, including but six hundred cavalry, who scarcely showed themselves in the action, advancing in a disorderly manner, were charged and broken by the horse under Horton and Okey; and though they lined the hedges, and defended themselves with much courage for two hours, until their ammunition was spent, yet not being well arranged for mutual support, and their small force of cavalry making no effort to relieve them, with the exception of one troop which was repulsed, they were at length totally routed, and pursued by the Parliamentary horse for eight or ten miles, with great slaughter, and with the loss of all their baggage, two thousand six hundred privates, two hundred and fifty gentlemen, and eighty officers taken, and no less than five field officers, forty others, and a hundred and fifty men slain. Major General Stradling, who does not appear to have had any command in the action, and several

* See "The Declaration of Lieutenant General Cromwell, &c." London, 1648.

gentlemen of the first families in the county, were among the prisoners.*

The large proportion of the officers killed, and the admissions of the enemy, sufficiently prove the courage, with which the men of Glamorgan fought their last action; and the want of generalship in their leaders, together with the superiority of their opponents in cavalry, appear to have been the chief causes of this defeat.† The manner in which the House of Commons received the intelligence, sufficiently showed the importance they attached to the event. Two officers who brought the news received £100 and £150 each; a day of public thanksgiving was appointed for the whole kingdom;‡ £1000 per annum, out of the estates of Langhorne and others, who were in the action, was voted for the soldiers; most of the private prisoners were sent to the West Indies; and on the twelfth of May, a council of war was ordered to try the officers, and a commission of oyer and terminer for the civilians taken. These vigorous measures appear, however, not to have been very strictly enforced, and were probably suspended on the "Humble acknowledgement of the inhabitants of South Wales and the County of Monmouth" being signed by nineteen thousand men, and presented to Parliament the next year.

Langhorne, who was wounded in the action, fled with his brother, Poyer, Powell, Sir Nicholas Kemys, and many other officers and gentlemen, to Tenby and Pembroke Castles, where they prepared for a vigorous resistance, and where they were almost immediately besieged by Cromwell in person, assisted by a squadron under Sir Charles Ayscough. Tenby surrendered at discretion on the twenty sixth of May, a breach having been made; but Pembroke held out until the eleventh of July, the garrison having made many desperate sallies, in which no quarter was given on either side, and being reduced to the greatest straits for forage for their horses, which they fed with thatch from the houses. A curious letter is still extant from Hugh Peters, complaining of the hardships of the campaign. He was sent into the Castle as a hostage, whilst the capitulation was arranging, and found Poyer's commission from Charles II. in his room, which he secured. Langhorne, Powell, and Poyer, with two or three other officers, (ex-Parliamentarians,) were compelled to surrender at discretion, the other officers and gentlemen were allowed to transport themselves beyond seas for two years, and the soldiers in general were dismissed.§

* Colonel Horton's and Okey's Dispatches, and the List of the Prisoners, are to be found in Vol. XIII. p. 656. of the "Beauties of England and Wales."

† See A List of the Prisoners taken by Colonel Horton; and his Dispatches, and those of Colonel Okey, dated from the field, near St. Fagan's.—The full truth of the Welsh Affairs, in a Letter from Colonel Horton, May 14th, 1648; and A true Confirmation of the great Victory in Wales, in a Letter from Colonel Horton to the Speaker, dated from Bridge End, May 13th, 1648.

‡ Sanderson, Rushworth.

§ See the various Newspapers of the time; Sanderson, Rushworth, &c.

The three chiefs were brought to England, and confined in Windsor Castle for about a year. Poyer seems to have escaped, but was retaken, and with the others brought to trial before a council of war in London, on the tenth of April, 1649,* and all three were condemned to death. They were however permitted to draw lots, and the lot fell upon Poyer, who was shot (at Whitehall according to some authorities, or in Covent Garden according to others) on the twenty fifth of that month, not without suspicion that the lots had been purposely so arranged; probably owing to the circumstances of the royal commission being produced at his trial, which had been obtained by Hugh Peters, as before mentioned, and of the valuable services which his two fellow prisoners had previously rendered the Parliament.† Thus ended this fruitless attempt to perform what Monk many years afterwards so successfully achieved. Had it succeeded, Poyer would in all probability have received at least a Dukedom, and his comrades rewards proportioned to their services. He appears to have been a man of talent, courage, and conduct. Clarendon says that "from a very low trade, he had raised himself to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer;" but it appears that he had been Mayor of Pembroke, and commanded the Militia for many years before the civil war; and his conduct before he was joined by Langhorne, his defence at his trial, and his speech before his execution, sufficiently attest his talents and his true courage.‡ Had he been fortunate, his character would probably have been greatly admired and extolled; but the remoteness and comparative insignificance of his enterprize, have contributed to deprive him of the fame he merited by his short but glorious career.

Langhorne had been a page of the Earl of Essex, and was pushed on in the army by the interest of his patron; he appears to have been induced to join the insurrection, under the idea that they would receive assistance from the king, or from the forces of the Scotch, or of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and may have supposed that Fairfax, under whom he had long served, and many of his comrades would support him. His previous services in South Wales probably saved his life, as well as that of Powell, who was a soldier of fortune; but the author has not been able to discover their subsequent fate. It should not be forgotten that the counties of Kent, which rose in insurrection about the same time under Lord Goring, and of Glamorgan, (for from the list of the prisoners taken by Horton, it appears that the principal part of the royalist officers at St. Fagan's were Glamorganshire men,) shared the honour of having made the last attempts, during the civil war, in support of the rights of their legitimate sovereign.

* See Perfect Diurnal, April 9 to 16, 1649.

† Mercurius Pragmaticus, April 9 to 24; Man in the Moon, April 23 to 30, 1649.

‡ See The Declaration and Speech of Colonel John Poyer before his execution. London, 1649.

B.—Henry Marten.*

Henry Marten was the son of Sir Henry Marten, Judge of the Admiralty and Prerogative Courts, and was educated at Trinity College, Oxford. He afterwards commenced the study of the law, which he relinquished on marrying a rich widow, whom he is accused of having subsequently treated very ill. He sat in the two last Parliaments in the reign of Charles I. as member for Berkshire, in which county he had considerable property. There is a remarkable anecdote of him in Clarendon's Life, I. 81. by which it appears that he was the first person who hinted at any alteration in the form of government, saying, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all;" "which," says Clarendon, "was the first word I ever heard any man speak to that purpose." In a debate on Saltmarsh's case, he said "he thought it better one family should be destroyed than many;" and on being required to explain, said that he alluded "to the king and his children." Such violent and uncompromising opinions were, in those times, a sure passport to political influence; and accordingly we find that Marten, by his tongue and pen, contributed very materially to forward the interests of his party. He wrote many pamphlets, and frequently spoke in the House.

He was particularly active at the trial of the king; and true to his former opinions, he proposed at a consultation of officers, "to serve the king as the English did his Scottish grandmother, by cutting off his head." And when Cromwell requested them to "resolve what answer they should give the king, when he should come before them at his trial, for the first question he would ask them would be, by what authority and commission do we try him?" and none answering, Henry Marten, after a little space, rose up and said, "In the name of the Commons in Parliament assembled, and all the good people of England;"† which was actually adopted. The anecdote of Cromwell and him daubing each other with ink, when they signed the death warrant, is too well known to need repetition. On discovering Cromwell's arbitrary designs, he quarrelled with him; and when the long Parliament was dissolved, was by him particularly pointed out and abused. He created considerable alarm by heading a party of levellers,‡ and lost his offices and regiment owing to this disagreement; and being a man of dissolute habits and profuse expenditure, was soon involved in debt, and imprisoned for some years. Soon after the Restoration, he surrendered on the proclamation, and was tried as a regicide at the Old Bailey,

* Principally from Coxe's Historical Tour in Monmouthshire.
† Trials of the Regicides.
‡ See Walker's History of Independency.

on which occasion he made a bold and spirited defence. He was found guilty, but respited; and being brought before the House of Lords, to answer why judgment should not be executed, he wittily and daringly replied, "he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and hoped he should not be hanged for taking the king's word now."*

His sentence was commuted to that of imprisonment for life, and he was confined, at first, in the Tower, and afterwards in Chepstow Castle, and treated with great lenity and consideration, of which many traditions are yet preserved. Mr. Southey's well known lines were founded on mistaken notions of the degree of hardship, with which he was treated. He used frequently to visit at the houses of the neighbouring gentry, amongst others at St. Pierre, where he is said to have asserted, in reply to a question of the owner, Mr. Lewis, whose share in the surprize of the Castle for the king has been mentioned, that if the same circumstances were again to occur, he would still sign the death warrant, and thus to have caused a cessation of their intercourse. He had a comfortable suite of rooms, and a carriage and servants of his own were allowed him. He died of apoplexy, at the advanced age of 78, in the twentieth year of his imprisonment, and was buried in the chancel of Chepstow church; but a loyal Rector removed his monument from thence into the body of the church. His epitaph, written by himself, is very much in accordance with what we learn of his character, but without any other merit. It is as follows; the latter part, an Acrostic, only being his.

Here,
September the nine, in the year of our Lord 1680,
Was buried a true Englishman;

Who in Berkshire was well known
To love his country's freedom 'bove his own;
But living immured full twenty year,
Had time to write, as doth appear,

HIS EPITAPH.

H ere or elsewhere (all's one to you or me)
E arth, air, or water grips my ghostless dust,
N one knows how soon to be by fire set free;
R eader, if you an oft tried rule will trust,
Y ou'll gladly do, and suffer what you must.

M y life was spent in serving you and you,
A nd Death's my pay (it seems) and welcome too;
R evenge destroying but itself, while I
T o birds of prey leave my old cage, and fly.
E xamples preach to th' eye, care then, (mine says)
N ot how you end, but how you spend your days.
Aged 78 years.

* See Chandler's Debates, I. 49.

C.—Owen Glendower.

Owen Glendower, or "Ywain ap Gruffydd," as he seems to have written his own name,* was born in 1364,† of a Welsh gentleman's family, who were Lords of Bromfield, and descended by his mother's side from a daughter of Llewelyn, last Prince of Wales.‡ He is said, by Walsingham, to have been a student at one of the Inns of Court, and whilst in London to have attracted the notice of Richard II. to whose household he was attached, as one of the Squires of the body, and with whom he was taken prisoner in Flint Castle. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer, of Hanmer, in Flintshire, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench. On the fall of his patron, he acted as Squire to the Earl of Arundel, and afterwards retired to his native Country, where he would probably have ended his days in peaceful obscurity, had it not been for a feud with one of his Norman neighbours, the Lord Grey of Ruthyn; who, when Henry IV. summoned his forces for his expedition into Scotland, is said to have intercepted and suppressed the King's writ directed to Owen, and then to have seized his estates for disobedience. Owen petitioned Parliament for redress, and the Bishop of St. Asaph, Trevor, warned the House not to despise Owen, lest the Welsh should rise; he was answered, "that they did not fear the rascally barefooted Welsh." Henry seems to have espoused Lord Grey's interest, and the petition was rejected.§ This happened in the year 1400. It appears that in June of that year,‖ the insurrection was beginning under Griffith ap David ap Griffith, afterwards a celebrated partizan of Owen's. It soon became formidable, for we find that by the 19th of September, the insurgents had taken several Castles, and that the King in person was assembling a force at Coventry to oppose them.*

* He was called Glendwr or Glyndwr, from the name of one of his estates; "Owinus de Glendourdy" is his usual appellation in the records of his time. "Glyndwrdy, or the Valley of the Dee in Merionethshire, still retains its former title," says Pennant; Tour in Wales, p. 302. This system of names locally derived, still preserved in Scotland, was formerly general in Wales, and indeed still obtains amongst the lower orders. At the present day his name and designation, at full length, would probably be "Owen Griffiths, of Glyndwr," but he would be commonly called Owen Glyndwr. Owen Vychan, or the Little, may have been a sort of nicknamne, whence the supposition that his family name was Vaughan.

† He gave evidence in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, in 1386, as Owen Lord of Glendower, aged 22. Most Historians make him 10 years older.

‡ Leland, Itinerary, Vol. V. p. 46.

§ Leland's Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 310.

‖ See Lord Grey of Ruthin's Letter. Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, Vol. I. p. 3. He encloses a letter he had just received from Griffith, the termination is given as a curious specimen of a "Swing letter," or "Captain Rock's notice," of the early part of the fifteenth century. "But we hope we shall do the a privy thing; a rope a ladder and a ryng; high on gallows for to henge—And thus shall be your endyng; and he that made the be ther to helpyng; and we on our behalf shall be well willyng, for thy Lettre is knowledging."

* Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 159.

This is the first public notice of the rebellion the author has met with. Owen joined the insurgents, and his name soon became famous; he was proclaimed a traitor, and his estates were granted to John, Earl of Somerset, the King's brother, on the 8th of November. About this time, Owen is said to have been proclaimed Prince of Wales. On the 8th of June the King was at Worcester, intending to march against Owen, but desisted from his intention from intelligence he there received that the rebellion was not very formidable.* On the 15th of June, 1401, a Royal Pardon was granted to all the Welsh who should submit, excepting Owen, and Rees and William ap Tudor.† These two latter had, it appears, seized Conway Castle, and burnt the town before May, where they were besieged by Henry Percy, (Hotspur,) then Justice of North Wales,‡ and surrendered by capitulation about the beginning of July, when William ap Tudor and the garrison received the Royal Pardon. It is remarkable, however, that a despatch of Hotspur's, dated at Carnarvon on the 3rd of May, speaks of the whole of North Wales as reduced to obedience, "forspris ceux rebelles, qui sont deiuz le chastell de Conewey, et Rees qui est en lez montayns," and does not mention Owen;§ however, in another despatch of Hotspur's, dated at Denbigh, 4th of June, he is alluded to as having sustained a defeat from the Lord of Powys, John Charlton. In all probability, Owen was about this time engaged in organizing, and extending the insurrection, and avoided engaging Hotspur.

The prophecies of Merlin were interpreted to allude to him, and the extent, to which this circumstance, joined to his early successes, roused the national feeling of the Welsh, may be inferred from the suppression of bards and minstrels being expressly enjoined in the "Ordonnances de Gales" of this time, and from the curious fact of the Welsh students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and many Welsh labourers in England, arming themselves at their own expense, and joining Owen.‖

In September, 1401, he is mentioned at the head of the insurgents, who are said to have obtained great successes, and the King ordered the Sheriffs of several neighbouring counties to levy their forces, and meet him at Worcester on the first of October.* It does not however appear that this led to any expedition into Wales; and in November, the Privy Council seem to have recommended a treaty with Owen, who was at that time ready to negociate; but it would seem principally to gain time.† Hotspur's going to Scotland, about June, must have relieved Owen of a formidable opponent. The next year,

Sir Harr is Nicolas, I. 133.

† Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 181.

‡ Sir Harris Nicolas, Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, Vol. I. pp. 145. et seq.

§ Sir H. Nicolas, I. 150.

‖ "Et comment les escolers de Gales, qui feurent demeurantz en les Univerities d'Oxenford et de Cantebrigg sont depasties d'illoques en leur paiis." Rot. Parl. 2 Henry IV. Monday, 21st Feb. 1401. See also Ellis' Original Letters, Second Series, Vol. I. p. 8.

Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. p. 225.

† See his cautions, and diplomatic Answers to the Propositions. Sir H. Hicolas, II. 59.

1402, was the most brilliant epoch in Owen's career. In June, he defeated, and took prisoner, Sir Edmund Mortimer,* uncle to the young Earl of March, rightful heir to the throne, together with several knights.† We find that the King raised considerable forces to oppose him, and it is probable that to this date are to be referred the letters from the Constable of Dynevor Castle, "uryt in hast and yn dred," and that from the Corporation of Carleon to that of Monmouth, in which we find that Owen was joined by many gentlemen, and had taken Carmarthen and Dynevor Castles. The King refusing Mortimer leave to ransom himself, he joined Owen, and in December wrote to his tenants, in his behalf, that their object was to restore Richard, if alive, and if not, to place the Earl of March on the throne.‡

In the autumn he also took prisoner his ancient enemy, Lord Grey, and fixed his ransom at 10,000 marks.§ This sum the King permitted his friends to raise. His life being spared, after all that had occurred, is certainly a strong proof of Owen's humanity and policy. The story of his having married a daughter of Owen's is apparently destitute of foundation, but the amount of his ransom deprived him of all power,‖ though he certainly did not die in captivity, as has been stated by some historians; indeed he appears from a letter in Sir H. Nicolas, I. 217, to have been, with other Lords, in command at Carmarthen in October, 1403. Early in the next year Owen had a new and formidable foe to contend with, in Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. who, on the seventh of March, was appointed Lieutenant of Wales and of the Marches.* Two despatches of the Prince, dated Shrewsbury, the fifteenth and the thirtieth of May, and to which Sir H. Nicolas assigns the date 1402, but which for the reason given in the last note, must have been written this year,† speak of an expedition under his command, in which Owen's residences of Saghern‡ and Glyndourdy were burnt, and much of the adjacent

* Hollinshed; Walsingham; Leland's Collectanea, I. 311. Most Historians have mistaken the uncle for the nephew.

† Sir H. Nicolas, I. 185.

‡ Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, I. 24.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 279.

‖ Hardyng's Chronicle quoted. Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, I. 9.

* Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 291. The author cannot, therefore, in spite of the high authorities of Sir H. Ellis and Sir H. Nicolas, agree with them in assigning an earlier date than this to any of Henry's letters to the Council. This impression is confirmed by a letter of the King's to the Council, given by Sir H. Nicolas, I. 206, and clearly written on the tenth of July, 1403, in which he speaks of having received, by John Waterton, an account of the good success of the Prince against the Welsh, who had thus "bonnement commence al honneur de nous et de notre royaume;" and the Prince's despatch of the fifteenth of May, Sir H. Nicolas, II. 61. expressly mentions John Waterton as its bearer. He was afterwards Master of the Horse to Henry V. and fought at Agincourt.

† Sir H. Nicolas, II. 61, 62, 63.

‡ The true name of the place is Sycharth, and it is in the parish of Llansilin, in the county of Denbigh. A description of the residence of Owen Glyndwr at the place, before it was destroyed by the army of Henry IV. is given in a Welsh poem, written by Iolo Goch, and published in Rhys Jones's Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru, page 75—79. See on the subject, Cambro Briton Vol. I.

country ravaged, and a great partizan of his, whose name is not given, was killed, though he offered £500 for his ransom. The latter despatch mentions that the Prince was in great want of money, to supply which, he had been reduced to pawn his jewels, and that the Royal Garrisons of Hardelagh and Lampadern had been long besieged, and required relief within ten days.*

About this time, the Percys, dissatisfied at the King's conduct about Scotch prisoners taken at Homildon, and at the non-payment of the great expenses they had incurred in the King's service, suddenly revolted, having previously come to some understanding with Owen. The popular story alluded to by Shakespeare is, that at a secret conference, they divided England between them by anticipation, and that Owen was to have all the country west of the Severn. It is said that the Meeting was held at the house of David, Dean of Bangor, lineally descended from Caradoc ap Iestyn, who was outlawed in 1406 as a partizan of Owen's. This tradition has in it nothing improbable; but is not, as far as the author can discover, supported by any historical evidence.

It is clear that the revolt was entirely unforeseen by the King, who was actually on his march to join the Percys. He appears to receive the news at Burton on Trent about the sixteenth of July.† He decided, with his usual promptitude, on instantly attacking Hotspur, who had joined his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, on the borders of Wales, and on the twenty third of July fought and won the battle of Shrewsbury, in which Hotspur and the Earl of Worcester were killed, and the rebellion completely crushed. Owen certainly was not in the battle in person, nor is the story of his having seen it from a tree on the other side of the river, supported by any evidence better than vague tradition. It is possible that he may have marched to join the confederates, and that the promptitude of the King prevented his junction; but the author rather imagines that he was engaged in the siege and blockade of Lampadern, Harlech, Carnarvon, Carmarthen, and other strongholds in the South and West of Wales. Many Welsh insurgents were of course in the battle, which naturally may have given rise to the reports alluded to. Two days after the battle, the Prince was empowered to pardon those of Chester, Flint, and Denbigh.‡

Early in the year 1404, Owen finding that he could no longer hope for support from the English Rebels, resolved to seek assistance from the French. His credentials in Latin to his "dear cousins," Griffith Young, D. C. L. Archdeacon of Merioneth, and John Hanmer, are preserved in Rymer.§ They are dated from "Dolguelli," tenth of May, Anno Domini 1404, "et principatus nostri quarto."‖ By these

p. 458—461. Sycharth is twelve miles south by east of Glyndyvrdwy, which is in the valley of the Dee, three miles below Corwen, on the left of the road leading to Llangollen. Pennant in his Tours in Wales, Vol. III. p. 313, has confounded the two places together.—Ed. Tr.

* Sir H. Nicolas, I. 219. † Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 313.

‡ Ibid. VIII. 320. § VIII. 356.

‖ In Juvenal de Ursine, p. 162, Edit. 1654, (a contemporary French Historian, is an account of

ambassadors a treaty, by which the French were to assist him, was signed at Paris in June,* and ratified by Owen at Lampadern in January, 1405,† which place must have surrendered to him before that time. Some assistance however had certainly been given by the French to Owen as early as January or April, 1404; probably it was confined to a small naval expedition, part of the forces of which assisted in the sieges of Harlech and Carnarvon. David Perrot, of Tenby, also fitted out some vessels for Owen's service.‡ The castles of Harlech, Lampadern, Criccieth, and Carnarvon, together with Carmarthen and Newcastle Emlyn, appear to have still held out in April, 1404. In June, the Welsh ravaged the Marches of Herefordshire.§ The Prince having sufficient force to oppose them at Worcester, seems to have saved Herefordshire and Gloucestershire ;‖ and in course of the year, probably about the same time, Owen took and burnt the Castle and town of Cardiff, except the street of the Franciscans,* which order had always been faithful adherents of Richard II. who in his distresses adopted their habit.

On the twenty ninth of August, the Privy Council received intelligence of the assembling of the French Fleet at Harfleur, for the expedition to Wales, but it was not until the meeting of Parliament at Coventry in October, that any very decisive steps were taken to oppose it.†

In March, 1405,‡ an attempt was made to carry off from Windsor Castle, where they were confined, the young Earl of March and his brother; Constance, Lady Despenser, who held the strong Castle of Caerphilly, contrived their escape, but they were retaken. There seems great reason to suppose that they intended to have joined Owen. We find that at a council, held on the first of March, 1405, strict measures of precaution were taken with respect to these state prisoners.§

On the eleventh of March, Prince Henry, with a very inferior force, defeated at Grosmont, in Monmouthshire, an army of 8000 of the insurgents of that part of the country, and took a prisoner of great importance, whose name is not given, but whom the Prince intended to send to the King as soon as his wounds would allow him to travel; this success was thought of sufficient importance for the King to for-

the arrival of this embassy, and of a present of armour sent by the French King to Owen, who is always called by the French Chroniclers "Le Prince de Galles."

* Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 365.

† Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 382.

‡ Sir H. Nicolas, I. 221. II. 83. Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, I. 33. See also, in Sir H. Nicolas, II. 77, a Letter from the inhabitants of Shropshire, perhaps to be referred to this date, alluding to the French as lately landed.

§ Sir H. Nicolas, I. 223, 229—235.

‖ Ibid. 235. For this he was thanked by the Privy Council.

* Leland's Collectanea, I. 313.

† Last reference but one, and Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 374.

‡ Holinshed, 527.

§ Sir H. Nicolas, II. 103.

ward the intelligence to the Council.* According to Carte, II. 625.† the Welsh were again defeated, on the fifteenth, at Mynydd y Pwll Melin, in Breconshire, where a brother of Owen was slain, and his son taken prisoner; but the author has considerable doubts as to the accuracy of this date.

In June the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl Marshal, Sir John Bardolph, and others revolted, probably after some negociations with Owen, as the Bishop of St. Asaph was certainly concerned in the rebellion, and he at a subsequent period appeared in arms with Owain.‡ It is not improbable that this insurrection was arranged with reference to the expected landing of the French, which took place at Milford at the same time. The usual promptitude and fortune of the King enabled him to crush the rebellion in its infancy at the end of June, driving the principal insurgents into Scotland, and executing those whom he seized.

The French landed in the end of July, to the number it is said of 12000, but this number is probably exaggerated. It would rather appear from the French contemporary Historian, Mademoiselle de Lussan, that their force was 800 lances, 600 crossbowmen, and 1200 infantry. On the seventh of August the King issued orders for opposing them.§ The Marshal de Preux nominally commanded, but Aubert d' Hangest, Lord of Hugueville, was the acting General. Carmarthen surrendered by capitulation,‖ but Haverfordwest, under the command of Lord Arundel, held out so successfully as to compel them to raise the siege. The allies joined by Owen at Tenby, with 10,000 men, now marched through Glamorganshire, where they besieged Coyty Castle, about the end of October.*

In the mean time, neither the King nor the Prince was idle. The former was on the fourth of September assembling forces at Hereford. On the sixth of October the King was at Worcester,† and there, according to Hale and Monstrelet, by taking a strong position on a hill near the town, baffled for eight days all the efforts of the allies, and even pursued them into Wales, until the badness of the weather and exhausted state of the country compelled him to return. It is extremely probable that want of provisions would prevent the allied forces from continuing their march, but the whole subject of this part of the campaign is involved in obscurity, and even the position of the camps is uncertain.‡ The French, with the exception of about 1500 men, soon returned to France, without rendering any other important service.

* Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 405. Sir H. Nicolas, I. 248. Rymer makes a curious mistake, corrected by Sir H. Nicolas. The word "j'envoia" he puts as the name of a lordship, near Monmouth, "Jennoia."

† Sir H. Nicolas, II. 665.

‡ According to Walsingham, p. 566, they afterwards took refuge with Owen.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 405.

‖ Walsingham, p. 566. * See "Coyty."

† Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. 420.

‡ Nash's Worcestershire, II. 405.

The remainder of Owen's career is involved in obscurity; we find that in September, 1407, the Castle of Lampadern was besieged by the Prince, and defended by Rhys ap Gruffydd, and other Welsh Chiefs, and that the garrison capitulated to surrender, if not relieved before All Saints' day. The terms, which are minute and curious, are preserved in Rymer;* but it would seem that Owen subsequently raised the siege,† and in May, 1410, he and the Bishop of St. Asaph, with some French and Scotch auxiliaries, were in arms and formidable.‡ In November the same year, several persons had made terms with him, at which the King expressed his anger, and which he expressly forbade.§ In 1411, Owen is by name excepted from a general pardon, which had been granted to all English subjects, and was therefore probably still in arms; and in June, 1412,‖ the King granted permission to the father of Sir David Gam, to treat with him for the release of his son, who was then Owen's prisoner.

The last public notice of him, which the author has been able to discover, was soon after the accession of Henry V. in June 1415,* when a negociation was entered into with him on the part of the King, but before the terms could be arranged, he died (according to Pennant,) at the house of his daughter Margaret, the wife of Ralph Monnington, of Monnington, in Herefordshire. It is however to be remarked that a commission, directed to Sir William Talbot, dated the twenty fourth of February, 1416, authorising him to negociate with Owen's son, Meredith, does not speak of Owen, whom it mentions by name, as deceased. The time and circumstances of his death are therefore still involved in much obscurity. The negociation with his son seems to have been successful, and peace was thus restored to Wales, after a desolating war of upwards of fifteen years' duration.

No character in Welsh History appears to possess so strong a claim to the admiration of succeeding ages, as that of Owen Glendower. Very remotely descended through females from the Royal stock of North Wales, unconnected with any of the Norman nobility, and unaided by any peculiarly favourable circumstances, he raised himself in a few months to the rank of a Sovereign Prince, and restored the independence and the ancient limits of his country. At the head of a people, whom more than a century of subjection must have almost unfitted for military success, he frequently carried the war across the borders, and compelled large bodies of the enemy's forces, animated by the presence of their Sovereign, to retreat before him. Destitute of any resources, but those created by himself, he either won from his opponents, or obtained from his allies, treasure, arms, troops, and fortresses, by means of which he baffled the policy of Henry IV. rivalled the military genius of his son, and defied the whole power of England.

* VIII. 497. † Walsingham. Holinshed in loco. ‡ Rymer, VIII. 588. § Ibid. 611.
‖ Rymer's Fœdera, VIII. p. 753. * Ibid. IX. p. 283.

His reputation for magic, and the belief that he was pointed out in the ancient Welsh prophecies, sufficiently attest the influence, which his master spirit excited over the minds of his contemporaries, and the moral effect of his extraordinary successes. His courage was tempered by a humane policy, his ambition seems to have been untainted by selfishnees, nor can we trace in his political conduct, any of that desire to sacrifice the independence of his country to the aggrandisement of his family, from which few of the Welsh Princes appear to have been exempt; and although from causes, as yet unexplained, he was unable ultimately to defy with impunity the policy and resources of a Bolingbroke, united to the valour of a Harry of Monmouth, backed by the chivalry and bowmen of Agincourt, his name must ever hold the first place in the memory of his countrymen, who may reflect with pride that even the conquerors of France were unable to reduce to submission one who may justly be styled the last of the Welsh Princes. Two of his daughters married into the ancient Herefordshire families of Scudamore and Monnington, in whom therefore his descendants still exist, but all trace of his male representatives is lost.

AN ESSAY

CONTAINING AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

FLINTSHIRE CASTLES,

DEDUCED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS OF THOSE CELEBRATED BUILDINGS, AND COMPILED FOR THE GRAND EISTEDDFOD, HELD AT DENBIGH, NORTH WALES, ON THE 16TH, 17TH, AND 18TH DAYS OF SEPTEMBER, 1828.

BY THE LATE

HAMILTON MAXWELL, ESQ.

TO WHOM A SILVER MEDAL WAS PRESENTED BY THE COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTION.

On examining the records of other nations, from the most remote antiquity, to the period, at which they first began to exhibit traces of civilisation, and eventually of scientific refinement, we discover some, whose destiny it was to take a lead, and by setting an example to the rest of the world, become more celebrated in the early pages of History than our own; but we may confidently affirm, that there is is not one more distinguished for its ancient love of liberty, for its heroic resistance to the encroachments of power, and for its enthusiastic attachment to the soil and language which providence had conferred upon her people. And if in the revolutions of Empires, and the consequent downfal of the glory, and power, and learning, and virtue, which once adorned and rendered illustrious to future ages the people of Greece and Rome, these renowned nations have sunk from a state of political supremacy, unparalleled in the history of the world, to one of political servitude and insignificance; from which, all but the literary records, and dilapidated fragments of their former greatness, have been extinguished; it must be a happy, if not a glorious consolation, to reflect that with such awful and melancholy examples of the instability of human grandeur, power, and knowledge, and the various vicissitudes of

our own progress from a state of primitive barbarism and ignorance, to that of civilised refinement, we should present at this day so striking a contrast; and after surviving the wreck of our former independence, throughout the series of ages, which immediately followed that event, in a state of irritable and too frequently of degrading subordination to the yoke of England, it was still our fortune to continue linked to her fate, and thus to to participate in all that maturity of glory, and power, and prosperity, which have at length crowned her career, and placed her first among the nations of the world.

As war, and its appendages, of whatever description have been in all ages the most potent instruments of human destiny, the foregoing observations will hardly be considered so much a digression as a necessary illustration of our subject; and, if we should be compelled to fill up many chasms in the authentic records of these ruins in the same manner, it is hoped that it will be regarded, as not materially detracting from the merit of our labours, when in other particulars we have endeavoured to consult all such living authorities, as throw light upon the History of these monuments.

It has been already observed by an able Historian, on the History of this Country, some forty years ago,* "That the History of Wales is no where to be found at this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk, Caradoc of Llancarvan;" it must therefore be a task of no small difficulty and labour, to collect from other sources, sufficient materials for our purpose; and yet if MS. authorities be expected, it is from these alone a writer can hope to accomplish his task with any chance of success.

It is true that the narrative equally partakes of topographical, and statistical, as of political interest; and on these subjects, we have the invaluable labours of Pennant to assist us; but he alone, however distinguished as an accurate and able illustrator of the history of his Country, would never satisfy all the objects of this Essay, and a writer is compelled to wade though an infinite number of other authorities, collecting from each such particulars as throw light upon his subject.

Under such circumstances, it is naturally hoped that the critical discrimination of the judges will be liberally exercised, and if all that a writer can hope to accomplish, should in any degree fall short of their expectations, that his labours may still be appreciated, not so much by what he has performed, as by what he would have executed, had his materials been more copious, and authentic.

The following Essay commences with a few preliminary observations of a general description; after which, it gives an historical and topographical sketch of the County of Flint; and a short analysis of the character of ancient Castle architecture, with the different eras, in which the style altered, and flourished; and then proceeds directly with the subject, commencing

* Warrington.

with Rhuddlan, and ending with Hope Castles. In describing the first of these buildings, it necessarily enters into historical details of the national warfare, in which both countries, England and Wales, were so long engaged; afterwards it treats of the several other fortresses, introducing towards the close some interesting collateral appendages; such as various kinds of ancient armour in use with our ancestors; the visits of the different monarchs of England to the Principality, whether in war, or peace; and so concludes.

THE FLINTSHIRE CASTLES, &c.

1. Preliminary Observations.

Among the monuments of antiquity, which Wales has to boast, her Castles stand at this day conspicuously foremost; for although her language and her people, continue to present features of historical interest still more venerable and imposing; yet the majestic dignity of these ruins so forcibly reminds us of the times, in which they were raised, of the policy which produced them, and the glory which for ages had previously marked the struggles of our people in defence of their liberties; that although we may now regard them with comparative indifference, despise them as emblems of the tyranny which has conquered and enslaved our Country, and triumph in their ultimate destruction; yet as memorials of barbarism and oppression at one period, and by contrast, of civilised improvement and constitutional freedom at another, they must always command the veneration of the Historian and Philosopher, and the admiration of posterity.

It is true that the most distinguished of these ruins at the present day have no local connexion with the more immediate subject of this Essay, assuming that Conway and Carnarvon far exceed in architectural magnificence those of Rhuddlan and Flint Castles; but as no historical record of our country can separate these monuments from the former, and yet preserve the narrative unimpaired, we have freely assumed the privilege of uniting them, in our preliminary remarks.

Of the Buildings themselves, if their celebrity were to be estimated alone by the architectural remains which appear at this period to arrest our attention, it is clear that we should be justified in drawing the above contrast; but still it must be admitted, that what Rhuddlan and Flint, speaking of them as the most distinguished of the Flintshire Castles, lose in architectural beauty, they gain over the former in historical antiquity; and in this view of their pretensions, may be justly regarded of at least equal comparative interest.

Without relying upon this, however, as of any importance to the subject of our enquiry, we may remark that the ambitious and warlike Edward had gained, by a succession of years, an increase of knowledge and refinement over that of his predecessors, and his expeditions to the Holy Land as one of the most distinguished leaders of the crusades, before his accession to the crown, had given him additional opportunities of improving that knowledge in the most refined schools of military architecture. Regarding the conquest of Wales therefore as one of the utmost importance to his own glory, and the safety of his hereditary dominions, he was anxious to secure it, by lavishing upon the Castles of Conway and Carnarvon, all the skill and magnificence, of which that age could boast, and his own judgment supply.

2. Historical and Topographical Sketch of Flintshire.

Before we proceed further, in the execution of our purpose, it may be necessary to give a topographical sketch of the local situation of Flintshire, from whence various illustrations of the subject will naturally follow in succession.

The proximity of Flintshire to the frontiers of England has in all probability given it the name which it bears, as the word itself has no natural affinity, either with the language of Wales, or the fossil so called, of which it is totally destitute. We have a right therefore to conclude that the name of this interesting county is comparatively of modern date, and that immediately after the conquest by Edward, when Wales was divided into counties, it took this appellation. Gwyneld is the most ancient name, we are acquainted with, for the country of North Wales; and Tegangle* or Tegeingl for the greater part of Flintshire, comprehending the three modern Hundreds of Coleshill, Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan. It is bounded on the north east and east by the estuary, or more properly the Seteia Estuarium of the River Dee, on the north by the channel of the Irish and English sea, and on the west and south by Denbighshire, and on the south east by the river Dee and part of Cheshire, a part being altogether detached from the rest, and surrounded by the counties of Denbigh, Salop, and Chester. It is from twenty six to thirty miles in length, and from nine to twelve miles in breath, being the least of the counties of North Wales.

So far a modern sketch of this county must be interesting, but as its greatest celebrity is principally derived from those ages of antiquity, to which our subject must solely relate, it becomes an indispensa-

* Tegangle.—Pennant. Tegeingl, derived from Teg, fair, and Eingl, an angle or corner; i. e. the fair or beautiful strip of land. From Teg, fair, and Cengl, a bandage, or narrow strip or bit.—Cathrall.

ble duty, to indulge somewhat further, in preliminary matter of that description.

Placed in the breach, as it were, between the territory of Wales and England, it must, at all times, have been exposed to the hostile and predatory depredations of the enemy, whatever character he assumed, or country he belonged to; so that after having withstood the Romans in their first invasion with inimitable valour and glory, repelled the Saxons, repulsed the Normans, and frequently conquered the invaders in their attempts to subdue their country, this celebrated county may well be said to have been on most occasions the principal theatre of those great events, by which the fate of our people was in ancient times decided.

Pennant, whose authority is so justly high on all occasions, says, when speaking of these events in the early history of Wales, "Our people are celebrated in the earliest history of our country, for the valour and tenacity, with which they defended their liberties, for the stand made against the Romans by the slaughter of their legions," and the dread of Agricola in leaving behind so tremendous an enemy without conquering them, which however he finally accomplished.

When the Romans first invaded Britain, North Wales was possessed by the Ordovices, a name derived from the language of the country, signifying its local situation; and although the people were finally conquered by this irresistible enemy, yet they never yielded to the temptations of luxury, as other nations invariably did under similar circumstances, but preserved the most gallant and heroic constancy amidst their native rocks, and gave sanctuary to the fugitive Britons when driven from their own soil; to whom they always afforded protection, when sought on reciprocity of interest, and contiguity of neighbourhood, as opposed to the claim of foreign intruders.

Offa, the Saxon, was the first of these intruders who succeeded in gaining some miles of our territory, but not until after his predecessors had, for three centuries, exhausted their resources in vain for the same purpose; yet his conquest, small as it was, had but a temporary duration, for we gained possession of Chester, the capital city of the Parnavii, and kept it till the year 883, when it was first recovered from us by Egbert, one of the ablest Kings of the heptarchy, whose forces were united under that monarch; nor, although by this and other conquests, our territory was contracted within its natural boundary, did that also subdue our spirit; for with obstinate valour we continued to maintain our separate independence, for four successive centuries, against the entire power of England, whose territory comprised a space at least twelve times greater than our own; and finally had the glory of submitting, when a divided country, to the arms of the renowned Edward, one of the greatest, and most warlike of the English monarchs either ancient or modern.

Returning to the more immediate subject of our Essay, Pennant says, when alluding to the most ancient name of Flintshire, that the name Tegangle is still preserved in the mountainous parts of he county, to the present day, at a place called Mynedd Tegang; but he

rejects the translation of Tegengle into Fair England, as a mongrel compound, the word being of much more ancient date, and derived from Cangi, or Crangi, a set of people, according to the learned Baxter, who attended the herds, and resided there at different times in the year; and to corroborate this, says "there is at this very day, a plain in the parish of Caerwys, a part of the old Tegangle, that still retains the title of Maes can havod or the plain of the hundred summer residences." That it was the custom in ancient times, when cultivation was solely confined to the lowland districts and best soils, to repair in the summer season to the mountain lands, with all the herds of cattle belonging to the population, there can be no doubt, and this custom affords a natural illustration enough of the origin of the name.

The whole of Flintshire, says Pennant, was subdued by the Saxons immediately after the taking of Chester by Egbert, as last mentioned, in the ninth century. It was an open country; and although naturally composed, in the greater part, of mountain land, yet was destitute of inaccessible points of retreat, and was consequently incapable of defending itself successfully against so potent an enemy. Here then we may point at an epoch, in which Castles were probably but little known as places of defence in this country, and consequently in any other part of Wales; at all events, we may reasonably conclude, that as few of these buildings, even in England, had acquired any great share of importance as military stations before the Conquest, those which can be traced, with any authenticity, to an anterior period, were comparatively of small importance, constructed of rude materials, and still ruder architecture, for which the ages preceding that event were remarkable.

The earliest period, at which we can find any partition and alteration of this Country, is to be found in Doomsday Book; when that survey was taken, it was added to Chester, to which it was allotted as an appendage by conquest. Old records affirm, says Pennant, "that the County of Flint appertaineth to the dignity of the Sword of Chester."

It was subdued by Robert de Rothelent, who commanded the army of Hugh Lupus, carrying his conquests far into Wales; and in order to secure them among the marshes by a stronghold, he is said to have built, but according to some authorities* no more than added new works to, the Castle of Rhuddlan, which he had wrested in these contests from one of our Princes, afterwards making it a principal garrison for military defence.

As a proof how much this Country had, in these turbulent times, suffered by war and conquest from its local proximity to England, we find from authentic records, that the whole tract from Chester to the Clwyd was then regarded as a Hundred of Cheshire, and called in the Doomsday Book Attiscross Hundred.

* Warrington; Pennant.

3. Observations on the Construction of ancient Castles.

Before we proceed more directly to confine our attention to the subject of this Essay, we think proper to offer a few observations on the construction of ancient Castles, as a necessary illustration collected from some of the highest antiquarian authorities;* assuming that an acquaintance with ancient manners and customs in every branch of knowledge, must be essentially necessary to a good understanding of the history of past ages; and that those antiquities, which tend to illustrate and explain the arts, usages, and modes of living of our forefathers both in war and peace, become daily, even at this enlightened period of the world, interesting objects for our enquiry.

This is also recommended from another obvious cause, resulting not alone from the total neglect of such remains, but in a great majority of cases from their wanton mutilation, so as nearly to obliterate all that should ever form interesting records of the early proficiency of our ancestors in the arts of civilisation.

In the original construction of ancient Castles, we find that they were perfect, or imperfect, as military stations of defence, according to the age in which they were built, and that before the Conquest it may be generally concluded they were of the latter description, presenting little of that beauty, strength, and grandeur, which subsequent to that event almost uniformly marked their character and appearance.

Of the object of the architect in the erection of these buildings, whether before or after the event alluded to, the following observations will justly apply.

They were fortified with strong outworks, in many cases, and deep ditches, having a considerable space, either inside the walls or within the fosse, for the use of the garrison. The building itself was constructed with a view to the security of the entrance, as an object of the greatest importance, making it difficult to an enemy, and at the same time so magnificent to a spectator, as to be suitable to the dignity of the occupier. The protection of the garrison in case of a close siege, and after the outworks should be carried, safety from the weapons of the assailants, and from fire; and also shelter to themselves in annoying the enemy, with contrivances to mislead and deceive the besiegers, and to draw their attacks to where the defence was strongest and least liable to be injured. The security of the military stores and provisions in such a manner as to require no considerable reduction of the garrison for a guard. The easy conveyance of the great engines of war, known to these times, and before artillery was invented, such as balistæ, catapultæ,

* King.

and warwolfs, into various situations and apartments, and even to the top of the tower. The means of giving quick alarm to all the garrison without confusion, and concealing some of them from the enemy. The supply of water to the garrison. The prevention, or carrying away the smoke from the apartments, and the forming of drains to carry off the scourings and filth of all kinds. And lastly, the providing a proper habitation for the commandant in chief, or Lord of the Castle, both stately and airy, and free from the annoyance of the enemy's missiles of war.

From what we know, and can collect of these buildings, we can have no doubt that all these objects were provided for by the most ingenious devices. The entrance was never in the lower story, or upon the ground-floor, but at a considerable height, by means of a grand staircase winding round two fronts of the Castle, and terminating in a grand portal; and there was, to defend this portal, a drawbridge, the pulling up of which cut off instantly all communication with the exterior, and the flight of steps; along with these contrivances to defend the first entrance, there was usually a second line of defence, consisting of another portal joined to the inner tower by a vestibule and to the great tower itself, the walls of which were of immense thickness, generally twelve feet; and this entrance, as well as the first, was defended by a portcullis sliding in a strong stone groove, and by a strong pair of gates; so that there were three strong gates to be forced, and two portcullises to be destroyed, before an entrance could be gained.

This mode of fortification, however rude to modern ears, was yet so strong before the discovery of cannon and gunpowder, that in fact such fortresses were considered almost impregnable, except by blockade and starvation; and therefore the ingenuity of man naturally resorted to such expedients, both for the defence of countries, and especially border frontiers, during war, and for the maintenance of military garrisons and security of stores during peace.

The remains of all these contrivances, to defend the entrance, are still to be seen in many of our ancient Castles; although almost totally obliterated from those, which form the subject of this Essay.

The grand entrance was the only place of intercourse with the exterior allowed to be constructed in any of these fortifications, except a small sally port, or narrow doorway directly under the draw bridge, a place easily defended in case of treachery, which was also approachable only by a narrow winding staircase, sufficient to admit one soldier, and therefore readily closed up, and was defended by strong doors, and other obstructions against an enemy.

There were no windows on the ground-floor, and nothing but loop-holes, which were so close that no injury could be done the garrison from without, either by weapons, or by fire if that were attempted.

Even in the second story, or that immediately over the ground floor, where the grand portals were, there were no windows, nor within the tower itself, but only loop-holes; and on the third floor, which contained the rooms of state, although with magnificent windows, yet so high in the apartments, and on that account made ex-

ceedingly lofty, so that the weapons could not shoot into the rooms with any effect.

The lower or ground floor was usually intended to hold the stores, and on that account generally vaulted with stone.

Directly under the vestibule before mentioned, was the dungeon for the prisoners, and in the floor above was an open space left, like the cavity of a trap door, for air; on the second floor was the guard chamber, in which the chief part of the garrison had both their residence and lodging.

The third floor contained all the rooms of state, as being the most secure, and on that account it was made the most commodious and magnificent.

In the uppermost story, or the fourth, there being no need of precaution for defence, the rooms were lofty and commodious, with very large windows. These rooms, and also the tops of the Castle defended by the battlements, were made use of for placing the weapons and engines of offence, catapultæ, &c. being the stations from whence they could be used with most effect.

The deceptions consisted in making the most exposed points of defence apparently the weakest, yet always the strongest in works of concealed masonry; a stratagem adopted by various nations in ancient and modern fortification; and by the Turks in particular, who were the first inventors of cannon, but are now probably the most deficient in the use of them, and in the art of defending fortified places.

With regard to the safety of the stores, and the security of the prisoners, the lower apartments were so strongly constructed, as to be amply fitted for that purpose; and as to the prisoners, there was a dreadful, gloomy dungeon for their reception, and of a most singular description. It was inclosed by four walls of uncommon thickness, and so deep as to be descended by a flight of steps, cut through the wall, twelve feet in thickness, so narrow that only one man could descend at once; there were no windows of any kind, and but an air-hole, or trap door at the top, through which the prisoners had their food.

As to the engines of war frequently used in the attack and defence of these Castles, they were raised from the ground, not by the winding staircase already described, for that would be inconvenient, if not impracticable; but by means of square wells, or apertures made in the walls, vertically, so as not to interfere with the galleries; and these wells, turned at the bottom on the ground floor, so as to allow the turning of large beams into them, and thus, step by step, to raise the engines upwards.

That such instruments of war were in use by our first Norman kings, both in England and abroad, appears undoubted from various passages in history; among others, from a passage in Holinshed, p. 829, who states, "that Edward I. at the siege of Stirling Castle, in Scotland, caused certain engines of wood to be raised up against the Castle, which shot off stones of 2 or 3 Cwt." We need not doubt therefore that he had derived the knowledge of this invention

from the Crusades, where he had been for three years; and as this took place before his conquest of Wales, we may reasonably conclude that he would also provide such instruments of war, for keeping in proper subjection his new but turbulent Welsh subjects.

The means devised for giving quick alarm to the garrison, were extremely ingenious; there was formed a small flue within the thickness of the wall, eight or ten inches square, winding from the top of the Castle to the several apartments, and even round these apartments, evidently for the sole purpose of conveying sound with all possible rapidity, and thus alarming the inhabitants.

For supplying the garrison with water, it is quite clear that wells were formed within the partition walls, so that pipes could be carried to every apartment; and by placing pullies at the top, the whole Castle was watered.

The chimneys were not such as are now in use, but conical cavities, reaching to an aperture in the side of the Castle, like a loophole; there were however fire-places and hearths, under semicircular arches, richly ornamented with fretwork.

The provision made for maintaining the state and dignity of the commandant, was also curious; the grand apartments, generally consisting of three in number, two great rooms, and a smaller chamber, or reception room, were always on the third floor, as may be seen, even at this day, at Chatsworth in Derbyshire, and Belvoir Castle in Lincolnshire. Both of these magnificent modern buildings were raised on the sites of ancient Castles, and so far preserve the ancient usage of having the most splendid suite of rooms on the third floor; but the invention of cannon, gunpowder, and fire-arms having caused an entire revolution in the system of fortification, no modern structure of that description would of course adopt the ancient practice, either in that particular, or the very exposed situation so frequently chosen for the sites of ancient Castles.

Assuming that the construction of these buildings must be a necessary illustration of our subject, it will doubtless follow, that the eras in history, which distinctly mark their progress from primitive rudeness and imperfection to majestic grandeur, and architectural magnificence, must be equally an object worthy of our attention.

First. We have no remains of Roman architecture, above ground, in this country, which can be properly identified as a military fortification.

Secondly. The idea of grandeur united with defence in the erection of the small and imperfect, but strong Anglo-Saxon tower, which may be compared to a magnificent den, and attributable to the fifth and sixth centuries.

Thirdly. The first dawn of civilisation in the improved, large, and convenient Castles of Alfred—eighth and ninth centuries.

Fourthly. The round Norman keeps, generally on high artificial mounts, affording no improvement, but rather returning to antiquity—ninth and tenth centuries.

Fifthly. The beautiful and noble towers of Gundulph, soon after-

wards introduced, especially in the Castle of Rochester; shewing that the conquerors may be excelled and subdued by the conquered—tenth and eleventh centuries, and after the Conquest.

Sixthly. The mixed kind of building; and at length come the noble and grand towers and battlements of Edward I. manifestly derived from opportunities of seeing, at the Crusades, the refined architecture of the eastern countries, when at length the Castle was nearly swallowed up in the Palace—twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Seventhly. Edward III. completed the idea of the Palace, as connected with the Castle; and that of the latter began to be lost—fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Eighthly. Soon after, the spacious hospitable mansion succeeded, erected chiefly for habitation, and containing vast combinations of ill matched rooms; and lastly, the regular Palace—fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, &c.

4. Account of Rhuddlan Castle.

We now approach more directly to the subject of our narrative, satisfied that the foregoing particulars will be considered no unnecessary digression from that object; and thinking that Rhuddlan Castle, as well, from its local situation at the north west extremity of the county, as from other circumstances connected with its history, is entitled to priority, we accordingly commence with that interesting monument of antiquity.

Although Rhuddlan Castle derives its greatest celebrity from its occupation by Edward I. not only as a military station, of the highest importance, but as a civil and political residence; and although a very able antiquarian* has ventured, with some confidence, to pronounce that Prince the original founder of all our Castles of any importance, yet there can be no doubt but that the origin of this building had a much earlier foundation, and that it may he assigned with more confidence to the eleventh century.

Most respectable authorities, and among the rest Warrington and Pennant, assign the origin of this Building to Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt, a South Wales Prince, of great renown in these times, who had successfully invaded the Country; and after many bloody encounters, had so far established his conquest, as to fix upon this as a military station of first rate importance, and in that view to build a Castle and residence for himself, and his descendants.

Warrington, who details the history of these times with apparent accuracy and truth, says, Anno Domini 1021, p. 208, "The small remainder of his days, this Prince spent in tranquillity, but Howel and Meredith, the sons of Edwyn ap Eineon ap Owen ap Howel

* The Honourable Daines Barrington.

Dha, whose family, for some years, had been set aside in the succession, formed a conspiracy against his life, and either by their emissaries, or with their own hands, assassinated him; he left only one son, Gruffyth or Gryffydd; this Prince, alluding evidently to Llewelyn, built the Castle of Rhuddlan, in which Palace he usually resided, and which afterwards continued to be the royal residence during the life of his son, the above Gruffydd ap Llewelyn."

Assuming that the death of Llewelyn took place in 1021, according to this respectable authority, we may also assume that a few years previous to his death, from 1010 to 1015, he had become the founder of Rhuddlan Castle, the future scene of so many important events in the history of Wales.

The situation is apparently naked and exposed, on the land side in particular, to the eye of a modern engineer; yet if we recollect the military tactics of those days, in which there were no artillery, either to batter down walls, or to carry death and destruction, by the modern invention of shells, and other missiles of war and desolation, it was probably the most favourable situation for his purpose he could have chosen.

Being on the first rising ground on the approach from the sea, and on the bank of a navigable river, at a very short distance from its mouth, nothing could be more convenient to the said Llewelyn for receiving succour in time of need, or for transmitting intelligence for any other purpose in time of war, to his native country. It was also so situated, as to command a distant view of approaching danger, was the only port fit for navigable purposes from Deganwy, at that time the next fortified position, to the Dee; it lay in the direct track of intercourse along the shore, most favourable for passing from one country to the other, and consequently for intercepting those military movements, which might be formed to expel him from his newly raised and strongly fortified position.

Tradition had doubtless celebrated the unfortunate issue of the battle of Morva Rhuddlan, on a plain immediately contiguous; in which his newly made subjects had suffered so heavily; and superstition might induce him to think, that a military station so near it might have also more effect in preserving their submission, than if removed to a greater distance.

This battle was fought in 795, between the Saxons and the Welsh, in which the latter were defeated, with considerable slaughter, and their king Caradoc slain; from which melancholy event, the celebrated plaintive air of Morva Rhuddlan, on the Welsh harp, was composed, and continues to this day.

The Castle was bounded on one side by a steep bank of the river Clwyd, sufficiently near to the ancient bridge for all purposes of intercourse with the northern country; and upon the remaining points of the semicircle which bounded the fortress, the land afforded every advantage necessary for a regular fortification, by the the ditch, and elevated tower of ancient time.

The Castle, now in a state of almost entire dilapidation, must have been at one time, probably after its repairs by Edward, a very

extensive building; it was formed within a square, leaving two extreme points of defence at opposite corners, with a double round tower of the Saxon form, at each, and a single one at the two other corners. The court formed an irregular octagon; and from its appearance, must have been lined on the inside by defensive buildings, both for military accommodation and protection. The ditch from the same appearance was deep and extensive, and lined on both sides with stone; more likely to be an addition of Edward's, than belonging to the original structure by Llewelyn; the steep descent to the river, was defended by high walls, and strong square towers; one of these remains pretty entire, and there are vestiges of two others; the first called Twr y Silvd, and another in the Castle was named Twr y Brenhin, or the King's Tower, probably added by Edward in 1283; passing to the southward of the Castle, at a distance of a furlong, is a large artificial mount, the site of another fortress of much more ancient date, and probably a part of the original building by Sitsyllt, though nothing remains of the architecture to assist that conclusion; the whole is surrounded by a very deep fosse, including also the Abbey; which crosses from the margin of the bank, not far from the ascent of the present road to St. Asaph, to another parallel road, near which it is continued, then turns and falls nearly into the southern part of the walled ditch of the Castle. The entire forming a square area of a very great extent, doubtless the original fortress, though evidently presenting the appearance of three different periods in the building, features of character perfectly consistent with its history and misfortunes; yet still there is no trace whatever of the introduction of the improved style of the time of Edward, as exhibited in the magnificent remains of Conway and Carnarvon; and the whole presents no other feature in this particular, than the Saxon and Norman styles of castle fortification united, a fact perfectly compatible with the repair and expenditure on this Castle by Edward I. which, we shall see hereafter, could not have included any very extensive change in the original style of its architecture; however he might have improved and enlarged its means of defence, so as to be considered impregnable against the future hostility of his enemies.

The artificial mount called Tut-hill, with its superstructure, doubtless a round tower of the Anglo-Saxon character, now no more, is supposed to have formed a part of the original building by Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt, in the era before mentioned; from which time, it became the residence of the Welsh Princes of that line, until war and devastation subsituted others of more power in their stead, and finally of Edward I. the Conqueror of Wales.

"The odium excited by the assassination of Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt, precluded Howel and Meredith from any chance of succeeding to the sovereignty of North Wales, and thus afforded Iago the son of Edward ap Meiric, the legitimate heir, an opportunity to take possession of the crown, from which his family had long been unjustly excluded."*

* Warrington, p. 209.

For this purpose, the minority of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn added another favourable circumstance, and he succeeded accordingly; but the latter (Anno Domini 1032) having attained the age of manhood, and panting with youthful ardour to gain possession of his father's conquest, resolved to contest the claim of Iago; his popular character, uniting with the recollection of Llewelyn's virtues, soon gained so large an accession of force, that he found himself in a situation to offer battle to Iago, who with great courage attempted to maintain his right. The latter however was defeated, and slain in the action, leaving an only son named Cynan.

From this time Gruffydd also, who was now seated on the throne, had various formidable enemies to contend with, as well in North as South Wales, the sovereignty of which he also claimed; and with alternate success; for in one battle he was taken prisoner, but by the valour of his soldiers was rescued and restored.

By the issue of these struggles, he had amply revenged the murder of his father on all his enemies, and at the same time apparently established his own power so firmly, as to have completely gained full possession of his new conquests, in the progress of these proceedings; and during an interval of peace, he had the policy, according to Lord Lyttleton, to establish some kind of a navy, in addition to his other military resources; and thus to secure supplies of grain and other food, or military stores, from one part of his dominion to another, or from foreign parts; a fact perfectly consistent with his possession of the port of Rhuddlan, and its means of reception also for such a purpose, if we duly estimate the size and class of shipping at that time in common use among our ancestors.

Gruffydd, it would appear, was of too warlike and ambitious a disposition to remain long at peace with his neighbours, and especially with the English, whom he considered powerful rivals; he therefore embraced every opportunity of invading their territory, and too frequently of violating amnesties, and treaties made in consequence of these depredations; a minute report of which would carry us far beyond the limits of this Essay.

After various outrages, however, committed against the pacific spirit of Edward the Confessor, against the peace of his kingdom, and even against the glory of his troops, he at length roused the indignation of that monarch so much, that he determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conquest of this country. He entrusted the execution of this enterprize to Harold,* the most eminent general of his court, for gallantry and military skill. This officer, having raised a powerful army, marched with such celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he nearly surprized Gruffydd in his palace at Rhuddlan; and the Welsh Prince, barely in time apprized of his danger, a moment before the English presented themselves at the gates, as the only means of safety, threw himself with some of his attendants into one of his ships close at hand in the

* Warrington.

harbour, which instantly setting sail, he by that means made his escape, but to what country, the imperfect annals of those times do not inform us.

Harold, incensed at the escape of the foe, who had caused so much trouble to himself, and so much mischief and anxiety to his master, in resentment burned his palace, "and set fire to all the ships of war, and other vessels remaining in the harbour of Rhuddlan."* This event took place in the year 1063; but we have no particulars of the means, by which Harold was enabled so readily to accomplish the taking and destruction of this Castle; we may however conclude, that when it fell so easily into his hands, it must have been a most imperfect fortress, having but few of those requisites for defence, which in subsequent times rendered places of this description so formidable, if not impregnable to the efforts of an enemy; witness the defence made in almost every instance to the Parliamentary forces, at the period of the Commonwealth, and in none with more glory and reputation to the governor than that of Denbigh, when the use of artillery might have aided the attack of besiegers.

On the occasion of this conquest, which completely subdued for some time the spirit of the Welsh, Harold set up several pillars of stone, with this inscription, "Hic fuit victor Haroldus," to perpetuate the glory of having passed mountains, which had hitherto presented an inaccessible barrier, between the spirit of freedom and rage of conquest.†

Gruffydd, who had previously to this disaster distinguished himself so much, now sunk into irretrievable ruin; and after returning again to attempt an opposition to Harold, was put to death by his own subjects, and his head, with the prow of the ship in which he returned, sent to Harold as a military trophy.

Pennant, who says this Castle was soon restored, and soon lost, continues to shew that for ages it became an object of fierce contention, with every competitor for the conquest of the country. Robert, afterwards surnamed Robert of Rhuddlan, or Rothelan, as some writers describe him, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus Earl of Chester, conquered it from the Welsh, and by command of William the Conqueror fortified it with new works, making it his place of residence, from whence he much annoyed that people. The square towers are evidently of Norman architecture, and naturally adopted to the new owner. Robert was here visited by the Welsh Prince Gruffydd ap Cynan, who solicited aid against his enemies; but although granted by the Norman, they afterwards quarrelled so violently, that the former attacked him in his Castle, took and burnt the baily, or yard, and killed so many of his men, that but few escaped into the towers.‡

Giraldus Cambrensis states that "the Castle of Ruthlan was deemed one of the most important fortresses in Wales; it was often

* Warrington. † Camden's Britannia, p. 545. ‡ Pennant.

taken and retaken, and experienced frequent vicissitudes of fortune. I find the place first mentioned in 795, as the spot where a signal battle was fought between the Saxons and Welsh, in which Caradoc, King of North Wales, was slain. On the occasion, a celebrated plaintive air was composed, called Morva Rhuddlan, or the Red Marsh, and it is still played with enthusiasm by the native harpers, although the original poem commemorating this battle no longer exists."

"King Henry II. after his defeat at Coed Eulo, in Flintshire, A. D. 1157, retired to Ruthelan, fortified the Castle, and gave the government of it to Hugh de Bello Campo, or Beauchamp."

"In the year 1167, Owen Gwynneth, Prince of North Wales, and Rees of South Wales, laid siege to the Castle of Ruthelan, which the king had lately built and fortified, which the garrison defended manfully and worthily, yet the princes could not depart till they had won it, which they did at two months' end, and then razed it."*

"In the year 1214, during the reign of King John, it was besieged and taken by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth."

"In the year 1277, King Edward I. came to Ruthelan, and fortified the Castle; and in 1281, Prince Lewelyn with his brother David laid siege to it, but on the approach of the royal army they retired; after the treacherous death of the former unfortunate prince, when the king had completed the subjection of Wales, the *natives* brought David unto him, whom he kept prisoner for some time at Ruthelan Castle, and afterwards put him to death at Shrewsbury."

Leland, author of the celebrated Itinerary, who wrote in 1550, is very concise and unsatisfactory in his description of and reference to Flintshire, the whole being contained in one page; although he gives much of his attention to Denbighshire, and especially the Town and Castle, of which he adds some curious particulars not found elsewhere. Of Flintshire he says, "Hoole a gentilman of Flyntshir, that by auncient accustume was want to giue the bagge of the silver harpe to the beste harper of North Walys, as by a privilege of his auncestors, dwelleth at Penrine in Flyntshir. He hath also a ruinous Castelet or Pile at a place caulled Castell Yollow. This word Yollow is the same in Walsche, that Lluelenys, and Ludovicus in Latine—Castellum Ludovici.

Thisarte or Disarte Castel in Flyntshir, by the name in Walsche is thus expounded. *Thi* is privata particula, as *not; Sarte,* is step up; not stepe or climbing up; that is to say, playne."

"*Rethelan,* commonly called *Redelan,* cumeth of *Rethe,* that ys to say *roone color,* or *pale redde,* and *glan,* that is the *shore;* but G, when Glan is set with a worde preceding G, is exploded. About Glascoit (viridis sylva) Hill, that is 4 miles beyond Rethelan, is the limes of Flintshire and Denbigh Lande."

From Camden's Britannia, written anno 1607, we extract the following interesting account. "Higher up is Ruthlan, so called from the red bank of the Clwyd, on which it stands, having a handsome

* Powell, p. 224.

Castle, but almost decayed by age. Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt first built it; but Robert, surnamed De Ruthlan, nephew and lieutenant to Hugh, Earl of Chester, first wrested it from the Welsh, and afterwards added new works to it; after which, as the Abbot De Monte writes, Henry II. repaired the Castle, and gave it to Hugh de Beauchamp. Just below it, the Clwyd falls into the sea; and though this valley at its mouth seems to be below the level of the sea, the sea never overflows, but by a wonderful appointment of providence the water stops at its bank." (This, to be sure, is marvellous superstition.) "Hence the shore, gradually declining east, proceeds just by Disarte Castle, so called from the declivity of its situation, or as others say, quasi 'Desert;' then by Basingwerk, which Henry II. gave also to Hugh Beauchamp."

From Lyttleton's Henry II. we extract the following important particulars on this subject. "Besides other incidents, which made Louis the French King desire to renew the war at this time, one was, that ambassadors from William the Lion, King of Scotland, and from all the Welsh Princes, confederated to again recover the independence of their country, were now in his court, and offered him aid from their masters, against the King of England. The year before this, while that monarch was engaged in his foreign affairs, Owen Gwynneth and his brother Cadwallader, assisted by Rees ap Griffith, had taken Ruthlan Castle after a blockage of three months, and then with less difficulty, had made themselves masters of Prestatyn; the surrender of which, as the fortifications of Basingwerk were demolished, and those of Flint Castle were unfinished, subjected the whole of that province, one of the finest in North Wales, to the power of Owen." This was a loss very mortifying to Henry, and it was no improbable expectation, that the Welsh, now victorious, might pursue their success to the entire extirpation of the English and Flemings out of all parts of Wales, if they were favoured by a continuance of war between England and France. Of Henry's subsequent warfare with, and subjugation of the Welsh, the historian adds some further curious particulars connected with this subject.

"Basingwerk," he says, "was built by an Earl of Chester, taken by the Welsh, and demolished. At this place, or nigh to it, Owen Gwynneth lay encamped, with all the forces he could collect from a populous nation, in which every man, except the Clergy, were soldiers. Owen pretended to offer battle; but this was only an artifice, to draw the King into a narrow defile below two ranges of hills, where he had secretly planted an ambuscade; and Henry, having fallen into the snare, paid dearly for his rashness. Henry was defeated, and most of his advanced guard miserably destroyed; he then drew off his forces, after suffering most severely, and consulting with his barons and great men. The plan he now formed, was to leave upon the left the tract of woody hills, through which he had so unhappily attempted to pass, and march along the sea shore, till he should get beyond Basingwerk, to the back of the post the Welsh had taken; at the same time ordering his fleet, as

Harold had done, to cruise along the shore, and make descents upon the open parts of the country; on which movement, Owen became dispirited, and returning to a strong post in the mountains of Snowdon, there encamped."

Henry immediately subdued all Flintshire; and, to secure his possession, made roads for an army to pass through, cut down the woods, rebuilt the important Castles of Rhuddlan and Basingwerk, began that of Flint, and founded a house for the Knights Templars; which was a new kind of garrison, unknown in that country, but as useful as any other to bridle the Welsh. Owen ventured often to disturb him while engaged in these works; but the king was too strong, and he was afraid to venture a battle in an open country. In the mean time, a great fleet which he had, assembled at Chester by his orders, sailed from that harbour to assist in his operations against Flintshire, which he finally succeeded in subduing.

Henry, in writing to the Greek Emperor, Emanuel Commanus, concerning this military expedition, says of the Welsh, "They are not afraid to fight unarmed with their enemies armed at all points, willingly shedding their blood in the cause of their country, and purchasing glory at the expense of their lives."

They used small light targets, sometimes of hides, and sometimes of iron. Their offensive weapons were arrows and long pikes or spears, which were very formidable against cavalry, in the use of which they were wonderfully expert, more especially the men of North Wales, who had pikes so strong, and well pointed, "that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail;" those of South Wales again, of the province of Gwent, or Monmouth, being most expert at the bows and arrows, and not inferior to the Normans themselves.

As Warrington's account of this expedition throws much additional light upon the circumstances above related, we extract the substance from that able historian.

Henry, having collected a formidable army, marched to Chester, and advanced to Flintshire, and encamped on a marsh, called Saltney, bordering on the Dee. Prince Owen advancing to the frontiers of his territory, took post at Basingwerk, near Holywell, in Flintshire. The King, assuming that this movement indicated a desire to give battle, immediately dispatched a strong body of troops under his best leaders for this purpose; but in passing through the woody country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, they were suddenly attacked from an ambuscade, by David and Cynan, the two sons of Owen, and defeated with great slaughter, retreating hastily to the main body of the army.

Mortified at this unexpected disaster, Henry suddenly broke up his camp, and retreated by the shore to the town of Flint, intending by this manœuvre to deceive the Welsh Prince, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country; but in passing through a defile at Countsylt, he was intercepted by Owen; and as the stratagem was ably conducted, the king's forces were a second time defeated, with still greater disgrace; and in the confusion

Henry himself was obliged to fly, leaving Eustace Fitz-John and Robert de Larrey slain on the field of battle.

Upon the king's sudden disappearance, his death was instantly proclaimed; but this was only temporary; for returning to the head of his troops, and throwing up his helmet, the courage of his men was instantly restored; and charging the Welsh forces with great vigour, he forced them back into the woods, and kept possession of the field.

The Prince of Wales now retired successively to a post near St. Asaph, called Cil Owen, or Owen's Retreat, and to Brin y Pin, a stronger post, three miles west of St. Asaph.

The king's fleet assembled at Chester, acting in co-operation with his land forces, made all further resistance on the part of Owen useless; and the former proceeded to Rhuddlan, where he erected a House for the Knights Templars, an institution the same as one in Palestine during the Crusades. He likewise more strongly fortified the Castle of that town, with the fortress at Basingwerk, constructing roads, and cutting down woods, to render the passing of an army more convenient.

Owen however frequently interrupted these occupations, but without effect; and the remaining facts, until the conclusion of this expedition, precisely correspond with the former taken from Lyttleton; but Warrington adds, that Owen had at length concluded a dishonourable peace with Henry, which the circumstances of the war did not justify; he and his chieftains having not only submitted to do homage to Henry, but to yield up the Castles and districts in North Wales, which had in the late reign been won from the English, to take Cadwallader his brother into favour, and restore him his territories, but worse than all, to deliver up two of his sons as hostages for his future obedience.

Henry made three expeditions into Wales, two into North, and one into South Wales; all for the same purpose, that of subjugating the country. Two only of these proved successful; yet the effect was only of temporary duration; and more than a century afterwards, Edward was obliged to accomplish what Henry may be said to have commenced, the final conquest of our warlike countrymen.

The last of these into North Wales, was occasioned by a powerful confederacy on the part of the Princes of both North and South Wales; and their first enterprize was into Flintshire, the border county next England, committing grievous devastations, and carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the vale of Clwyd. Henry, on reaching his army in Cheshire, marched into Flintshire, for the protection of Rhuddlan Castle, which fortress he was afraid the Welsh might besiege; but the enemy having retired, and the king unwilling to pursue them, stopped but a few days to augment the garrison; and returned to England, for the purpose of forming a junction with a large auxiliary army, assembled at Oswestry, to meet the Welsh combined army. Henry's operations, in this last expedition, having terminated by a sudden and rather disgraceful relinquishment of the enterprize, the confederate Welsh Princes immediately advanced, and carried many strong places in South

Wales; the Prince of North Wales also took the Castle of Basingwerk, lately fortified by the king, which he entirely demolished, in the year 1166.

This success however did not end here, and the consequences on Henry's late singular policy, in deserting the prosecution of this war, produced the most disastrous effects to the English interests. The Welsh Princes, following up their progress, immediately invested the Castle of Rhuddlan, lately fortified by Henry, and a place of great importance on the English frontier; the garrison defended the place for two months with great bravery, but at length it was taken, and levelled to the ground; after which the Castle of Prestatyn fell also, and was likewise demolished; and the fortifications of Basingwerk having been lately destroyed, this great success gave to Owen the entire possession of the maritime parts of Flintshire, called Tegengl, anno 1167.

Ten years after this, according to the same author, we find David, Prince of North Wales, who was unpopular from his excessive cruelty among his subjects, taking refuge in this very Castle, then held by an English garrison; so that we may justly conclude the destruction before referred to was by no means complete, and that Henry's policy in that interval had restored it, after first getting possession of the works.

In 1209, the Earl of Chester made a predatory excursion into North Wales, with no other effect than that of rebuilding the Castle of Diganwy, at the mouth of the Conway, lately demolished by Llewelyn; and he likewise more strongly fortified the Castle of Trefynnon, or Holywell.

In 1210, King John of England; having assembled a large army at Oswestry, to punish the Welsh Princes, for their repeated breaches of faith, and treaty; Llewelyn found himself unable to oppose this formidable force, and accordingly retired to the mountains of Snowdon. The English then advanced along the sea coast to Rhuddlan, and from thence to the Castle of Diganwy; where they remained for some time, though reduced to great extremity for provisions, from the activity of Llewelyn in cutting off their supplies; and although the king escaped this danger, yet stung with mortification he renewed his efforts against Llewelyn with greater vigour, and finally compelled him to make an ignominious peace.

Anno 1213, we find Llewelyn again in arms against John, and so powerfully supported by his followers as to be able to seize upon all the English fortresses in his dominions, except Rhuddlan and Diganwy, on which he could make no impression; a conclusive proof that the former must have been securely fortified and repaired, after its supposed destruction by Owen.

The year after, however, Llewelyn's success against that pusillanimous Prince, John, enabled him to proceed with more vigour against both these fortresses; and we find that the whole country having acknowledged his dominion, he gained possession of Rhuddlan and Diganwy without difficulty, places of the greatest importance on the frontiers of his kingdom.

In 1241, the tide of success in favour of the Welsh Princes having entirely changed its character, and left them rather at the mercy of Henry III. than able to dispute his power over their dominions, we have a right to presume that this, and the other Castles immediately contiguous, were in his unmolested possession; for we find from Warrington, p. 415, that "the English king fortified the Castle of Diserth in Flinshire."

To follow strictly the history of these times would lead us far beyond the limits, which the object of this Essay prescribes; we therefore only select such passages, as include some reference to the Castles alternately possessed, by one or other of the contending powers.

Pennant relates, that Randle Blundwell, Earl of Chester, was surprized in this Castle by a body of Welsh, and lay in the utmost distress, until relieved by his Lieutenant, Roger Lacy; who, collecting suddenly a rabble of fiddlers and idlers, put the besiegers to flight by stratagem; but he is unable to give the date of this event.

In 1261, Prince Llewelyn, the last of the race who reigned in Wales, was in open revolt against the English King Henry, and his warlike son Edward; and the latter had arrayed such formidable preparations for terminating the long pending contest for the dominion of that country, that no effort made by the Welsh Prince was likely much longer to avert his final subjugation. In this state of things, however, a truce was agreed upon between Henry and Llewelyn, one of the conditions of which was, that the Castles of Gannock or Diganwy, and of Disserth, then in the possession of the English, should be supplied with provisions as occasion might require.

This allusion to Diserth, without including the important fortress of Rhuddlan, or of Prestatyn, immediately contiguous, would evidently imply, that at this time neither of these latter Castles was in the hands of the English.

Edward, on his return to England from France, summoned back by his father on account of the ravages committing on the English territories by Llewelyn, lost no time in marching against the latter with a formidable army. Before his arrival, however, the two fortresses above mentioned, Gannock and Diserth, had fallen into the power of Llewelyn, rendering him complete master of the whole country between Chester and Conway. Both posts were immediately destroyed, the former being of the utmost importance to the English from its maritime situation.

Soon after this, the Castle of Mold, a place also of much strength and importance on the frontier, and usually in possession of the English, was taken and destroyed by Gruffydd ap Gwenwyn Wyn, now reconciled to the Prince of Wales. These three fortresses being taken, exposed the greater part of the English confines to the mercy of the Welsh; presuming, as we have a right to do, that the still more important fortresses of Rhuddlan, and others, were at this time also in the hands of Llewelyn.

Anno 1265, it is mentioned by Warrington, that the Castle of Hawarden, along with Maude and Montgomery, was granted to Llewelyn.

Anno 1277. It was in this year that Edward, new King of England, prepared to conquer with a formidable army the gallant Welsh Prince Llewelyn, and finally subdue Wales, so long in a state of feudal dependance, but of turbulent and rebellious hostility to the dominion of England.

In the month of June, Edward marched into Cheshire, and intending to penetrate through the lowlands bordering on the Dee into the territory of his enemy, he previously encamped on Saltney marsh, near Chester, lying on the shore of the river. During this time he rebuilt the Castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified the Castle of Rhuddlan; but we are unable to state more particularly how he regained possession of the latter fortress. Edward advanced without further opposition through the level part of the country, to the waters of Conway, and Llewelyn took refuge in the mountains of Snowdon.

The latter at length, reduced to the utmost extremity, and without hope of resources to cope with the powerful army of Edward, implored his mercy, and concluded a treaty of peace dictated by the will of the conqueror; the principal terms were, that the Cantrev of Rhos, in which stood the Castle of Diganwy; of Rhyvonioc, the chief town being Denbigh; the Cantrev of Tegengl, where stood the Castle of Rhuddlan; and the Cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and Castle of Rythyn, should all be given up to the King, and that, besides many other degrading conditions, Llewelyn should also repair to the Castle of Rhuddlan, to take the oath of fealty to the King.

Some of these terms were subsequently relaxed, especially as to the payment of a subsidy or tribute of 50,000 marks; though it appears that Edward had received from Llewelyn, during his stay at Rhuddlan, the sum of 2000 marks; a fact which will probably be hereafter confirmed by the curious document of the roll of Edward's expenses at that fortress.

The peace, which might be regarded from the nature of the terms, and the character of the parties, as nothing more than a hollow and uncertain truce, was soon dissolved; and the Welsh Princes, confederating together under the command of Llewelyn, revolted in every quarter against the arbitrary sway of Edward.

The first consequences of this insurrection opened a brilliant career of success to Llewelyn; his brother David, now reconciled, and at the head of a gallant band of his countrymen, attacked the Castle of Hawarden on the evening of Palm Sunday, (anno 1281,) and carried it; the governor, Roger de Clifford, who was also Justice of North Wales, was mortally wounded, yet carried away prisoner to Snowdon; and several Knights residing in the fortress, though unarmed, were in the fury of the storm put to the sword. This was the signal for a general revolt throughout Wales; and Llewelyn and David, with their united forces, invested the newly erected Castle of

Flint, and also that of Rhuddlan, the only fortresses then in the possession of the English.

Mean time Edward was not idle; he sent immediate succour to the besieged Castles, and demanded contributions, in men and money, from all his subjects, lay and clerical, towards the prosecution of this war.

Having concerted all his measures, he issued forth summons; that all his military tenants should meet him at Rhuddlan, in the ensuing month of June; the clergy, of a certain class, being also included in this order.

After remaining in Chester a few days to refresh his troops, he advanced into Wales, and invested the Castle of Hope, then held by David, which shortly surrendered; and on appearing before Rhuddlan, the Welsh forces investing that Castle immediately retired, taking the road towards Snowdon; but still on the alert, the brave and vigilant Llewelyn seized a favourable opportunity, and attacking a large detachment of the English army, put them to flight, obliging Edward himself to take refuge in Hope Castle, the fortress he had lately taken.

In the middle of July in this year (1281) we find Edward residing in the Castle of Rhuddlan, and issuing orders from thence to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to find him men for pioneers, in proportion to their means.

All negociations for peace, on suitable conditions, between these formidable rivals for the Crown of Wales having failed, Edward about the first of November left the Castle of Rhuddlan, and advanced as far as Conway, taking a favourable station for halting his army. After various attempts however to reduce Llewelyn to a state of submission by invading Anglesea, and crossing both the Conway and Menai, in which he was much harrassed by Llewelyn's troops and stratagems, Edward was at length compelled to retreat to Rhuddlan, and once more to take up his abode in that Castle; from whence he issued summons to all the counties in England for immediate succour, in men and all other materials of war.

The tragic and probably treacherous death of the brave Llewelyn however, happening about this time, (December 10th, 1281,) most opportunely for Edward's success, in the prosecution of his purpose, his remaining efforts for that important object were accomplished without difficulty, and thus what might under different auspices have cost him years to effect, was at once secured by the melancholy fate of the Welsh Prince, whose character we should endeavour to illustrate by some appropriate observations, if the necessary brevity of this narrative did not preclude the attempt.

Some ineffectual struggles continued to be made by David, who now claimed the sovereignty, as rightful heir to his brother's dominions, but they were speedily suppressed by the powerful arm of Edward; and in order to secure his conquest more effectually, he now proceeded to build the Castle of Conway (1283.) A conspiracy, at the instigation of Edward against David, having placed that Prince in his power, he together with his wife, two sons, and seven daughters,

were brought prisoners to Rhuddlan Castle, where the King continued to reside.

David implored mercy from Edward, and for that purpose solicited an interview, but this was denied to him, and after remaining for some time a prisoner at the Castle, he was sent forward to Shrewsbury.

The king being determined to wreak his vengeance against David, proceeded in the most sanguinary spirit to execute his purpose; and having summoned eleven earls and one hundred barons to sit upon his trial at Shrewsbury, the forlorn and unfortunate Prince was doomed by this arbitrary court to die a traitor to his sovereign, by the infliction of five different kinds of punishment; in describing these, the attack on Hawarden Castle, in which Fulk Frigald and other knights had been murdered, was punished by hanging, his heart and bowels to be burned for committing this crime on Sunday, and after cutting off his head, his body to be quartered, and hung up in different parts of the kingdom.

The sentence was executed in all its sanguinary severity; and to close the sad and melancholy catastrophe of these two brothers, the head of David was placed on a pole upon the tower of London, opposite to that of Llewelyn, which had before been exhibited in a similar manner, to gratify the national hatred against the Welsh, as well as for the treachery of David in deserting the cause of Edward.

The death of this Prince terminated the separate sovereignty of this ancient kingdom, which, through various changes of fortune, had heroically resisted the arms of imperial Rome, and for more than eight hundred years, with alternate success, braved the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman Princes.

To secure his conquest, Edward became naturally anxious to render this fortress impregnable against any further attempt of his turbulent subjects; and for this purpose, he first began with an act of civil justice, in making compensation to Master Richard Burnard, minister of Rhuddlan, for certain lands required for enlarging the Castle; and a second time, in 1282, made an exchange with the same Church of six acres and a half for the same uses; on which Pennant states, "he built the Castle whose ruins we now survey." The finishing of it, he adds, took a considerable time, for he finds an order in 1291 for "surveying the works at the Castles of Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester." How far this conclusion may be considered authentic, will best be understood by a reference to the roll of expenses incurred on that occasion, a copy of which will form an interesting illustration of this Essay.

Of the necessity which Edward felt of curbing the violent spirit of his new made subjects, by adequate garrisons in this and other fortresses, we have ample proof, in the number of men which he subsequently drafted from them for his war against Scotland, amounting to no less than fifteen thousand troops, many of whom being composed of Welshmen, felt so little loyalty to the cause of Edward, and so much jealousy of their brethren in arms, that they quarrelled with the latter; and separating from the remainder of

his army, at a critical juncture, near Flinlithgo, proved almost a fatal obstacle to his success.

Edward likewise proceeded with all possible activity, to promote the obedience of his newly subdued dominions; and for that purpose introduced the leading principles of English jurisprudence, dividing the country into counties, appointing sheriffs, coroners, and establishing other civil institutions, conformable to the system of England; but in order to give these objects greater solemnity and effect, he summoned a kind of parliament at Rhuddlan, and from thence proclaimed a body of laws for the future government of Wales, which is entitled the Statute of Rhuddlan, and to this day constitutes the foundation of the Welsh system of civil and criminal law.

Subsequent to this event in the history of Wales, we know that Edward's policy induced him to propose, as a measure of reconciliation, to the Welsh, who had so long clung to the fortunes of their native Princes, that a native Prince should still continue to govern them; and in order to realize this project, he sent Eleanor his Queen, then pregnant, to Carnarvon Castle, who, fortunately for his hopes, shortly afterwards produced a son, on whom the title and sovereignty of Wales were immediately conferred, in conformity to a compact artfully entered into for that purpose; which probably was more a measure of necessity than of choice on the part of the Welsh, to whom the young Prince would, at this period, stand in no other relation than that of the son of a conqueror and a tyrant.

This compact between Edward and the Welsh took place at Rhuddlan, although Eleanor was then at Carnarvon Castle, where he continued to reside for nearly a space of three years, employed in various measures of civil policy, for the future government of the principality; and shortly before his return to London, or on the second of January, 1284, he issued from Bristol a writ or proclamation, of a conciliatory description, by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Carnarvon, and other towns, were freed from the payment of tallages for ever.

Some fruitless efforts were subsequently made by the descendants of Llewelyn, to violate this peace, and to rouse once more the ancient spirit of their countrymen against English oppression, but they terminated in defeat; and until the formidable insurrection of Glyndwr, more than a century afterwards, we find nothing in the subsequent history of Wales worthy of recording, as intimately connected with the subject of this narrative.

Of Edward's residence at the Castle of Rhuddlan, we extract some very curious particulars, from an ancient record found in the White Tower in London, in 1805, and translated by that able antiquary, Samuel Lysons, Esq. for the Archæologia.

It was in 1281, in the tenth year of Edward I. that Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, endeavouring to throw off the English yoke, commenced a revolt by seizing the Castle of Hawarden, in Flintshire, and laying siege to those of Rhuddlan and Flint, on the sixth of April. The king being at Devises, summoned his barons, and other

military tenants, to attend him at Worcester, on Whitsunday following, in order to proceed against the Welsh; and afterwards, by a second summons, so called upon them in still greater numbers, to attend him properly equipped at Rhuddlan, on Sunday on the morrow of the feast of St. Peter, ad vincula Rhuddlan, or as it called, Rothelan, which appears to have been the head quarters of the king during this expedition; as most of the orders entered on the Rotuli Walliæ, of the tenth and eleventh of his reign, are dated there.

ROLL OF EXPENSES AT RHUDDLAN.

This roll consists of four sheets, containing the particulars of the sums paid to the carpenters, masons, smiths, and other workmen employed at the Castle of Rhuddlan, which no doubt had great additions made to it on that occasion.

Anno Domini 1281 and 1282.

	£.	s.	d.
The said Richard de Bieris charges himself with having received from the King's wardrobe, in his tenth year, at several times, the sums of .	858	6	9
And from sundry others for the same purpose .	1374	12	11½
Making in all	2232	19	8½

Necessary expenses, Carpenters.

On Friday next after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mary, at Rothelan, paid to Master Richard Lemingham, receiving by the day twelve pence for his wages, and the wages of three overseers of twenty each at six pence per diem, and sixty three Carpenters each being four pence by the day, going to Anglesea for sixteen days, each day being reckoned; the whole amount . .	18	16	0

Carpenters again.

100 Carpenters at four pence per diem, and their Constable at eight pence	12	3	9
86 ditto at 4d. and their Captain at 8d. . . .	10	10	0
96 ditto 4d. ditto 8d. . . .	11	8	8
	34	2	5

The list of Carpenters' work is still continued, shewing how great the wood-work repair must have been.

Third charge	55	0	5
Fourth ditto	48	18	3
Five Smiths included at similar wages . . .	24	13	7

Sailors.

Friday next after the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, at Rothelan, paid to forty seven Sailors of the King conducting ships to Angle

	£.	s.	d.
sea, for the wages from Sunday, the twenty third of August, for seven days, each at three pence per day, except seven, each of whom received six pence per day	13	18	5

Archers.

Saturday next after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mary, at Rothelan, paid to Geoffrey Le Chamberine, for the wages of twelve cross bowmen, and thirteen archers, for twenty four days; each of the former receiving four pence, and the latter two pence per day	7	8	0
To Robert Gifford, for eight constables of cavalry at twelve pence per day, fifty seven archers at two pence, and 43 captains of twenties at four pence .	55	6	0
To the same, for the wages of 8 constables, and 846 archers, and 41 captains of twenty each, for seven days, at the same wages	53	7	6
To the same, for wages of 1060 archers at two pence, with 53 captains of twenty at four pence, with 10 constables of cavalry at twelve pence per day . .	68	8	6
The same, for 1040 archers and captains, &c. &c. .	67	4	0

Masons.

Paid to one master mason receiving six pence per day, and five masons receiving each four pence per day, and one workman receiving three pence per day for wages, for twenty eight days	3	7	8
Ditto is repeated at the same prices, until the sum amounts to	7	18	0

Shewing however an extraordinary contrast between the carpenter and masons' work, difficult to be accounted for, considering the supposed ravages of the enemy at different times.

To mowers, whose wages form a strange contrast also to the wages of the tradesmen. Paid to 22 mowers, each receiving three halfpence per day for their wages .	0	11	0
Paid Wednesday following, to 23 mowers, each receiving six pence per diem, for two days	1	3	0
To 12 spreaders, each receiving two pence per day .	0	6	0
These charges are repeated, until the whole amounts to	13	1	6

Necessaries.

Paid for six carts, each with three horses, hired to carry the hay from the meadows to the castle of Rothelan, for one day, at one shilling	0	6	0
For eight ditto, for the same purpose, with two horses .	0	6	8
Paid 24 men, for working the hay together in a mow .	0	4	0
Sundry other charges for similar purposes here follow, including a separate charge for the Queen's hay, at prices equally low, amounting to	7	13	4

Necessaries here continue, in which a charge for watching the King's hay from pillage is included, shewing that his Welsh subjects had no great veneration for his property.

	£.	s.	d.
Paid for eight carts' load of lead, at 5s. per cart, to cover the King's chamber in the castle of Rothelan .	2	0	0
Twelve pounds of tin for soldering the lead . . .	0	2	5
Brushwood for fusing, and carriage from Chester .	0	0	6
Workmanship, including all charges, and making the whole	15	13	7

Necessaries continued, in which a charge for turf-cutting is introduced.

To Henry Degrenford, for timber, nails, and boards, and for carriage of the timber from Rhuddlan to the ships	3	2	4
To carriage of timber from the Castle to mill . .	1	2	4
For seven empty casks for making paling for the Bridge of Rothelan	0	8	6
For locks, bought to fasten the bars of the town and bridge by night	0	3	8

These charges shew that a bridge was erected here even at this early period; a fact no where else noticed, by other public records, or writers.

A charge for loading the ships towards Anglesea, and carts for this purpose	0	12	8
For watching the said timber	0	3	9
For a boat, bought for the Queen's use, by Reginald Fikus	0	14	0
To Henry Sparrow, the King's Crier, for wages, at four pence a day . , ...	0	13	0
To Master William, the King's baker, for five carts hired to carry meal from Chester	0	5	10
For wages of three Welshmen working in the Castle for three days	0	4	2
Paid carriage of 34 casks of wine from the water to the Castle	1	0	5
Carriage of wheat, from the same to the same . .	1	3	1
Paid six men carrying shingles for covering the hall of the Castle, at two pence halfpenny per day . .	0	8	9
Paid for a chain and lock for the Queen's boat, by the hands of Randal Tolescamp	0	0	8
For lime for the Queen's chamber and court yard .	0	18	4
To Stephen, the King's painter, for painting the King's chamber, and for colours bought by him, and his wages	0	14	0
For carriage of venison from Chester to the Castle of Rothelan	0	0	9
To Waldbor the fisherman, and his six companions, the former receiving at 10d. and the latter, the Queen's fishermen, at 3d. per day, for forty two days . .	4	18	0

	£.	s.	d.
To the same, for laying bait to catch the fish . .	0	2	6
To John of the Queen's salsary, for going to the lakes of Stafford for fish, his wages for 14 days at two penee .	0	2	4
To Richard le Forrister, going to catch rabbits for the King's use, for his wages and the keeping of his ferrets	0	3	6
To paid for work about the stew pond of the Castle .	0	8	0
To paid for making seats about the stew pond . .	0	1	0
Paid for repairing a cart, damaged in carrying a pipe of honey from Aberconway to Rothelan . . .	0	1	4
Paid carriage of figs and raisins sent to Aberconway .	0	0	1
Paid for one cart with four horses, to carry the Queen's baggage from Rothelan to Aberconway . . .	0	2	0
For 600 turves, to place about the Queen's stew pond in the Castle	0	1	0
For carriage of said turf into the Castle, three days .	0	2	0
Paid for carriage of figs and raisins from Rothelan to Aberconway	0	0	8
For carriage of £3000 from the King's wardrobe to the wardrobe of the Queen	0	0	5
For the reparation of saddles and other harness belonging to the Queen's chariot	0	10	4
For the carriage of cheese from Rothelan to Aberconway	0	0	4
Paid for the carriage of Master Oto's robe to Master Oto	0	0	5
Paid for the passage of the Lady Joan, the King's daughter, at Aberconway	0	3	8
Paid for carriage of wax and almonds from Chester to Rothelan	0	2	0
Paid for a posnet bought for Lady Eliza, the King's daughter	1	0	5
Paid for the carriage of 80 casks of wine from the water to the Castle	1	2	0
For a cart bringing lances and cross bows from Rothelan to the Hope, going and coming . . , .	0	1	4
For twelve horses hired for the carriage of wheat from Ruthin to the Castle, for one day	0	4	0
For a coffer, a posnet, a tankard, and basket for Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter	0	2	1
For two carts, with three horses each, for carriage of the baggage of the Queen's daughter, from Rothelan to Flint, Chester, and Macclesfield, four days . .	0	9	4
Paid for a cart, with two horses, hired to carry the baggage of the maids of honour to the Queen . .	0	3	4
Paid for a cart, with four horses, to carry the Queen's wardrobe for four days	0	6	0
Paid for a chariot hired to help to carry the baggage of Lady Joan, for one day	0	0	6
For the carriage of the baggage of the wardrobe robes of the Queen, from Carnarvon to Rothelan . .	0	8	6

	£.	s.	d.
To Mothum de Herne, in part payment of 30s. due to him for carriage of corn from Anglesea to Chester by sea	0	13	6
To Roldum, doorkeeper, for making the hall of the Castle	5	0	0
To same, for carriage of timber for the hall . . .	2	0	0
To Master Thomas, the marshal, for repair of the harness of the Queen's horses	0	12	0
Gifts.			
On the day of the Queen's churching at Rothelan, to divers minstrels attending them, by the Queen's gift .	10	0	0
To a certain female spy, as a gift	0	1	0
To a certain female spy, to purchase her a house as a spy	1	0	0
To certain servants of the Queen's, staying at Ruthin, for carriage of a cask of wine, by way of gift . .	1	0	0
To John Pukard, for restitution of a nag of his being dead	2	0	0
To Ralph de Vavasour, bringing news to the Queen of the taking of the Castle of Dolivetholean, as a gift .	5	0	0
To a certain player, as a gift	0	1	0
Wardrobe necessaries.			
Paid for six ells of web cloth, and six strong fine linen, bought for pennons and Welsh standards of Ewyas, and making the same	0	13	4
For twenty two ells of web cloth, for divers officers, on the day of the Queen's uprising, &c.	0	6	3
Paid for cotton for making pans candles for the Queen's use	0	1	0
For six ells of canvass for the windows of the King's Chapel	0	1	9
Alms and Oblations.			
Paid for the subsistence of the preaching Friars at Rothelan	0	7	8
For the brethren of the Hospital at Rothelan . . .	0	1	1
Paid on the day of the Queen's churching, in oblations ta mass	0	3	0
Paid in oblations at the celebration of mass for the soul of William de Bajor	0	1	10
Minute Expenses.			
To William, the messenger, carrying letters to the King at London, to be sent to the Court of Rome, for his expenses	0	1	0
For the wages of Knights soldiers	0	42	9
Paid to John de Deynile, and his four Esquires, wages for sixty five days	19	10	0
Bailiff's Wages.			
Paid sundry bailiffs at the Castle	0	4	10

Advanced Money.	£.	s.	d.
Paid to sundry great Officers of the Crown, and Bishops of sundry Sees, amounting to	227	3	2

To avoid unnecessary repetition, the above roll is considerably curtailed in several uninteresting particulars, while the most curious are carefully retained.

The sum of the expenses of this roll is £1325 10s. which sum, with the expenses of the other roll of the Queen's household, is £2220 2s. 10½d.; and the sum of the receipt, as appears above, is £2232 19s. 8½d.; and so the sum of the receipt exceeds that of the disbursement £12 16s. 10d. which was placed to the Queen in the book of advanced money, in the thirteenth year, and which Master Richard de Buno acknowledges to have delivered to the same in his private account endorsed on the roll—"The sum of sums of this roll, £1318 10s. 8½d."

Edward I. kept three Christmases at this Castle; and we see from the above curious record, that his Queen Eleanor, exclusive of the young prince Edward, born at Carnarvon, was delivered of a princess here in 1283, shewing that his entire household must have been transferred into Wales, at the time his policy was directed to the complete annexation of that ancient kindom to his own. Subsequently to this, there is no event connected with the fate of this Castle, until its final demolition as a fortress, of any material importance. The walls, at present, inclose an irregular square, with the appearance of galleries and apartments all round; the north side is most shattered, the other are three pretty entire.* Major Ingoldsby in the last age (16–1700) is reported to have sold the timbers. General Mytton took it from the king, who had planted a garrison there in July, 1646. To the south a hill, or mound, called Tuthill, is shewn, from whence it is said that it was then battered; but this is a much more ancient fortification. Among other traditions respecting this Castle, it is expressly said on his epitaph at Chester, that Robert de Rothelan built it, and long possessed it, "Firmiter indigenis oppositum rabidis."

A gable end of a building is shewn, in which it is supposed Edward held his parliament or council, on passing the famous statute of Rhuddlan, with an inscription in front, stating the event, which was placed there by the late Dean of St. Asaph.

The present new and commodious bridge was preceded by an old structure of two arches, which, according to Pennant, was rebuilt or repaired in 1595, that date being on the battlement, with the arms of St. Asaph, and the initials of William Hughes, the bishop of the diocese at that time; but it is evident from the roll here exhibited, that a much more ancient one had existed, even in the time of Edward I. of which that able and accurate observer had seen no record.

He states that no constables had been appointed to this Castle, since the time of Cromwell above mentioned.

* Grose.

The number of men drafted from this, and other garrisons, in the time of Edward III. in aid of his foreign wars, will be stated hereafter. It was, with all the other Welsh Castles, finally dismantled in 1647; and since that time has continued to moulder into ruin and decay, an interesting monument of the policy and regal magnificence of other times.

Of the Queen's chariot, mentioned in the foregoing roll of expenses at this Castle, it is difficult to form any precise conjecture, knowing that no such vehicles were in common use in England for some centuries after; we may therefore presume, that it is either a fancy of the translator, in giving it the dignified name of Chariot, or that it must have been of such rude materials as to have little claim to that distinction. In "Beckman's History of Inventions," Vol. I. p. 124. we find that "the oldest carriages used by the ladies in England, were under the now forgotten name of Whirlicotes. When Richard II. towards the end of the fourteenth century, was obliged to fly before his rebellious subjects, he and all his followers were on horseback, his mother only, who was indisposed, riding in a carriage." Afterwards the same author says, "Coaches were first known in England about the year 1580; and as Stow says, were introduced from Germany, by Fitzallan, Earl of Arundel." Pennant mentions, that Queen Eleanor rode on horsback to Carnarvon, whither she was sent suddenly away, to fulfil the object of Edward's policy, in proposing a native prince to the Welsh; and it is well known that, for many years after, there was no road towards Carnarvon, after passing Conway, over which a carriage of any kind could travel.

5. Diserth Castle.

Diserth Castle, a short distance from Rhuddlan, stood on a high rock, and its remains at this day baffle any attempt to ascribe the original building to any particular age, or style of architecture. It went by the names of Dencolyn, Castell y Flailon, and Castell Gerri. We may reasonably conjecture, that its origin may have been Welsh, as Rhuddlan was, to which it might form, on that side, a barrier out post; as it afterwards became the last of the chain of British posts on the Clwydian hills. Henry III. in 1241 fortified it, but its improved state was no more than transitory; for in 1261, Llewelyn ap Gruffydd took and demolished both this and the Castle of Diganwy, as already related. At the siege of this Castle, Einon, the son of Ririd Vlaidd, was slain, and a cross was erected on the spot, with the shaft curiously sculptured, which is supposed to form the present style into the churchyard of Diserth.

Warrington, page 449, says, alluding to the efforts of Prince Edward as heir to the crown, against Wales, that on his arrival in England, anno 1263, he lost no time in marching, by his father Henry's desire, against Llewelyn, which was highly necessary, to

check his career, having, besides the ravages he had committed on the territories of England, also taken the Castle of Diserth, and the fortress of Gannock, both of which were immediately demolished.

6. Gannock Castle.

The Fortress of Gannock occupied the summit of the rock, whose sides being *escarpe*, or very steep, the access was made extremely difficult on one part; lower down from the summit was a square outwork, with fosses, cut in part with great labour through the solid lime stone. The fragments now remaining shew that its ruin was not effected by time, but by violence, and probably by mining; the usual practice in the age, in which this fortress was overthrown.

A short distance to the south of this Castle stands a ruinous building, called Siamber Wen, the ancient seat of a Sir Robert Pounderling, who was once the Constable of the adjacent Castle, and a gallant Englishman; but in a tournament he had one of his eyes knocked out by a Welsh gentleman, who in a second pastime of that description, at the English Court, would have willingly repeated the favour, but the Englishman prudently declined the trial.*

To the south of this ancient Castle, on a very steep and rocky hill of a conical form, stands an ancient British post, called Moel Hiraddug, forming the next in the chain of fortresses before alluded to. It is however entirely razed, and the only fragments now remaining consist of an immense heap or agger of stones, from whence nothing in the shape of conjecture can be offered of the original structure; and published records are equally destitute of materials for that purpose.

7. Prestatyn Castle.

Prestatyn, situate about two miles from Talacre, the seat of Sir Edward Mostyn, presents the next of the ancient fortresses, which the warlike habits of our ancestors, in those remote ages, raised either for defence, or the occupation of this hotly disputed territory. A little below Prestatyn Mill, in a meadow, is the site of this Castle, having at this day however nothing more than an elevated mound, with foundations of stone and mortar, and the evident marks of a deep fosse surrounding them. This small fortress, if by that name it can be called, was also probably first raised by the Welsh, but subsequently wrested from them by the English, who

* Pennant.

had possession of it in 1167, when it was retaken and destroyed by Owen Gwynedd, Cadwalader his brother, and Rees, prince of South Wales, and all Tegengl was restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign.

The hill in this direction, called Copa Lini, has on its summit an enormous carnedd, or tumulus, formed of lime stone, which might in ancient times have been some military signal post, or point of defence. Pennant says, "The tract from hence to Caerwys was certainly a field of battle, no place in North Wales exhibiting an equal quantity of tumuli, but which are mostly sepulchral, as proved by the urns found in many of them." He adds, that it can be no hazardous conjecture to suppose, that in this place the slaughter of the Ordovices by Agricola took place, when our gallant nation was nearly extirpated; part of the hill is called Bryn y Saethau, or the Hill of Arrows, being the station of the archers in the engagement; but this could not have been a Roman battle, which this able writer doubtless forgot. It must we think have been fought after the Norman Conquest, as archery in England was only known subsequent to that event.

8. Basingwerk Castle.

Basingwerk Castle, and Abbey, form the next objects of our attention; the former of which became, at different times, a station of much importance in the contests for the possession of this country, between the English and Welsh. The land, marking its situation on the banks of the Dee, is steeply sloped; the west side was bounded by a deep ravine, formed by the river from Winifred's Well, and the south east by a vast ditch, which was formerly supposed to be a part of Offa's dike (King of the Mercians,) but since more authentically ascertained to be of a similar stupendous work, called by the name of Wat's dike, and intended as a barrier between the two territories. From these advantages, it must have been peculiarly well chosen for a frontier fortress in those turbulent times; and also for a religious institution, the situation under such circumstances being equally favourable for both purposes.

Vestiges of this fortress still remain, in the foundation of a wall on the declivity of Wat's dike, on the road side, near the turnpike gate, opposite the ruins. Lyttleton, in his History of Henry II. Vol. II. page 383, says that it was built by an Earl of Chester, and that the Abbey founded before that time was fortified; for even religious institutions had in cases of necessity no exemption. "Tempore necessitatis belli, licitum est hospitari et incastellari ecclesia."

Quoting the authority of Bradshaw's Life of St. Werburgh, Pennant says, that Richard I. began his reign by an act of piety, in a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well; but being attacked by the Welsh, he took refuge in Basingwerk Abbey; proving, if this be true, that the religious establishment commenced before the mili-

tary one. He also adds, from Lyttleton's authority, that the Castle was demolished by the Welsh in the reign of Stephen. But Stephen's reign having commenced before that of Richard, we are forced to doubt at least one of these authorities, and we think that of Bradshaw the most questionable.

After the escape of Henry II. from the defeat and ambuscade at Eulo, in 1157, his first care, as already stated, was to restore this Castle to a competent state of defence, by causing it to be well fortified and manned, along with that of Flint, which was newly built, to secure a retreat in case of any future disaster; he having done the same by Rhuddlan. In his time, the upper part of this country was so entirely overrun with wood, as to be altogether unfit for regular military movements; after the above defeat, therefore, he never trusted to the woods, but made his marches along the open country.

The romantic spirit of the age, and the favour with which military achievements were regarded, having introduced from the east, in the preceding reign, the order of Knights Templars, Henry, wishing to strike terror into the Welsh by every means in his power, added the establishment of this order to his other expedients; and built at Basingwerk a house for their reception, which was so convenient to the shrine and well of St. Winifred, as to afford ample protection to the devotees who flocked there, to perform their vows, and other ceremonies common to the Romish superstition. Pennant says, "This order was allowed only one house for every two knights; yet so greatly did they flourish, that in 1240, one hundred and fifty years after their institution, they had acquired, in different parts of Christendom, nineteen hundred manors;" to which fact might be added many others equally authentic, shewing the wonderful power of this order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

We have already stated, when treating of Rhuddlan, that this Castle had fallen, with that fortress, under the power of Owen Gwynedd, in 1165; and that prince, sensible of its great importance to the English, as a military station on the shore, immediately levelled it to the ground, and entirely demolished it, anno 1166.* And we do not find from any authentic record, that it was afterwards restored, in the same character, although the religious institution, established here, continued to flourish long after, and was of great repute. It will be recollected that this fortress, and Rhuddlan also, had been conferred by Henry on Hugh de Bello Campo, or Beauchamp, an English Baron of great gallantry, but of short lived power in the possession of his Welsh honours.

The remains which still exist of the Abbey and Monastery of Basingwerk, together with the Chapel of the Knights Templars, would occupy a large share of our attention, if it were necessary to digress into that discussion; but as Pennant is sufficiently copious upon this question to gratify our curiosity for such enquiry, we decline further comment either upon this, or the Well of St. Winifred, which form interesting objects of superstitious veneration.

* Warrington.

9. Holywell Castle.

Above the Church of Holywell, is a hill called Brynycastell, of narrow and very steep approach on either side, and projecting at the base towards the valley immediately contiguous. On this mount, probably, stood the ancient Castle of Trefynnon, or of St. Winifred before mentioned; which was built, according to Pennant, by Randal, third Earl of Chester, in the year 1210, for the protection of pilgrims repairing to the Well to exercise their religious devotions. At present, however, there are no vestiges of this building remaining for the inspection of the curious, or the gratification of the antiquary; and we may naturally conclude that it formed a link in the chain of military posts raised by the British to further their objects, either in the occupation or the conquest of this country, being so immediately contiguous to the border.

In 1209, contrary to the authority of Pennant, Warrington (p. 359) states, "that the Earl of Chester this year made an inroad into North Wales, which was attended with no other consequence than rebuilding the Castle of Diganwy on the Conway, lately demolished by Llewelyn. He likewise more strongly fortified the Castle of Trefynnon, or Holywell;" from which it would appear, that the foundation of this Castle must have been of earlier date than Pennant has represented it; and of its British origin there can, we think, be little doubt.

10. Flint Castle.

We now approach the important and somewhat celebrated fortress of Flint, which still retains a sufficient portion of its ancient grandeur to render it an object of much interest in the composition of this Essay; although a modern structure, of a different order, lately raised within its precincts, has materially lessened that effect.

The origin of this building, at it now stands, is generally attributed to Henry II. shortly after his first expedition to Wales, anno 1157, and no record, among the numerous volumes that we have consulted, refutes this presumption: Lyttleton's Life of that Monarch expressly states it; Camden is of the same opinion, and Pennant conditionally adopts that authority; and Warrington gives it every sanction, when he states, in recounting the preparations made by Henry for the invasion of Wales, (p. 313,) "that he encamped his forces on a marsh called Saltney, bordering on the Dee, and after his defeat at Eulo by David and Cynan, the two sons of Owen Gwynedd, he broke up his camp, and marched along the sea shore to the *town* of Flint," not the Castle, as he would have done, had such fortification then existed.

The situation was evidently well chosen for every object connected with Henry's policy; it was placed on the shore of a navigable river, at that time of great maritime importance, within a convenient distance of Chester, on one side, the grand depot of all his materials for war, and in communication, on the other side, with Rhuddlan, and the whole line of coast bounding the Principality; affording by these means facilities of intercourse with the other maritime fortresses, of the utmost consequence in furthering the prosecution of his objects; and although Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris Castles were raised by Edward at a much later period, yet we may naturally conclude, that being all maritime ports, they were in some sort fortified by the Welsh themselves before his time, and would therefore be objects of great attraction to Henry, in adding them to his other resources.

Pennant attributes the station at Flint, and we think justly, to Roman origin; he says, "The town is formed on the principle of a Roman encampment, being rectangular, and surrounded by a vast ditch, and two great ramparts, with four regular ports, as usual with that military nation;" which were all inducements with Henry for adopting it as the foundation of a military fortress, at a time when the invention of artillery was undiscovered, and the lowness of its situation was no impediment to its defence, either by land or water.

Still however we must agree with Pennant, to the extent of supposing that Henry could have only "begun a fortress here for security in future times," and that Edward I. afterwards finished it. Henry's avocations, in the pursiut of war and conquest, were too numerous and pressing on him at all times, to allow him much leisure for Castle building, (not using the word metaphorically;) and the rapidity with which he moved, in all his expeditions to Wales, affords every probability that he laid no more than the foundation of this fortress; which Edward afterwards completed, with so much more of architectural grandeur, than the times of Henry would be capable of attempting.

The Castle is placed on a low free stone rock, jutting into the river at this point of the shore, in a north east direction from the town; to which, however, it appears to have been originally joined by a draw bridge, that led to the outwork called the Barbican; which consisted of a square tower of the Norman style, with a gateway and portcullis, that are now entirely demolished.¶ Within there appears to have been a court, surrounded by a ditch faced with a wall, which was joined by another draw bridge to the main fortress; whose entrance, according to the principle of these structures already described, was little more than a postern gate, admitting only one individual at a time.

The Castle itself was a square building, having large round towers at three of the corners, and a fourth more removed and much larger than the rest, which was called the double tower, and was joined to the Castle by a draw bridge, and of great strength; it had a circular gallery beneath, vaulted by four arched openings, into a central

area more than twenty two feet in diameter; in one part the gallery was suddenly lowered, sloping towards the Castle; and afterwards rising upwards, had a communication with an upper gallery. The windows were all upon the upper floors, in strict conformity to the principle of having the state apartments sufficiently elevated from the ground, to prevent the annoyance of the missiles of war.

The place last described was the keep or strong hold, to which, according to Froissart, the unfortunate Richard II. retired in his extremity, when wishing to escape from Bolingbroke. There appeared some years ago, according to Pennant, whose description we principally adopt, ironings in the outside walls, to which shipping had been made fast.

Pennant adds, with his usual perspicuity of remark, that by the complaint of the men of Flint, in 1281, it is evident that Henry was only the founder of a small fortress on this spot, and that Edward greatly enlarged and strengthened it; they complained that the noblest and best of the country were injured, "for that the King builded the Castell of Flynt upon their ground, and the King commanded the justices to give the men as much, and as good ground, or the price; but they are spoiled of their lands, and have neither other lands nor monie."* The rolls of Edward's time mention the place several times.

In 1280 appears an order for the custody of the gate of Flint Castle; on which Pennant remarks, "This might have been the first year, in which it was garrisoned." It is plain however, from other records, that whether Edward was the founder or improver of this fortress, his attention to it must have preceded that of Rhuddlan Castle; having already shewn that his repair of the latter commenced in 1281, so that we rather infer from the whole of these facts, that Edward could have only completed what Henry had, more than a century before, commenced at the former place.

Notwithstanding Edward's vigilance, however, as well in erecting this fortress into a station of first rate importance, as in making the most formidable preparations for his new conquest, this Castle was suddenly surprized, and nearly wrested from his power, in 1281.† Pennant says the year before.

We have already stated; that in that year the Castle of Hawarden had fallen, from a sudden insurrection of the Welsh Princes, and the same cause produced the investment of this Castle; but we do not find that it had also fallen, although it was greatly distressed before Edward was able to relieve it; which he did, and also Rhuddlan, with all possible expedition.

In 1283, the town, together with that of Rhuddlan, received its first Charter, and both were jointly made free boroughs, appointing the Constables of the Castles, and the Mayors for the time being, mingling, for good reasons, the civil with the military power, in the constitution of the government. In the case of Rhuddlan, the town

* Powell, p. 361. † Warrington.

was to have power of imprisoning, except in such cases as affected the loss of life, or limb, when criminals of this nature were to be committed to the Castle. Burgesses only were permitted to bail, no Jews were to inhabit the town, and the burgesses had a forest and free warren. This Charter was given to Rhuddlan, by Edward, at Flint, September 8, in the twelfth year of his reign, and was confirmed by Richard II. at Leicester, and again at Westminster.

The Flint Charter, in most respects precisely similar, was also given by Edward on the eighth of September, and was confirmed again in the second and third years of Philip and Mary, and afterwards in the twelfth of William III.

In the same year, the burgesses also received from Edward a grant of timber out of the contiguous woods to smelt their lead ore, and of pasturage for their cattle.

In 1290,* there is an order from Edward for superintending the works of this Castle, and those of Rhuddlan and Chester; shewing the great estimation in which he held them, as first rate military garrisons for retaining possession of his newly conquered dominions.

In the foregoing observations respecting this Castle, we are largely indebted to historical information collected from Pennant, Warrington, Powell, Welsh Chronicles, &c.; we shall now add some further particulars from other sources.

Flint Castle, says Camden, was begun by Henry II. and finished by Edward I.; but Fabian and Stow attribute the building to Edward only; in which, as already stated, that eminent antiquary, Daines Barrington, would willingly coincide; yet we think that the origin may still be more justly connected with the time of Henry, if not a still earlier date; for entertaining which inference, we have before given strong reasons. Both the above writers state that Edward strengthened Rhuddlan Castle, shewing that they distinguished between building and repairing.

Here Edward II., that weak and unfortunate prince, received his minion, Piers Gaveston, from Ireland, whither he had been banished at the instigation of his barons. Gaveston, having landed at Carnarvon, was received here with joy by the king, and entertained for some time; this took place in 1308;† and on July 1st, 1312, this unhappy favorite expiated all his crimes, whatever they might have been, by a public execution at Warwick Castle, without regard either to law, or military capitulation. Pennant places the above event of Gaveston's return from Ireland in 1311, but we adopt Hume's version as more authentic.

The next event of historical interest, respecting this fortress, occurs in 1335, the ninth year of Edward III. when the Black Prince, as Earl of Chester, was ordered, by a mandate from the king, to take the safe custody of the Castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, and to furnish them with men and provisions. Edward, in his seventh year, had by Charter granted to his gallant son the Castles of Chester, Beeston,

* Pennant. † Hume, Vol. II. p. 332.

Rhuddlan, and Flint, and all his lands there, to him and his heirs, kings of England. The above order must have been however, we presume, to recruit and replenish these Castles with men and provisions, and we know that long after they were kept strongly garrisoned for the king's use.

Anno 1385, Richard II. gave this Castle to Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, and also lands belonging to Lord Audley, valued at 100 marks per annum; besides which, he created him Earl of Dublin, and Lord Chief Justice of Chester.

"This Castell, anno 1399," Hall observes, "may be justly called a dolorous Castell to Richard II. because there he descended from his dignity, and lost the type of his glory, and pre-eminence."

The circumstances, as related by Stow at length, are very curious. Immediately preceding his capture at Flint, "King Richard, who was then in Ireland, hearing of the landing of the Duke of Lancaster, at Ravenspur, sailed for England, and landed at Milford Haven; from whence, at midnight, privately and disguised as a priest, and attended by only three persons, he repaired to Conway Castle, expecting to find a large army there assembled under the Earl of Salisbury; from thence he sent to the Duke of Lancaster, to know the meaning of his appearing in arms; but learning that, during his absence, the army he had left at Milford had been disbanded, he fled to Beaumaris. In the mean time, the Duke had secured the Castle of Chester, and also that of Beeston, in which was a large sum of money; but fearing the king might escape by sea, he sent the Duke of Northumberland to inform him, that all he wanted was a parliament, whereat justice might be done on those who had put his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, to death; which parliament might be appointed when and where the king chose. Richard pretended to accept this proposal, and set forward on his way to London, secretly intending to escape, and raise forces to oppose him; but the Earl of Northumberland had taken measures for preventing any such attempt, having before seized both Rhuddlan and Flint Castles, and under a rock [Penmaen Rhos] near the former, laid an ambush for that purpose."

Stow proceeds to say, (p. 322,) "The Earl of Northumberland swore upon the host, that he should not betray the King. The Earl posted the King forward from Conway on horseback, but the King prayed the Earl to go before and prepare dinner at Rutland [Rhuddlan.] The Earl rode apace, until he came where he might see his people under the mountain, whom he praised for having obeyed his orders. The King passing the water, rode some miles before he came to the rock, where when he saw the ambushers he was sore afraid, knowing well that he was betrayed by the Earl; for he was in a place where he could not escape; the sea beating on the one side, and the rock keeping him in on the other; and if he fled back, they would have caught him ere he could reach Conway, for he had not more than twenty three in all his company. When the King descended the rock, the Earl came, and kneeling down, excused the matter, saying he had caused these people to come to

guard his person; but the King told him, fewer would have served, and that it was contrary to his oath, for he had promised to have but five in his company; and said therefore that he would go back to Conway; but the Earl answered, that now sith he had him, he would leave him to the Duke of Lancaster, as he had promised ten days since; and so he caused bread and wine to be brought, and offered the King, who durst not refuse it; and after leaping on horseback, they rode to Rutland [Rhuddlan] to dinner, and after to Flint, where they lay that night. The morrow, being 22 day of August, the King got him to the Castle walls, when he beheld the Duke with all his host coming by the sands; there came before that, they were parted from the army, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Perry, and the Earl of Rutland, from whom the Duke had taken the office of Constable, more for a colour than displeasure. The Archbishop came first, and after him the others, with a great train; they went up to the dungeon, and then the King came down from the walls, unto whom they did reverence lowly on their knees; the King took them up, and drew the Archbishop apart, and they two talked long together, but the Earl of Rutland kept him aloof; they took horse again, and rode towards the Duke, that now was approaching near.

The King went up again to the walls, lamenting sore, when he saw the Duke's host within two bowshots of the Castle, compassing it round about, down to the sea. The Earl of Northumberland went down to the Duke, who, after long talk, concluded the Duke should not enter the Castle until the King had dined, for he was fasting. So the Earl returned, and the King went to dinner, with whom were his assured friends, the Earl of Salusbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and Sir Stephen Scrope; they sat long, and eat little, for they had no haste to rise.

After dinner, the Duke entered the Castle all armed, his basanet excepted. King Richard came down to meet the Duke, who, so soon as he saw the King, fell down on his knees; and coming near unto him, he kneeled the second time, with his hat in his hand; and the King then put off his hood, and spoke first, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, ye are right welcome.' The Duke, bowing low to the ground, answered, 'My Lord, I am come before you sent for me; the reason why I will shew you; the common fame among your people is such, that ye have for the space of twenty or thirty years ruled them very rigorously; but if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern better.' The King answered, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, if it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well.'

The Duke spoke as ye have heard to the king; he spoke also to the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scrope, and to Foribe; but to the Earl of Salusbury he spoke not, whereby the Earl saw that the Duke hated him deadly.

The Duke with a high sharp voice badde, 'Bring forth the king's horses;' and then two little nagges, not worth forty franks, were brought; the king was set on the one, and the Earl of Salusbury on the other; and then the Duke brought the king from Flint to

Chester, where he was delivered to the Duke of Gloucester's son, and the Earl of Arundel's son, that loved him but little, (for he had sent their fathers to death,) who led him straight to the Castle.

The third day they went from Chester to Nantwich, and the next day to Newcastle, and there the Earl of Warwick's son met them; and so journeying forth, the next day they came to Stafford; and after that they departed to Litchfield, where the king thought to have escaped, by slipping down into a garden from the window of a great tower; but he was espied, and thrust into the garden again. From Litchfield, the Duke went to Coventry; but before they could come thither, the Welshmen did them much harm, and slew many of them; and the Englishmen, when they by great chance could take any of the Welshmen, led them to their horses' tails, and drew them after them through ways full of stones, and caused them to die miserably."

Froissart's account of this very curious historical fact, which we have carefully consulted, is not so circumstantial as Stow's, although it adds a few particulars worthy of recording, and especially the popular, though probably superstitious, story respecting the king's greyhound.

"The king," he states, "on rising from the table after eating but little, on the morning of his capture, observing the troops in great numbers, and asking who they were, was told they were mostly Londoners; he then asked what they wanted; They want you, said the Earl, to carry you to the Tower of London, for nothing less will satisfy them; which frightened the king still more, and he wished to avoid going; but the Earl was obdurate, saying there was no other way to prevent greater trouble to the king, and therefore he must submit to be conducted prisoner to the Tower of London; on which the king surrendered himself up to the Earl's hands.

The Earl now issued a strong proclamation, forbidding any to touch any thing in the Castle, or lay hands on any servants, or attendants on the king, on pain of being instantly hanged; which was strictly obeyed."

Froissart adds, "I heard a strange circumstance on this occasion, which I cannot omit mentioning. King Richard had a dog called Mach, beautiful beyond measure, which would not notice or follow any but the king. When he rode abroad, the dog was loosed, and ran instantly to caress him, by placing his fore feet on his shoulders. It fell out, that as the king and the Duke were conversing in the court of the Castle, their horses being ready to mount, this greyhound was untied; but instead of running as usual to the king, he left him, and leaped on the Duke of Lancaster's shoulders, paying him all court, and caressing him, as he was formerly wont to do to the king. The Duke not knowing the dog, asked the king; and he answered, 'Cousin, it means a great deal for you, and very little for me. How so? returned the Duke; the king said, I understand that this greyhound fondles and pays his court to you this day as king of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed, for the natural instinct of the dog shews it to him; keep him, there-

fore, by your side, for he will leave me, and follow you. The Duke accepted the offer, taking care of the dog, who would never more follow the king; all of which was witnessed by 30,000 men."

The Museum MS. calls this dog, Blemach mine mach. The greyhound seems to have been a favorite prognosticator of future events, in those times; for when the armies of the two rivals, John of Mountford and Charles de Blois, were on the point of engaging, the Lord Charles's greyhound left him, and caressed John of Mountford, who gained the battle.

In the insurrection of Owain Glyndwr, though it produced calamitous consequences for some time to the Principality, we find no incident worthy of note, as connected with this narrative, recorded in the annals of those times; many of our countrymen, it is true, were induced, from ancient recollections, and that natural love of freedom which always distinguished their character, to join the standard of their native Prince; but although the valour and military genius of this chieftain had probably never been exceeded by the most celebrated of his countrymen, yet after their submission to the rule of England for more than a hundred and twenty years, during which her influence was gradually gaining an accession of strength and power in the Principality, his hope at any time of eventual success, in that project of his ambition, had more the character of a romantic enterprise, than of a rational or well grounded expectation.

He was born, according to one account, in 1349, and to another, in 1354, and had arrived at the meridian of his glory in 1402. He followed the fortunes of Richard II. to the period of that king's capture in Flint Castle, just related; where he was actually with him at the crisis of his fate, forming a part of his suite, and permitted, as it would seem, to depart; he retired to his estates in Merionethshire, called Glyndwrdwy, or the valley of the Dee, taking with him a deep impression of his sovereign's wrongs, the probable source of all that glory, which he subsequently won for his own character, and all the misery which its consequences inflicted upon his country. He appeared first in arms in 1400, in which year he sacked and burnt Ruthin; afterwards, in 1402, he burnt also the Cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph, and with the latter, the episcopal palace and the Canons' houses; and although we have every right to suppose the Castle of Rhuddlan was at this time garrisoned, we find no attempt made either by the garrison to defeat his purpose, nor by him to gain possession of this fortress.

In 1403, Pennant says, "Nothing was done in this year by Henry IV. in checking Glyndwr, but that of securing the Welsh Castles by the appointment of Governors, enumerating no less than seventeen; but none of those of the marches, or of Carnarvonshire are included."

Anno 1406, according to the same respectable authority, we find, that notwithstanding the ostentation of regal power assumed by Owain, his affairs evidently declined; the governors placed in the most important fortresses in North Wales, had kept the maritime parts from rising in any number in his favour; although in the

Island of Anglesea, he had many friends, who afterwards suffered heavily for their defection.

In 1415, this last of the race of native Princes, who clung with heroic ardour to the independence of their country, departed this life; and what is remarkable in the fate of his ancestry, died a natural death; but not until he was worn down, with all the mortifications incident to defeat and disappointment.

The men of Flintshire, it would appear, partook in some degree of the rebellious spirit of these turbulent times, for we find that in 1410, Prince Henry gave a free pardon to certain of his tenants in Flint, for the share they had in Glyndwr's rebellion; we find however that the town of Flint, probably influenced by the garrison in the Castle, entertained a more loyal spirit towards the King; for Howel Gwynedd, descended from Edwin, Lord of Tegengl, who sided with Owain, was in one of the preceding years surprised by his enemies from the town of Flint; he probably was posted within the trenches of Moel y Gaer in the parish of Northop, on which he was instantly beheaded.

From this period, there are no published records to furnish any authentic or interesting memorials of this fortress, in common with the rest, until the convulsion and subsequent revolution in the time of Charles I. when the partisans of each power, struggling for dominion, divided the suffrages of the people, and produced a civil war.

To the credit of this country, it took an active part on the side of royalty, and in every instance the governors of these ancient fortresses displayed the utmost fidelity to their king. Flint Castle was garrisoned for the royal cause, after it was repaired at the sole expense of Sir Roger Mostyn, Knight, who was appointed governor; a fact, whence we may infer that during the long interval of time, which had transpired from the insurrection of Glyndwr, the peaceful state of the Principality had caused so much neglect of these Castles, as to produce a considerable degree of dilapidation, and consequent necessity for repair; without which they could not probably have been tenable against any formidable enemy, especially when we recollect that during that interval, the use of artillery had become familiar in the practice of war.

In 1643, it was closely besieged by Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Myddleton, and was defended by the governor, until all the provision was expended, and even horse flesh made food of, when the garrison was reduced to the necessity of surrendering, but upon honourable terms.

"This Colonel Mostyn," says Whitelock, "is my sister's son, a gentleman of good parts, and mettle, of a very ancient family; he had large possessions and great interest in that country, so that in twelve hours he raised 1500 men for the king."

Pennant adds that for his loyalty on this occasion, he suffered a long imprisonment in Conway Castle; and towards the conclusion of the war his circumstances were so much reduced, that he was obliged to leave his family seat, and live several years in an ordinary farm house.

Notwithstanding these events, it appears that this Castle soon afterwards fell into the hands of the loyalists; for in the year 1646, according to Whitelock, the garrison seemed inclined to treat for a surrender. In November of the year before, it had been recovered; and the garrison of Beeston Castle, which after a very obstinate defence, had capitulated, was allowed to march with all the honours of war to Flint; but on the twenty ninth of August, the latter was surrendered to General Mytton; and in 1647, it was with the other Welsh Castles then garrisoned, ordered by the House of Commons to be dismantled, and demolished, which order was strictly obeyed; and this may be said to terminate the historical narrative of these interesting monuments of ancient warfare.

Their fate likewise offers a curious contrast with their former history; they had always been objects of contention, or of ambition, with the rival Princes on either side, whose legitimate claims to wage a war of political strife, none could question. With Henry II. they were especially regarded as indispensable to the prosecution of his objects on the Principality; and while he anxiously employed himself in demolishing the Castles of his Barons in England; he was more than equally anxious to raise and re-edify those of the Principality, which were most conducive to his purpose. Edward likewise pursued the same policy, and on completing his conquest, added to the number, and greatly increased the strength of these fortresses; marking in a peculiar manner the force of his own conviction of their importance, by making one of them so long the place of his family residence. Yet no sooner did the revolutionary government, on the usurpation of Cromwell, gain full possession of these fortresses, than they ordered them to be dismantled, and demolished; holding probably that it was not only inconsistent with the security of their own power, but incompatible with the spirit of their government, that such monuments of feudal tyranny and ambition should be allowed any longer to exist.

On the Restoration, this Castle was resumed by the crown as a royal appendage, and nominally governed as before, by a Constable, who is also by Charter, Mayor of Flint. The town, in conjunction with Rhuddlan, Caerwys, Caergwrley, and Overton, returns one member to Parliament; the Election is in the inhabitants paying local taxes, and the return made by the two Bailiffs of Flint, appointed by the Mayor. The Welsh Boroughs and Counties received the privilege of sending members to Parliament, in the twenty seventh of Henry VIII.; the town with the county was an appendage of the Earldom of Chester.

II. Castle y Gaer.

Though not strictly within our subject, probably we must not omit noticing next, a strong British post situated above the road towards Chester, about two miles to the right, after passing Llys Edwin; it is on the summit of a hill,* surrounded by a fosse and

* Pennant.

dike, of a circular form, with the usual entrance to such places; having also a small artificial mount within the precinct, which was probably a Tribunal Cespitilium, from whence ancient chieftains animated their followers, by passionate declamation. The post is called Moel y Gaer, or the hill of the fortress, a name however common to several others of similar use, in these times, when any kind of artificial defence might be magnified into a fortress; and from its situation it would seem to have been an out post of the Ordovices* to defend the country against the Romans; for in such places they lodged their wives, and children, and their cattle, their only wealth in these times; and also were collected their forces, ready to sally forth, and repel the foe, or to defend all that was dear to them, if attacked in their intrenchments.

"This camp," says Camden, "is about 160 paces diameter, like a round hill, with the top cut off;" the vallum is of earth. and almost opposite the entrance is a tumulus, to which Pennant gives a designation. It was probably one of the chain of posts, on the Clwydian hills, when the Ordovices disputed their country, with the Romans, inch by inch; here it was that Howel Gwynedd, of the tribe of Edwin ap Gronw, who sided with Owain Glyndwr against Henry IV. was beheaded.

12. Eulo Castle.

We next approach Eulo Castle, already noticed as a place of much celebrity in the early warfare of Henry II. against the Principality. Camden also says, "By the road side are the ruins of Eulo Castle, a small double fortress with a square area, and two round towers, in the adjoining woods, still called Coed Eulo." At this place Henry II. received a severe repulse, which was followed by another at Coleshill; from which last he retreated to a secure station, probably now called Gadwys. On this road is Moel y Gaer, above described, to which belongs a fortification of the same name near Bodvari.

Eulo Castle is situated between the eighth and ninth mile stone and a quarter of a mile off the Chester road, placed on the edge of a deep wooded ravine. It appears to have been a small fortress, consisting of two parts, an oblong tower rounded at the sides, and guarded at the accessible places by a strong wall at some distance from it; and an oblong yard, with the remains of a circular tower at its extremity, forms the other part; these towers are now overgrown with ivy, and commanding a view of three wooded glens, form a very romantic solitude.

We have already related circumstantially the surprise and defeat of King Henry's detachment in the wood near this Castle; the attack, says Pennant, was sudden, fierce, and unexpected, the slaughter dreadful, and the pursuit came down even to Henry's encampment;

* Pennant.

a second, and even a third defeat followed, from an over anxiety on his part to repair the first disaster; and his own valour alone saved his army and himself from utter ruin. On the last of these defeats, it is related by different authors, that Henry of Essex, who bore the king's standard, and was previously of approved valour, threw it hastily away in the midst of the fight, exclaiming that the king was slain; which so dispirited the troops that a general flight had nearly followed, if the king himself had not valiantly rallied his forces, and repulsed the Welsh.

For this dishonourable deed, Essex was afterwards challenged to single combat by Robert de Montford, and the trial admitted by order of the king, when the former was overcome; but the king in mitigation of his offence, saved his life, on condition that he should become a shorn monk, and enter the Abbey of Reading.

Bryn Dychwelwch, or the eminence on which Owain pronounced the order to retreat, by its name preserves accurately the memory of this remarkable circumstance; it lies over Pentre Bagilt, below Gadlys, and is supposed to be the spot, from which he retired to Cil Owain.

Pennant, who is so fond of relating traditional tales, states a curious fact respecting the race of wolves in connexion with this battle, and their supposed extirpation by Edgar. "A young Welshman killed in this battle, was found eight days after, with his faithful dog watching the corpse, and defending it from the birds of prey and wolves."

Having examined published records likely to contain authentic, or indeed other memorials, of this Castle, we are constrained to conclude, with Pennant, that its founder is unknown, and we are left to probable conjecture as the only resource on the subject, unless there be manuscript authorities, to which we have not had access. He seems to doubt whether it may have been raised originally by the Welsh themselves, naturally attracted by the favourable situation of the ground; or if not then by Henry II. in order to prevent a similar disaster, on any future occasion, either to himself or his successors. Its great antiquity is unquestionable, and this throws greater obscurity over its origin; even in the time of Leland, more than two centuries ago, it was nothing but a heap of ruins; Leland at this time, whom we have already quoted, speaks of it as a ruinous castelet or pile, "belonging to Hoole, a gentleman of Flintshire, dwelling at Penrine." To which Pennant adds, that he knoweth of no such place in the country, but he suspects the gentleman to be Thomas ap Richard ap Howel, Lord of Mostyn, to whose family the privilege of keeping the bagge of the silver harp was long granted, this gentleman being also contemporary with Leland.

13. Hawarden Castle.

The important Castle of Hawarden, to which we have on some occasions already adverted, next commands our notice, and having

consulted various authorities on its origin and history, we are constrained, for the greater part, to adopt Pennant's as the most copious, and in all probability the most authentic.

The Castle, in his time, formed a majestic and picturesque object, soaring above the woods; it bore, and still in popular estimation bears two names, Pennard Halawg, or the head land above the sea lake, Saltney, and the other adjacent marshes, having once been covered by the sea, the other name is Saxon, as we find it written in doomsday book, Haordine, at which time it was a Lordship, had a church, two carucæ or plough lands, half of one belonging to the latter, half an acre of meadow, a wood two leagues long, and half a league broad, the whole valued at forty shillings, yet on all this there were no more than six boors, and four slaves, so low was the state of population at that time.

From its very favourable situation on the frontier, it must have been an object of attention, for either offence or defence, in the earliest period of our history. It is probable that it was first occupied as a British post, opposed to the Cornavii, and to the invasion of the Romans. To the west of the church, in a field adjoining the road, is a mount called Traman's Hill, within a piece of ground, which appears to have been squared and carefully sloped; evidently shewing that it has been in other times a small camp, but now much obliterated by the peaceful occupations of agriculture; standing on the brow of the hill, it commanded a view of the entire country. There is another mount, called Conna's Tle, somewhat of a military form, to be seen near Broad lane House. The Roft, as it is called, an eminence with fosses and an exploratory mount, lying in the Parish of Gresford, was another; and at Caerestyn, was a fourth.

It is well known that the Saxons were anxious to possess themselves of every strong hold, which the Britons or the Romans had deserted; retaining some or destroying others, as their policy happened to dictate; this place before the conquest was a chief manor, and the most important of the hundred of Atiscross. On the invasion of the Norman Conqueror it was in the possession of the heroic Edwin, and in all likelihood, one of the places of his residence; on the conquest, however, it was included in the vast transfer of territory made to Hugh Lupus; but after this, it devolved to the Barons of Montalto, or Mold, who held it by stewardship of the Earls of Chester, and made it their residence.

Pennant denies the story of Roger Fitzvalerine, one of the Norman blood, who following the fortunes of William, possessed this Castle, and after saving himself by retreating into it, when hard pressed by our countrymen, thence called it Haward's den; he admits however, that William the son of Fitzvalerine might have received the addition to his name of De Haward or Howard, from the accident of being born in this place.

On the extinction of the ancient Earls of Chester, says Pennant, to prevent that honour from being parcelled out among distaffs, this and the other fortresses, (not naming them,) were resumed by the Crown. In 1264, Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, had a conference at

this place with Simon de Mountford, the potent Earl of Leicester; when a treaty of peace between Cheshire and Wales was concluded; and in the following year, June 22, Mountford compelled his captive monarch to make an absolute cession to the Welsh, not only of this fortress, but of the sovereignty of Wales, and the homage of its barons before paid to Henry. After the suppression of Leicester's rebellion, Hawarden relapsed to the crown, and Pennant adds, that in the pacification brought about by the Pope's legate Ottoboni, between Henry and Llewelyn, it seems as if the Castle had been destroyed; for among other conditions, Llewelyn agrees to restore to Robert de Montalto, his lands in Hawarden, and restrains him from building a Castle there for thirty years; yet it may have been destroyed by Llewelyn himself, seeing the impossibility of preserving in his own power a Fortress of so much importance so near the English borders; be this however as it may, the Castle was soon rebuilt, for in 1280, when Edward the I. was actively engaged in preparing for the conquest of the country, it was called Castrum Regis.

At this time it will be recollected, the Welsh had made their last great effort, if we except Glyndwr's revolt, to preserve the independence of their country, and for that purpose, David the brother of Llewelyn, having been previously reconciled to him, and joined his forces, commenced the conflict, by an attack upon this Castle, in which the laws of war were grievously violated, by the massacre of the garrison, and the death of Roger de Clifford, the Justiciary of Chester. We have already related the sanguinary spirit in which David was afterwards punished as a traitor for this, and other crimes by Edward, after his objects of conquest were successfully accomplished, and if any abstract consideratiou could justify the severity of this retribution on David, it might be found in the imperfections of his character, which is represented as most unamiable and equally perfidious to his brother Llewelyn, his country, and to Edward himself, his benefactor, and protector.*

Indeed, exclusive of all the personal vices which marked the character of David, his conduct towards Edward, on public grounds, seemed to justify every measure of revenge short of absolute cruelty, which the latter chose to exercise against him; and with such foes as he had to encounter, his policy on this occasion, though stained by great barbarity, may be regarded more as an act of national justice than of private or personal revenge.

We have already given the particulars of David's trial and execution, so intimately connected with the history of this Castle, and after these events, we find nothing of material interest respecting it, until the time of Edward III. anno 1329, when Robert, the last baron of Montalt failing issue, this manor, and other great possessions passed to Isabel, the Queen's mother, but on her disgrace, it returned again to the crown.

In the year 1337, the stewardship of Chester, together with Hawarden, was granted by the King to William Montacute, Earl of

* Pennant, Vol. I. p. 95.

Salisbury, but Isabel, the Queen's mother, retaining a life interest in the grant, it was purchased from her, for the sum of 600 marks, and continued in his family until the death of the great nephew, John, Earl of Salisbury, who was beheaded by the people of Cirencester; after failing in an insurrection (1400) in favour of Richard II. his deposed master, who had been taken prisoner at Flint.

In this year, (1411) it passed by patent from Henry IV. to his second son, Thomas, Duke of Clarence; but in 1414, the second of Henry V. Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, son to John, appealed to Parliament for annulling the former sentence, but his suit was referred to another Parliament, and then dismissed. Henry then made Clarence another grant, in which the former was confirmed; and in this latter the advowson of the living of Hawarden was also included.

The Duke of Clarence fell at the battle of Baugy, in 1420, and died without issue; on which Hawarden returned to Henry V. and from him to his son, Henry VI. who in 1443 granted it to Sir Thomas Stanley, comptroller of his household, and to his heirs male; but in 1450 it was resumed, and in the next year granted, together with Mold, to Edward, Prince of Wales, on which occasion, John Hertcomb claimed Hawarden, as heir to the last survivor of the four Feoffees, on the allegation that John, Earl of Salisbury, was not rightfully possessed of Hawarden at the time of his forfeiture; and this plea proving eventually good, restitution was made in conformity thereof. Hertcomb afterwards levied a fine to Sir Richard Strangeway, Knight, and to John Needham, and his heirs.

In 1454 a fine was levied to Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and to Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, afterwards Lord Stanley, on certain conditions therein recited, and on his death, the fee descended to his son, Thomas, afterwards Earl of Derby, and after his decease to his second wife Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry VIII.

This Monarch in 1495 honoured Hawarden Castle with a visit, on the pretext of stag hunting, but his real motive was to soothe the Earl of Derby, her husband, after the ungrateful execution of his brother, Sir William Stanley.

On the demise of Margaret, Hawarden descended to Thomas, Earl of Derby, grandson to the late Earl, and continued in his family until the execution of the valiant James, Earl of Derby, in 1651, at Bolton, in the usurpation of Cromwell. Soon after his death it was purchased from the agents of sequestration, by Serjeant Glynne, in whose family it still remains.

The treatment of the Derby family in this transaction, is liable to great reprehension; they had with the most unshaken loyalty adhered to the broken fortunes of the royal cause, and even sacrificed their lives in bravely defending the King's rights, yet after the Restoration, when Parliament wished to offer the only recompence then left for these sacrifices, by a restoration of their property, the bill for that purpose, though passed by both houses without opposition, was rejected by the King, and the property permitted to be sold, as herein related.*

* Rapin, Vol ii p. 586.

Having now brought down the historical events connected with this fortress, to the period of the civil war, which terminated the political existence of all these buildings, we have further to state that it partook of the usual vicissitudes of these times. It was soon possessed by the Parliamentary forces, being betrayed by the Governor, named Ravenscroft, and kept for their use, till 1643; when a cessation of arms being agreed to, on the part of the King, with the Irish rebels, a detachment of the army was withdrawn from that country, and landed at Mostyn, in this county;* and in November, this force immediately advanced to attack, and reduce the Castle of Hawarden, which was defended by no more than 120 men of Sir Thomas Myddleton's Regiment. The garrison was forthwith summoned to surrender, and as the correspondence upon this subject, between the respective commanders, is somewhat curious, we hope it will not be deemed superfluous to give the leading particulars; Colonel Marrow, on the King's part, and John Warren, and Alexander Elliot, on that of the Parliament.

Before we proceed with this detail, we may here remark that having, among other authorities, consulted Speed's Maps of Flintshire, and history, we found in one of the corners of the former a perspective view, and ground plan of Flint Castle, the latter corresponding with the description already given of this building. Hawarden Castle is also laid down, but there is no ground plan, as in the former case. He describes this latter Castle as second only to Flint, in magnitude and importance, and says of it,—"Of the Castle of Hawarden, no record remains of the first founder, but it was held a long time by the Stewards of the Earls of Chester; howbeit their resistance did not generally consist in the strength of their Castles, and fortifications, as in their mountains, and hills, which in times of danger served as natural bulwarks and defences unto them against the force of their enemies."

Speed, it may be recollected, was bred in early life a tailor, and almost illiterate; but nature had endowed him with a most ardent and inquisitive mind for knowledge, and by the force of his own industry and perseverance, he acquired so much learning, as to become a very respectable authority in matters of topographical interest, to which he principally applied himself; in historical research, however, he cannot be regarded as of equal distinction, and the above remarks would appear to confirm this impression.

We are also induced to extract from Pigot's history of Chester, (a very respectable authority,) some particulars of the commencement and termination of the seige of Hawarden Castle, which although in the material parts are little more than a repetition of Pennant's account of these transactions, yet in a few others, present some additional facts, worthy of notice. "About this time, (November, 1643,) a party of the King's forces that had been lately employed against the rebels in Ireland, landed at Mostyn, in Flintshire, and advanced to Hawarden Castle, to which they sent a verbal summons by a Trum-

* Pennant, Vol. ii. p. 100.

peter, and to which those within the walls returned a long written answer in the puritanical style of those times, and concluding thus:—

'We fear the loss of our religion, more than the loss of our dearest blood, and being resolved to make good our trust, we put our lives into the hands of that God who can, and we hope will, secure them, more than our walls, and weapons.'"

Colonel Marrow, who had summoned them by trumpet, immediately sent the reply, which will be seen hereafter, dated 21st November, 1643, together with the remainder of this curious correspondence.

On the 22nd November, says Pigot, more forces arrived from Ireland, and another summons was sent in form, by Sir M. Earney, and Major General Gibson; to which a similar answer to the former was returned (referred to above;) when upon the 1st of December, application was made by the besiegers to Chester for assistance; and in compliance with this requisition, three hundred of the Citizens and train bands, together with the two companies of Captains Tharpp, and Morgill, were immediately dispatched, to the aid of the King's troops before Hawarden, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Robinson.

On the 2nd of December, a brisk attack was made on the Castle, which was repelled, but on the fourth day the besieged concluded to hang out a white flag, and capitulated.

The correspondence, and the remaining particulars of this siege, which now follow, are principally extracted from Pennant.

"Gentlemen, It is not for to hear you preach that I am sent here, but in his Majesty's name, do demand the Castle for his Majesty's use; as your allegiance binds you to be true to him, and not to inveigle those innocent souls that are within with you. So I desire your resolution, whether you will deliver the Castle or no.

MARROW, Colonel."

The answer from the Castle ran thus:—

"Sir, We have cause to suspect your disaffection to preaching, in regard we find you thus employed; if there be innocent souls here, God will require their blood of them that shed it. We can keep our allegiance, and the Castle too, and therefore you may take your answer, as it was in English plain enough before; we can say no more but God's will be done.

JOHN WARREN,
ALEXANDER ELLIOT."

These paper bullets however produced no immediate effect on the King's side, yet Captain Thomas Sandford, leader as he is called of the firelocks, resolved if possible to terrify them into submission, by language still more terrible, and for that purpose addressed the following awful warning:—

"Gentlemen, I presume you very well know, or have heard of my condition, and disposition, and that I neither give nor take quarter. I am now with my firelocks (who never yet neglected opportunity to correct rebels) ready to use you as I have done the Irish, but loth

I am to spill my countrymen's blood,—wherefore by these I advise you to your fealty and obedience towards his Majesty, and show yourselves faithful subjects by delivering the Castle into my hands, for his Majesty's use, in so doing, you shall be received into mercy, &c. otherwise if you put me to the least trouble by loss of blood, for to force you, expect no quarter for man, woman, or child. I hear you have some of our late Irish army in your company, they very well know me, and that my firelocks use no parley; be not unadvised but think of your liberty, for I vow all hopes of relief are taken from you, and our intents are not to starve you, but to batter and storm you, and then hang you all, and follow the rest of that rebellious crew. I am no bread and cheese rogue, but as ever a loyalist and will ever be, while I can write or name.

THOMAS SANDFORD, Captain of firelocks.

November 28th, 1643.

P. S. I expect your speedy answer, this Tuesday-night at Broadlane-hall, where I am now your near neighbour.

To the officer commanding in chief at Hawarden Castle and his concerts there."

These threats were probably regarded as the vain and idle boasting of a military bravado, rather than the resolute and determined purpose of a gallant veteran, prepared to execute what his policy dictated; for nothing immediate followed on either side; but an accession of force on the King's part, having soon after co-operated with a scarcity of provisions on that of the garrison, strictly blockaded from the commencement of the siege; the latter were at length forced to surrender, as Rushworth says, "after a fortnight's siege, and much ink and little blood spilt, the Castle being in want of provisions was surrendered to Sir Michael Earney, on condition, to march out with half arms, and two pair of colours, one flying, and the other furled, and to have a convoy to Warm or Nantwyche."

After this transfer, it appears that the royalists kept possession of it till after the surrender of Chester to the Parliamentary forces, under Sir William Brereton, in 1645, when it was surrendered to General Mytton, on the 17th of March, after a month's siege. At this time Sir William Neall was governor for the King, and although destitute of resources for any prolonged resistance, he bravely defended his trust, and declined an actual surrender, until he had received the King's permission. On the 22nd of December after, a vote of Parliament was passed for dismantling this and four other Castles, in this part of North Wales.* These orders, says Pennant, only extended to rendering them untenable; but the further destruction of this Castle was accomplished by the owner, Sir William Glynne, the first baronet of the name, between the years 1665 and 1678, in improving his demesne.

The ruins that now remain consist of a grand circular tower or keep, on the summit of a mount, which is pretty entire; but scarcely

* Whitelock, p. 231.

any thing else serves to distinguish its former existence, from whence we might be able to form some conjectures as to its origin, or the style of its architecture; the traces of some walls, and the foundation of some chambers were however laid open by Sir John Glynne, with an apparent anxiety for preserving them from entire demolition.

On removing the earth and rubbish, in one place was discovered a long flight of steps; at the bottom of which, was a door leading to a draw bridge that crossed a deep and long chasm, faced with freestone, and to another door leading to two or three small rooms on the ground, or lower floor of the building, probably used for the purpose of keeping prisoners in confinement; and also clearly showing that the original fortress was constructed in strict conformity to those principles, which we have already described, as applicable to such purposes; and therefore, although its foundation may have been even as ancient as the time of the Romans, from the advantages, and proximity of its situation to the frontiers; yet the building itself was in all probability raised into the shape and character of a fortress, after the conquest, and by English rather than by native founders.

That the site as a point of defence is of great antiquity is evident, from many circumstances, in the history we have traced; and that the building was of this character also, may be gathered from Pennant, who had accurately examined it, and who states that "this fortress seems to have been built at different times," comprising of course the different styles of architecture, attributable to the Saxon and the Norman character, although the round tower partakes most of the former. It was surrounded with deep fosses, now filled with trees; the original foundation has been accurately traced by an able surveyor,* and a print engraved for Pennant's Tour, from which it may be deduced, that the space had never been very extensive, and that the advantages of the situation were probably the principal inducement for raising this fortress originally; in all other respects it presents the features already described, of a regular fortress, with the angular towers, fosses, draw bridges, portcullis, dungeons, &c.; and in these and other particulars of its history, takes rank next to the Castles of Flint and Rhuddlan.

The living of Hawarden is in the patronage of the Glynne family, and in the diocese of Chester, whose Bishop institutes the incumbents.

From other sources, we learn that after its capture by the royalists, this Castle continued in their possession until after the surrender of Chester in the month of February, in the same year, 1645; when it was shortly besieged, and could not last out long; and was probably soon after taken, though its surrender is not mentioned. In 1647, the Parliamentary soldiers in North Wales, mutinied from long arrears of pay, and having several committee-men among them, threatened to besiege Conway Castle, where Colonel Alderson, and some other of their officers had taken refuge; which mutiny being soon quelled, the Parliament ordered a letter to be written to Colonel Mytton, to hasten the slighting and demolition of the Castles and

* Mr. Calvelly, Pennant's Tour, Vol. i. p. 106.]

garrisons in North Wales, according to the former order of the House; and perhaps to the execution of this order, Hawarden and other Castles, in a great measure, owe their present ruinous condition.

From this period, its history sinks into the kindred oblivion of the woods which surround it; and crumbling into ruin, forms a striking contrast with the elegant modern Castle immediately contiguous, and an awful instance of the mutability of human affairs.

14. Mold Castle.

We next approach Mold with its Castle of considerable note, though of most obscure origin, as to the period and author of its foundation. On his way to this ancient military station, Pennant says "This was anciently called Ystrad Alun, or the Strath of the Alun, a commot in the Cantref y Rhiw, inhabited by a hardy race; at perpetual feud with the men of Chester on one side, and the men of Yale on the other; my countrymen never suffering their active swords to rust, for want of materials to work upon, whether composed of Saxon blood, or of that of their own countrymen."

Before we reach the site of the Castle on this side, there stands, not far from Mold, a respectable old house, called Gwysaney, which was of strength sufficient to be garrisoned in the troubles of the civil war, and was taken on the 12th of April, 1645, by Sir William Brereton.*

At the north end of the town, stands a mount described in British and Latin, as Y Wyddgrug, and Mons Altus, (the lofty or elevated mount,) being partly natural and partly artificial. In very early times, and subsequently, the Saxons and Normans, taking advantage of so favourable a situation, raised on it a fortress; nor is it altogether unlikely, according to the same authority, but that the Romans may have been the first to mark out this spot, as a favourable point of defence, having been known to work the mines in this quarter, and to have coined money, either from that source or some other.

This mount is now called the Bailey Hill, from the etymon Ballium or Castle Yard. It was strongly fortified by great ditches, although so well guarded by nature from its elevated position. Its remains appear divided into three parts, the lower Ballium or Yard, the upper, and the keep or donjon, the tops of the two former are leveled by art, and all are separated by deep fosses, the keep was on a part greatly and artificially elevated, and contiguous to the outer circle, of which there are but a few scattered fragments, the only remnants of this once formidable Castle. On one side of the upper yard have been found great quantities of bones, the greater part of

* Pennant, Vol. i. p. 421.

brute animals, and mostly domestic, if we except stags and roebucks, the usual tokens of a garrison subject to the privations of a state of siege, and relieving themselves by predatory excursions to the neighbouring territory.

With respect to the origin of this Castle, we know that William the Conqueror, resenting a predatory inroad of our coutrymen, invaded Wales with a powerful army, the Welsh Princes distracted among themselves, and unable to offer any effectual opposition, submitted without resistance to pay him homage, and to take the oath of fealty as from vassals to a superior lord,* anno 1079.

In comformity to this treaty several of the English barons, and Welsh chieftains of that time, did homage to William, for the territories assigned them, in right of conquest, and among the rest was Eustace Cruer, for Mold and Hopedale.

These barons endeavoured, as was natural in such times, to secure their conquests by erecting fortresses, and as they were able, to settle in them, Norman, or English inhabitants; at this time also Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester Castles were rebuilt or fortified, forming a line of military posts upon the English Frontier.

To this period we may reasonably assign the building of this fortress; and attribute its subsequent vicissitudes, to the exposed situation in which it stood as an object of either attack or defence, to its various assailants, either Welsh or English, whose fortune it was to repel each other, in contending for possession of the border.

Pennant confirms this conclusion, quoting Powell, (151) for his authority; he says, "The first account we have of this place, is in the reign of William Rufus, when we find it in the possession of Eustace Cruer; who then did homage for Mold and Hopedale, he probably having been the person who ravished them from the ancient owners."

In 1144, it had acquired so much military importance as a frontier garrison, possessed by the English, that it attracted the notice of the renowned Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales; who was more especially excited by a desire to assist some operations, at that time successfully prosecuted by an ally of his in South Wales. He therefore determined to lay siege to this Castle.† The fortress was at this time exceedingly strong, and had a numerous garrison of English; whose frequent sallies in search of food and provender, greatly harassed the adjoining country. Its strength also had frequently before proved impregnable against similar attempts, on the part of the Welsh, and upon this occasion it sustained with equal success and intrepidity, many terrible assaults from the besiegers; at length however, the garrison worn out by fatigue and exhaustion, and the former animated by the presence of their Prince, bore down every opposition, and carried the place by storm.

All who had escaped the carnage of this conflict, were made prisoners, and the policy of Owen immediately induced him to level to

* Warrington, p. 241. † Warrington, p. 305.

the ground the walls of this fortress; although in doing this, he gave no proof of his military sagacity, for on all future occasions, it was found, when re-edified, a place of the greatest importance on the frontier of the district, in repelling the encroachments of the invading foe, while in possession of his countrymen.

On the authority of Powell, (p. 199,) Pennant confirms the above particulars of the successful attack and demolition of this Castle by Owen Gwynedd.

Of its subsequent restoration after this misfortune, we have no precise particulars; we know however that it must have been soon after rebuilt, proving the great importance of the station as an inland fortress; for we find in the Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ, at the end of Llwyd's Commentariolum, (p. 157,) that it was taken in the winter of 1198 by Llewelyn ab Iorwerth; and that in 1244, David, then Prince of Wales, fell with great fury on the estates of the English Lords upon the border; which inroad being opposed by Hubert Fitzmatthew, that baron was, in a rude encounter with one of David's troops, killed by a large stone hurled from the mountain; when taking advantage of the consternation produced by this event, David laid siege to the Castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the soldiers he found in it to the sword. The owner, Roger de Montalto, escaped the danger, being absent at the time it was taken;* and about the year 1267, it was a third time besieged, taken, and demolished by Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, Lord of Powys, before related in the course of this narrative; both of whom, it seems, followed the example of Owen in the wreaking of their vengeance against this unfortunate Castle, urged doubtless by the galling advantages, which its possession afforded to the English, whenever the fortunes of war placed it in their hands.

That it must have been soon after each of these disasters restored, and doubtless on every occasion by the English, we have ample proof; for we find that the gentry of Ystrad Alun, or Molesdale, complained loudly of wrongs done to them, by Roger de Clifford, Justiciary of Chester, shortly before our Conquest by Edward; and we can have no doubt, but that the possession of this Castle afforded him an opportunity of effecting the grievances complained of, although the fortress is not particularly mentioned.

In the year 1322, says Pennant, (p. 425,) Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, a valiant gentleman, who was knighted by Edward I. for being the messenger in bringing to Rhuddlan the news of the birth of the first Prince of Wales at Carnarvon Castle, and who adhered to the English, until he found their yoke intolerable, rose up in arms, and overran all North Wales and the Marches, and among others seized on this Castle; but his revolt was soon quelled, being himself defeated and taken prisoner.

"From this period," says Pennant, (p. 426,) "we hear no more of it as a place of defence." Matthew Paris and Dugdale confound it with Hawarden, and state it to have been attacked, or taken, by David,

* Warrington, p. 419.

brother to the last Llewelyn. Mold, he says, continued in the posterity of Robert, who did homage for it in 1302; but in 1327, the last baron, in default of male issue, passed it to Isabel, Queen of Edward II. and afterwards to John of Eltham, brother to Edward III. who dying without issue, his possessions reverted to the Crown.

It is certain, however, that long after this time it was retained as a garrison fortress by the English, who were naturally anxious to preserve those strong positions, from which they could readily quell any revolt against their authority, or control the turbulence of their new subjects; for we find it mentioned among the garrisons of North Wales, from whence troops were drafted in aid of the foreign wars between England and France, during the time of Edward II. and III. from 1309 to 1343; for the particulars of which, see Appendix.

From this latter time it is true, as Pennant says, there is "a gap" in the history of this Castle, equally with the rest, which no published record can supply; we are forced to presume, therefore, that as it is not mentioned among those, which were ordered to be dismantled at the period of the civil wars by the House of Commons, it must have either previously experienced that fate from some other power, or else have been deserted, and allowed to crumble into ruin by the natural decay of time.

The reservation of the Lordship by the Crown may be some guide to these conjectures. It was granted to the Stanley family by Henry II. who commenced his reign in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the same time that Hope and Hopedale were conferred on the same family; after which the manors of Hope and Mold were purchased by other parties, who enjoyed them until the Restoration.*

Having, in reference to this Castle, necessarily introduced the name of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, as intimately connected with the transaction, in which the policy of Edward is supposed to have outwitted the inveterate hostility of our countrymen to foreign dominion, by proposing a Prince of native birth for their future sovereign; we cannot avoid noticing the petulant obstinacy, with which the great historian Hume not only doubts, but ridicules the authenticity of the fact. He says, Vol. II. p. 243, "There prevails a vulgar story, which, as it well suits the capacity of the monkish writers, is carefully recorded by them, that Edward, assembling the Welsh, promised to give them a Prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language; and on their acclamation of joy, and promise of obedience, he invested with the principality his second son, Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Carnarvon." Now we have shewn, upon what may be considered incontrovertible evidence, the roll of expenses at Rhuddlan Castle, that Edward had taken up his residence at the latter Castle, for the express purpose of maturing his plans for the conquest of Wales; and that during this residence, which lasted nearly three years, his daughter Joan was born at Rhuddlan, and Queen

* Pennant, Vol. I. p. 426.

Eleanor was sent in due time afterwards to the Castle of Carnarvon, her baggage having followed by the passage of the Conway, and she herself, as it were for a secret purpose, having taken a different route. It will be recollected also, that the latter Castle had only been recently built; and, except for some such important object as that alluded to, could not have been preferred to Rhuddlan, where the king's domestic establishment had been so completely fixed; Alphonso, the eldest son, being still living, though very young, left it optional with Edward to substitute him, in case the queen had been delivered of a daughter, and so far defeated his purpose. Along with these facts, Queen Eleanor was a most prolific princess, having borne to Edward no less than fifteen children, four sons and eleven daughters, and was at this time in the prime and vigour of her age, so that this popular story, and interesting historical fact in the annals of our country, is we think, notwithstanding the scepticism of Hume, placed beyond all further controversy.

15. Bryncoed Tower.

In conformity with the spirit of this Essay, we think it proper to omit nothing that has any relation to the ancient defences of this country; and with that view to notice the house called Tower, which still retains, as in other days, many of the characteristic features of a border Castle.* The house is small, but in part a true specimen of the architecture referred to, having a square tower of three stories; in the lower story of which still remains a staple in the ceiling, the memorial of an extraordinary incident of other times. During the sanguinary feud between the Houses of York and Lancaster, this place was held by Reinallt ap Gruffydd ap Bleddin, one of the six gallant captains, who defended Harlech Castle for Henry VI. He and his people were in continual strife with the citizens of Chester; and in 1465, a number of the latter having attended the fair of Mold, a fray ensued between the two parties, and a dreadful slaughter followed on both sides; but the victory remained with Reinallt, who took prisoner, Robert Bryne, linen-draper, and mayor of Chester in 1461, whom he led to this tower, and hanged from the great hall. This produced great exasperation, and an attempt was soon made to seize Reinallt, two hundred stout men having sallied from Chester for that purpose; but apprized of their design, he retired to a neighbouring wood, permitted part to enter his Castle, when suddenly rushing from his concealment, he fastened the door, and setting fire to the place, burned them without mercy. He then attacked the rest, and pursued them to the sea side, where those who escaped his vengeance perished in the channel.

This Reinallt received his pardon for these exploits from Thomas, Lord Stanley, which was afterwards confirmed by Edward IV. His

* Pennant, Vol. II. p. 427.

actions were considered by his countrymen as entitled to the highest honours, and therefore were celebrated in poems still extant, especially by Lewis Glyn Cothi, in an Awdl in praise of Reinallt. Lewis having married a widow from the city, had greatly excited the indignation of the inhabitans, who in consequence "spoiled him of all his effects, which naturally enhanced the poet's satire;" who summons the ministry of angels and devils to assist him.

The tower in old times was called after this hero, Reinallt; it was also called Bryn Coed, probably from the wood which surrounded it; in the time of Leland, the antiquary, it was inhabited by John Wynn ap Robert.

16. Caergwrle Castle.

Approaching the close of our labours, the next object commanding our attention is Caergwrle, in the parish of Hope, or Estyn, a military station of great antiquity, and the site of a fortress of considerable note in the convulsive struggles of this country in other times. The village of this name is evidently of Roman origin; and this may be readily discovered on looking from the elevated station of the ancient Castle, on the summit of the adjacent rock, on which it formerly stood. It had been, says Pennant, only a small place, an out post to Deva, but with the usual appendages of Roman luxury. In Camden's time (1606) a Hypocaust was discovered, cut out of the rock, and of considerable dimensions; on some of the tiles, connected with this building, were inscribed Legio XX. which plainly points to the founders being Roman; he adds, that Roman bricks had been discovered in the ruins of the old house of Hope, proofs which sufficiently identify the place as of Roman origin, and therefore as a station of military importance in the earliest times.

Respecting the etymology of the name, Pennant says, "Mr. Edwards makes a happy conjecture—Caer Gawrlle, or the Camp of the Giant Legion, Lleon Gawr; for the Britons bestowed that name on the twentieth legion, to imply its power, a term similar to Victrix, giving it the strength of a giant."

This place, on the division of Wales by Roderic the Great, formed part of the Cantref y Rhiw; in after times, the tract of country was known by the name of Hopedale; on the division of Wales into counties, by Edward I. after the conquest, it was annexed to Flintshire, having been previously added by the Saxons to Cheshire; it was again severed from the former county, and given to Denbighshire, by Henry VIII. and in the same reign was restored to its previous territorial owner, Flintshire. In 1388, Richard II. made a transfer of the lands of Hope and Hopedale to John de Holland, Earl of Huntingdon,* a powerful baron, who, after the deposal and death

* Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 78.

of the king, was himself beheaded by the populaee, at Plessy in Essex.

On examining the remains of the Castle of Caergwrle, we find that it stood on the most elevated spot of a great rock, which was extremely steep on one side, and of a precipitous ascent on all the others; some of the walls and part of the tower still remain, proving however that its dimensions never were great, although its situation made it extremely secure against the military inventions of the time in which it existed; it was surrounded on the accessible parts by deep fosses, cut through the rock in many parts, and every pains were taken to make it impregnable. On the north east side there is a pretty extensive area; and surrounding it are vestiges of a rampart of earth and stones, and a fosse, such as were usual in the British posts. It may therefore be inferred, that in early times, in consequence of the situation being so favourable, it was occupied by the Britons; and in conjunction with Caer Estyn, served to defend a British post; having one rampart and ditch on the opposite side of the dale, above the village, forming the entrance through this pass into Wales, and therefore of the greatest importance in defending this frontier from invasion. The vale itself almost closes in this place, leaving only room for the river Alun to wander through its picturesque dingles, until it reaches the open country, near the church at Gresford.

The origin of this Castle is unknown, at least from any published record; but judging from the style of architecture, in which it was evidently constructed, we may reasonably conjecture that it is of great antiquity, and that the Romans having left it, as a military memorial of their tactics, it was adopted by our countrymen, and that they raised the fortress whose ruins now remain.

Its oblong form, says Pennant, its comparative deficiency of towers, and its general agreement with others with whose origin I am acquainted, make me willing to suppose it a work of my countrymen, after they had recovered possession of this tract. In the reign of Owen Gwynedd, it was part of the estates of Gruffydd Maelor.*

When David, brother to Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, was in alliance with Edward I. the latter conferred this Castle upon him, as a reward for his treachery to the former; David however complained loudly of the encroachments made upon his territory by Roger de Clifford, the Justiciary of Chester, who cut down his woods about Hope. When the former revolted from Edward's cause, and joined that of his country, commencing with the attack upon Hawarden Castle, he left a garrison in this Castle, to defend it against the English; but Edward, after staying a fortnight in Chester to refresh his troops, about the middle of June, anno 1282, advanced and invested the Castle of Hope;† which soon after surrendered, and was of course garrisoned by the English. Pennant says, that as soon as it came into the possession of Edward, he bestowed it, with all its appendages, on his beloved Queen Eleanor, from which it ac-

* Powell, p. 211. † Warrington, p. 489.

quired the name of Queen Hope; he adds, that she lodged here on her way to Carnarvon, where Edward sent her to give the Welsh a ruler born among them. Either at this time, or soon after, the Castle was burnt down by a casual fire.

Why the queen should have been conveyed to Carnarvon by this circuitous route, from Rhuddlan, instead of the more direct course by the shore, and over the Conway, admits of two natural enough solutions; either of which may be adopted at the option of the reader; first, that the shore might have been more vigilantly watched by the predatory followers of Llewelyn, not then entirely subdued, and therefore more dangerous; or else, that the passage of the Conway might, to a pregnant woman, present an obstacle still more formidable, and therefore was avoided. That some of these motives, coupled with the policy of secrecy, must have prevailed, we think certain, the queen's baggage having afterwards been sent by the Conway route, and the expenses of conveyance charged in the Rhuddlan roll of accounts.*

In 1307, the first year of Edward II. this Castle and the manor were conferred on John de Cromwell, on condition that he should repair the Castle, still in a ruinous condition from its former disaster; and having, as we have a right to presume, conformed to this stipulation, he was in 1317, ten years after, called upon to supply fifty foot soldiers, in aid of the Scotch war, then carrying on by Edward. Subsequent to this period, there is a chasm in the history, which no published record is capable of supplying, until the time of Henry IV. anno 1401, when it was granted, with other manors, to Sir John Stanley, the founder of the Derby family; from which period it probably lost much of its military importance, and gradually sunk under the influence of peace, into that state of civil extinction and decay, in which it appears at present.

Caergwrle, with Hope, is a borough; and as already stated, in conjunction with Flint, &c. returns one Member to Parliament. The first Charter given to Hope, was by Edward the Black Prince, and is dated from Chester in 1351, being the twenty fifth year of the reign of his father, Edward III. In accordance with those of Rhuddlan and Flint, it directs that the Constable of the Castle should be Mayor of the borough for the time being; who, on taking the oath, was to bind himself to preserve the privileges of the burgesses from all innovation; and that two Bailiffs from this body should be annually chosen on Michaelmas day. It also includes the usual civil advantages granted in those times, all of which were confirmed by Richard II. at a subsequent period; neither of these monarchs seeming to anticipate the future insignificance, which awaited this and the other contributory appendages of the ancient borough, at that time, doubtless, the most populous and important towns of the entire county.

Although we are not able to trace, in the public records of those times, that the revolt of Glyndwr produced any important events

* Edward II. was born in Carnarvon Castle, April 25, 1284.

connected with the history of these Castles, the southern parts of the Principality having chiefly suffered on that occasion; yet it is certain that many of the inhabitants of these parts were also implicated in that convulsion; and among the rest, Llewelyn ap Davydd ap Meredydd, a descendant of Ynyr of Yale, who had estates in this parish, which were forfeited in consequence of his adherence to Owain Glyndwr, and were bestowed on Jenkin Hope, great grandson of Hugh Hope, of Hawarden.*

The parish is divided by the Alun; the village, as it is now justly called, and church, lie about a mile from the Castle, on the north side of the stream; the church being dedicated to St. Cynvar. Sir John Trevor, who was Secretary to the Earl of Nottingham, and so renowned for having contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, has a mural monument in the church. He died in 1627, at his seat immediately contiguous.

17. Maes Garmon.

This, we believe, closes what may be strictly considered as applicable to the subject of our Essay; nothing in the character of an ancient fortress, or Castle, remaining to be described within the precincts of this county. Certain places of military distinction however, in the traditionary annals of the country, may deserve some notice; among which the field of Maes Garmon stands conspicuously foremost. This celebrated spot is situated about a mile west of the town of Mold, still retaining the name of the renowned saintly commander, as Pennant calls him, who gained the battle called the Victoria Alleluiatica, anno 420, between the Britons, headed by the Bishops Germanus and Lupus, and a crowd of predatory Picts and Saxons, who were spreading desolation throughout the country.

We prefer Camden's relation of this event to Pennant's, not because it is more literal or descriptive, but as being more ancient, and therefore more curious.

"Near Mold, (Camden, fol. 596,) the learned Usher places the scene of the famous victory, which he calls Victoria Alleluiatica, because the pagans, Picts and Saxons, were put to flight, by the shouts of Alleluia repeated by the Britons, who were commanded by Germanus and Lupus; in memory of the first of these generals, the place about a mile west from Mold is called Maes Garmon, or German's Field." To the objection, that St. German died in the year 435, and the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa did not come till 499, he answres, that "Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, and others tell us, that the Saxons long before made inroads into the island." In confirmation of this Pennant adds, that "the Romans found it necessary to have, in the latter times, a new officer to watch their motions, and repel their invasions, a 'Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias.'"

* Salusbury Pedigree, 36.

This spot is contiguous to Rhual, the seat of the Griffith family, one of whom has patriotically erected a column, on the scene of battle, with the following suitable inscription :—

Ad annum
CCCCXX,
Saxones, Pictiq. Bellum adversus
Britones junctis viribus susceperunt,
In hac Regione, hodieq. Maes Garmon
Appellata; cum in prœlium descenditur,
Apostolicis Britonum ducibus Germano
Et Lupo, Christus militabat in Castris,
Alleluia tertiò repetitum exclamabant:
Hostile agmen terrore prosternitur,
Triumphant,
Hostibus fusis sine sanguine,
Palmâ fide non viribus obtenta.
M. P.
In Victoriæ Alleluiaticæ memoriam,
N. G.
MDCCXXXVI.

18. Caerwys.

The town of Caerwys, although exhibiting no present trace of a fortress; yet from other particulars respecting its traditional history, seems entitled to some notice on this occasion. It consists of four streets, crossing each other at right angles in the middle, answering to the cardinal points of the compass; a feature so uniform, in the civil architecture of the Romans, when planning their towns in this country, that little doubt can be entertained of the origin of this station being attributable to that people. The name too is almost conclusive in favour of that opinion, strengthened, as it is, by the traditional records of the county. Camden says the name favours of great antiquity, Caer the fortress, and Gwys a summons, meaning that in early times, it was a place of so much importance as to be not only fortified, but the seat of Judicature, for the entire country; this latter fact is admitted by Pennant, who states that it certainly had that honour long before it was removed to Flint, although he seems notwithstanding almost unwilling to admit its Roman origin; a fact which we think perfectly established, by the concurring testimony of tradition, his own admission as to the ancient existence of the courts of Justice, and the prominent features of the mouldering ruins, which even now attract the notice of the antiquary.

Multitudes of Tumuli are scattered over the neighbouring country, and one in particular, so near the town as to indicate every appearance of a field of battle; other traces likewise, such as copper coin, and Latin inscriptions have been found in this parish, which corroborate strongly the origin that we have given to these ancient remains.

Caerwys,* in conjunction with a neighbouring town now lost, called Tref Edwyn, and Rhuddlan, had been from very early times, the seats of Judicature for these parts of Wales, and at the time of the conquest by Edward, the Chiefs and Barons of Tegengle complained to that Prince of the infringement of their liberties, declaring that it was their privilege to be judged at those places, but especially at Tref Edwyn, now no more.

Subsequently however, when the convulsions and grievances, incident to a state of civil discord, had in some degree subsided, it appears that Caerwys recovered its ancient honours, and became as formerly the seat of justice; having its town hall, and jail, and place of execution for criminals, remaining until some time about the middle of the seventeenth century, when they were all removed to Flint, and this ancient station was virtually dismantled.

19. Bodvari.

Bodvari standing in a conspicuous situation, as commanding the pass into Flintshire from the vale of Clwyd, must have anciently attracted the notice of those who were engaged in selecting the best military points of defence, either against the invading foe, or the turbulent natives; but although tradition gives it a Roman origin in this particular as connected with the neighbouring station of Caerwys, yet all traces for this probable conjecture having passed away, we are unable to offer any other proof; we may add however that the site of the last Llewelyn's Palace is immediately contiguous, on the lands of Maesmynen, and having a right to conclude that this building was originally constructed with all the defensive appendages of a Baronial Castle of those times, we may also presume that the situation was chosen by that warlike prince, from its intimate connexion with the two last stations, and also with the chain of military posts which then studded the crest of the Clwydian Hills.

All traces of this Palace have completely vanished, as if no such building had ever existed; but whether from the policy of Edward, in removing every record of so potent and troublesome an enemy, or from the natural effects of time, we are unable to offer even conjecture.

In concluding the descriptive part of this Essay, it may be interesting to recapitulate shortly, the chain of military stations, or British posts, as they are called by Pennant, and other authors, which lined the whole range of the Clwydian Hills, and were evidently calculated to form the strongest barrier against the encroachments of an enemy. Nature of itself, supplied on the crest of those hills, the most commanding stations for this purpose, and the art of that day, rude and unscientific as it was, constructed those posts in the most favourable stations, either by raising great circular ramparts of

* Powel, p. 360.

earth, the original form probably of the first military defences of an artificial kind invented by man, or some architectural effort of almost equal simplicity, but still capable of resisting the implements of war then in use for the destruction of our species.

"On one of the summits of the mountains, at a great height above the house, Penbedw, is a very strong British post, called Moel Arthur, with two very deep ditches, and suitable dikes on the accessible side, which is one of the chain of forts that defended the country of the Ordovices, and their successors from invasion; these posts generally conform in shape to the hills on which they are placed, and are uniformly unprovided with water;" from which we may infer they were more for temporary use than constant occupation.

20. Moel Hiraddig, Moel y Gaer, Bryn y Cloddiau, Moel Arthur, Moel y Brio, Moel Fenlli, Caer Estyn.

The first is called Moel Hiraddig, before mentioned, about two or three miles from the sea, in the parish of Cwm; unless Diserth Castle may be supposed to have been the first post, and the great artificial mount above Newmarket, called Cop yr Goleuni, or Mount of Light, may have been the beacon to give notice of an enemy from sea. Moel y Gaer, in Bodvari parish, is the second; the third is the vast entrenchment on Bryn y Cloddiau, or the Hill of Ditches, which is the largest, being a mile and a half in circumference, and defended by single, double, treble, and even quadruple trenches, where necessary, and in the fosse next the inner area are a number of hollows as for lodgements; the fourth is Moel Arthur; and almost opposite thereto, on Halkin mountain, is Moel y Brio, which seems a middle post between Moel y Gaer, Northop, and this. The next in order is Moel Fenlli, and below it is another on a less scale, called by the common name of Moel y Gaer; Caer Estyn and the opposite post on Caergwrle rock defended that front. Caer Estyn was a British post, on the opposite side of the village of Hope, at the entrance through the passage into Wales; further on was Hawarden, and still further the Rofts, in the parish of Gresford.

To this enumeration, Pennant with his usual ability adds some interesting particulars:—"I conjecture that their origin was very early, but that they were occasionally made use of in after times, even as low as those of Owain Glyndwr."

Almost all are rendered defensible in the same manner, by deep ditches and high banks, formed either of earth or loose stones, with one, but generally two entrances. In the description of that of Caractacus, by Tacitus, he says,—"Tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa prostruit;" shewing that their shape varied with the natural form of the hills, on which they were uniformly placed; being destitute of water proves that

they were merely intended as temporary retreats for the families, herds, and flocks of the natives, on sudden irruptions, the fighting men keeping the field; and all that was besides most dear and valuable were commited to the protection of these military asylums, with the necessary garrisons in case of need. Another feature marked the policy of these stations; they were uniformly placed within sight of each other, so that either by signals in day light, by fires in the night time, they could instantly communicate in case of any sudden alarm; furnishing a rude example of the telegraph, now refined, by modern invention, into one of the most useful appendages of either war or peace.

Mr. Pennant, in concluding his enumeration of these posts, which perfectly corresponds with Camden's, adds,—"These are all that seem destined for the defence of this part of the country;" again he remarks, on winding up his observations on this interesting subject,—"I could give a long list of these posts, perhaps as far as the Severn sea in the country of the Silures, and the trans-sabrine parts of the Cornavii, but these suffice for the present." In which conclusion we hope we may venture to coincide, trusting that if prolixity be not imputable to us as a fault, we have at least sufficiently avoided the greater evils of too much brevity or laxity, to render it necessary for us to apologize, for having so long detained the critical reader in the perusal of our labours.

An anxiety, notwithstanding, to render this Essay as comprehensive as the materials within our reach will allow, induces us still to add a few general observations, as matter of further illustration, trusting, with the same anxiety, that our motives will excuse and justify the trespass.

The famous Statute of Rhuddlan exhibits a curious mistake in giving its title. It runs in the Statute commonly called the Statute of Rhuddlan, 10th Edward I. "In witness of which, Yeven at *Rutland*, 24 May, 10 year Edward I. of our reign."—Yeven for Given.

This is erroneous, whereas the true place was Rhuddlan Castle, on the Flintshire side of the Clwyd, where Edward kept his court after the defeat of Llewelyn and his brother David.—Archæology, Vol. II. p. 63, 64.

We extract the following interesting observations on the Welsh Castles, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, the eminent antiquary, in a letter to the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle, read at the Society of Antiquaries, January 14, 1768.

"As these ancient fortresses particularly claim the attention of the antiquary, it seems rather extraordinary that we have no better account of the time in which they were first built. Giraldus Cambrensis is well known to have made a progress through North and South Wales, in the reign of Henry II., 1188, but he takes no further notice of the Castles, than by giving to some of the places, through which he passed, the name of Castrum; the reason of which seems to arise from their having been very insignificant at that time, as I shall endeavour to prove hereafter. If it be added, that

some of these fortresses were built by the successors of Edward I. then I can add, that the kings of England seem to have paid very little attention of any kind to the Principality, after its conquest, till the reign of Henry VIII. Doctor Powell's continuation of its History during that period not filling above twenty pages."

He continues to say, "that Caerphilly, the most considerable fortress now remaining in the Principality, was actually built by Edward I."

Also he says,—"Some writers attribute these Castles to the Romans; but this is evidently wrong." Again he says,—"Whoever has seen the most considerable of these Castles, and can at all reflect upon the state of the Principality in those days, when it was governed by its own princes, will immediately observe the most cogent reasons why the fortresses, which remain at this day, could hardly have been built by the Welsh themselves."

Having already sufficiently dilated upon this subject, we think it unnecessary to offer any other commentary on these observations, than to remark that they correspond, in the most material part, as to the origin of these Castles, with our own opinion; differing however as to the era, in which they may have been respectively raised; and a few exceptions also, in which we may reasonably conclude that native sagacity, however rudely exercised, must be supposed, in some cases, either to have followed the example of the invading foe, or been led by the instinct of self-defence, in constructing a few of these buildings, instead of assigning them all to English origin.

The indifference manifested by the English government to the affairs of the Principality, here alluded to, is strikingly confirmed by the marked silence of English historians, who take no more than a rapid glance at the revolt of Glyndwr; and omit all notice of any other event, connected with the Principality, until the time of Henry VIII. During the whole of the interval, from the conquest by Edward I. until the period of the civil war, when these buildings were finally dismantled, this apathy on the part of the English may be reconciled, and probably justified, by the state of submission, to which the people had been reduced by the power and policy of England, and the consequent absence of all interesting matter calculated to command the attention of the historian, or to gratify the curiosity of the public. And this conclusion we are justified in adopting, since the few Welsh historians and writers, who have publicly recorded the annals of those times, have followed the same example, and are equally silent upon this period of our narrative. As it leaves an apparent chasm however in the story of this Essay, we have been the more anxious to notice these authorities, for the purpose of assuming with them, that nothing more interesting had occurred in respect to these Castles, during the whole of that interval, than their mere occupation by sufficient garrisons, to preserve the peace of the country, and maintain the dominion of England, and to protect them from the secret hostility of the natives, and prevent their mouldering into ruin by the effects of time. That garrisons were maintained in the principal fortresses, for the whole, or at least the

greater part of this period, we either know from circumstances, or have a right to conclude from the drafts of soldiers made during the early portion of the subsequent reigns; and their actual occupation by the king's troops, at the commencement of the civil war, is a sufficient proof that they were, up to that period, kept in a state of repair, answerable for the purposes of defence. We may therefore, in common with other writers, claim the privilege of the historian, who so frequently yields to the necessity of substituting his own conjectures for what he is unable to supply from more authentic sources.

21. Observations on Ancient Armour.

The same anxiety, to which we have already adverted, induces us to include a few short observations on Ancient Armour, as a natural appendage to the subject, and of sufficient historical interest to justify the digression.

We can hardly form any estimate of the state of society, during the middle ages, without some acquaintance with, or reference to, the habits and practice of war, during the same period. The spirit of warfare was wholly personal, rendering the contentions of nations little more than a multitude of single combats; the inventions of the military art were therefore exhausted, in improving the construction of individual weapons, and defensive armour. All that imposing array of military power, which is founded on the science of tactics in modern times, and was exercised with almost equal skill by the generals of Greece and Rome, and directed we know by a single intelligence, animating mighty masses of physical force, was utterly unknown to our ancient princes, and the feudal chieftains of every country of Europe.

War was their exclusive occupation, almost their only pastime, if we except the chace, and the all powerful influence of love, which was the directing genius of chivalry, and the exciting passion, by which combats and feuds of a different order were too frequently produced. Since the Grecian ages of mighty warfare, there never did occur, perhaps, a period so exclusively military, as the interval which is embraced between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. Almost every order in society mingled in the strife of war, and the work of slaughter; and monarchs, equally with their subjects, partook of this barbarous mania; finding in camps, sieges, battles, and in spoil, their principal objects, which appeared to form the only purpose for which nature had intended them.

The necessity of preserving conciseness, on this last occasion, must check any further observations of a purely preliminary nature, and urge us at once to a short description of the military armour used at this period by our more refined neighbours; having already sketched, with sufficient minuteness, the military weapons common to our native ancestors during the same interval.

The body armour consisted either of a tunic, or of a jacket and breeches in one; these garments were composed of leather or cloth, and covered sometimes with flat iron rings, sewn horizontally and contiguously, having small holes, called mascles, resembling the meshes of a net. The tunic-shaped garment long kept its title of hauberk; when this was used, pantaloons, then called chausses, were worn underneath this mailed frock, and a hood for the head, also of mail, was attached to the hauberk, or habergeon, in the same piece. The suit, having an opening at the breast like a shirt, was then drawn together at the neck, by a strap, and a small piece covering the breast; the former was buckled fast behind; transverse party-coloured bands, termed heuse, or hose, covered the legs, with coarse untanned shoes upon the feet.

The remaining defensive armour of this period, were the helmet and the shield; and the gradual improvements in the former, and face armour, constitute a curious illustration of the defensive art. The helmet of the eleventh century was conical and convex, and shortly after it acquired the nasal piece for the protection of the face; after this a broad flat piece of iron projected from the nose, covering the whole face from a sword cut, though it imperfectly protected the countenance from the lance point; the hood drew up over the mouth, and was attached to the nasal piece. The lance, with its streamer, appears to have been the general offensive weapon of the Norman cavalier; though the iron mace and long-cutting sword were also in use; so far for the accoutred cavalier on horseback. Then the arms of the humbler feudal infantry scarcely in comparison deserve notice, more especially as we have already described those in general use among our hardy native ancestors of the Principality, accustomed to war and warfare as their natural elements; with one exception however, which has still a grateful sound to an English, and even an ancient Briton's ear; there being no doubt that the Norman Conquest first introduced the long bow, already noticed as a military weapon, which, like the bayonet in modern times, became so formidable in the brawny hands of a bold and free yeomanry, as to win, in later ages, the glorious battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt.

Many subsequent improvements took place in mail armour, the details of which would be too tedious for us to enumerate. That specimens of these improvements however were frequently introduced into the Principality, on the various expeditions dispatched by England for its conquest, there can be no doubt; Prince Llewelyn being able, anno 1257, to equip a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour, when arraying a formidable army to oppose young Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. of England.*

Of what is called regulated mail armour, we have seen a beautiful illustration from the seal of Richard Fitzhugh, Earl of Chester, and Constable of England in 1140; this mail nearly resembled the scale

* Warrington, p. 434.

kind of armour, except that the plates were square, and they were sewn upon the hauberk to cover each other like tiles.

Of offensive weapons we may remark, that the lance and the sword continued to be the common arms of knighthood; but the battle axe, once the formidable and fatal instrument of the Saxon, was also a favorite weapon of Richard I. and the warriors of his time. The martel and maul were also among the offensive weapons of chivalry; the maul was a ponderous steel mallet, blunt at both ends; the martel had one end sharpened to an edge or point, and was in use until the thirteenth century; the whole forming tremendous weapons for cleaving and breaking open skulls, the warlike pastime of those days.

During the reign of Edward III. armour underwent many improvements, and passed from the mixed character to the full casing of steel; in which character it continued, with various fanciful modifications, to suit the romantic spirit of the times, still led on by the genius of chivalry, until it arrived at the probable perfection of the art, in the reign of Henry VII; which is beautifully illustrated by the splendid suit of this prince's armour to be seen at the Tower, and which unquestionably belonged to him. In this armour the horse is included, being protected with steel over the head, the chest, the back, and flanks; and thus caparisoned, with the rider in full mail armour, forming a most brilliant and formidable specimen of destructive warfare.

The perfection of armour was in the fifteenth century, when small fire arms had not got into general use; and for once it may be said, that the art of defence had outstripped the art of destruction. In a charge of lancers, it certainly might happen, and frequently did, that many fell unhorsed by the shock, and might be either suffocated or bruised to death by the mere weight of their armour; but still the lance's point could not penetrate the cuirass; the arrow and the quarret of the cross-bows glanced away from the well rivetted plates, and the stroke of the sabre rang harmlessly on the helmets, the brassarts, and the cuishes of proof. Yet the prostrate warrior often yielded himself before the uplifted dagger of his foe; but his ransom again was regulated by his rank, while the miserable footmen were slaughtered without mercy, and considered as little more than the vassal elements, from which the blood and gore of battle were to be successively recruited.

It began however to be discovered, in the progessive improvement of armour, as in other arts, that with all its security against wounds and death, it was accompanied by many disadvantages; its enormous weight crippled the limbs, and exhausted the strength of the wearers; and in warm climates, its heat was insupportable; its unwieldiness also, in rapid movements, or in crossing rivers, were evils which had the most fatal influence on the tactical manœuvres of an army.

In this state of things, it is natural to presume, as we have already shewn in the architecture of our Castles, that the ancient usages of war, and modes of warfare, would be ready to give way

to the gradual introduction of more improved systems; that as the Saxon den, and the Norman keep, had been transformed into the castellated tower, and eastern turret, with its battlements, portals, and draw bridges, and from these into magnificent baronial palaces, so the divestment and ultimate disuse of those ponderous trappings, would become the natural effect of the progressive march of modern refinement, in the tactics of war and its military appointments.

This change however was not sudden; the impenetrable firmness, with which the Swiss infantry armed with pikes had opposed the formidable array of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, in the middle of the fifteenth century, gave the first proof of the necessity for this change; and from that epoch may be dated the commencement of the period, from which the total disuse of mail armour gradually followed; yet the interval of a hundred and fifty years was still to pass, before the mixture of musqueteers with pikemen gave a decided superiority to infantry; and from this latter period, armour became more an object of ridicule, than of actual use in the practice of war; James I. humorously observing of armour, "that it was a most innocent implement of war, not only protecting the wearer from injury, but preventing him from injuring any other person." Before the middle of the seventeenth century, therefore, nothing remained of the ancient harness, but the open cap, and the breasts and backs of steel, which the heavy cavalry of the continent have worn more or less even to our times. In our own service, after being altogether laid aside, they have been lately revived, under the auspices, doubtless, of the illustrious chief, who has so often led our troops to victory; those who, even without these appendages, were able to gain the laurels of Waterloo from the cuirassiers of France.

22. Royal Visits to Wales.

Recollecting that Edward, the Conqueror of Wales, was also the founder of the most magnificent of the Welsh Castles, magnificent even in their ruins, and that he distinguished in a particular manner, by a long residence, one of those whose history we have endeavoured to elucidate; recollecting also, that other English monarchs must have greatly contributed to the founding and maintenance of these celebrated buildings, in their numerous expeditions to the Principality, we cannot probably more appropriately close this Essay, than by adding a short enumeration of the different reigns, in which this hostile connexion was continued, until it finally terminated in the perfect and happy consolidation of the two countries under one government.

It is true that these visitations were not, "as angels' visits, few and far between;" on the contrary, they were numerous beyond precedent, as to every other part of the empire, and were almost uniformly marked by the desolating scourge of war and carnage; and

although eventually crowned with success, yet they were with less glory to the conquerors than to the vanquished; who, for more than eight hundred years, had defended their country with unparalleled valour and constancy, against an overwhelming disparity of power, gaining an immortality of name and character to themselves, and an infinity of honour and benefit to their posterity.

William the Conqueror, that fierce warrior, after successfully invading England in 1066, carried his arms into Wales, at the head of a great army, in 1079; and after receiving the homage of the Welsh Princes, and the oath of fealty, repaired with his army to St. David's, and offered up his devotions at the shrine of that saint.

William Rufus followed the example of his father, and invaded Wales with a formidable army, anno 1092; but was repulsed with heavy loss, by the Welsh Princes, and forced to return with dishonour into England to reinforce his army.

Stephen's re gn produced no invasion of Wales, that king having the turbulence of his subjects to contend against; after he had overcome the difficulties of his own usurpation of the Crown, being yet embarrassed, he made peace with Wales, submitting to conditions which exposed the excessive weakness of his government.

Henry II., anno 1157, invaded Wales with a formidable army, marching by Chester into Flintshire, the details of which expedition we have already related. Again, in 1158, into South Wales; again in 1159, 1163, and 1165; when he declared his resolution, at the head of a most powerful army, to exterminate the whole population. Again, in 1172, when, after his invasion and conquest of Ireland, he returned by Anglesea; and stopping at Talacharn,* he was met by Rhys ap Grufydd, who paid him the customary duties.

Richard I. being engaged, during the greater part of his reign, in the Crusades, did not invade Wales. He was slain at the siege of Chalons, anno 1199.

John invaded Wales, anno 1211, at the head of a formidable army, marching by the shore from Chester to Rhuddlan Castle; and after passing the Clwyd, advanced to the Conway, taking possession of the Castle of Diganwy; but Llewelyn, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, "cut off his victuals behind him, so that he could have none from England, and not a man could scatter from the skirmishes unfought withall; when the North Wales men, always having the advantage by a knowledge of the places; at last, the English soldiers were glad to take horseflesh, from pure need; and when the king had no remedy, he returned with great rage, leaving the country full of dead bodies." Shortly after, this king again advanced into Wales, to Conway and Bangor, with a great army; and burning the latter town, took the bishop prisoner, whom he afterwards got ransomed for two hundred marks, forty horses, and twenty thousand head of cattle; twenty eight hostages being given by Llewelyn for the performance of this treaty, anno 1212. Again, in 1213, this prince entered Wales, for the relief of such fortresses as still held

* Laugharne, Carmarthenshire.—Ed. Tr.

out against the forces of Llewelyn; and Rhuddlan and Diganwy, having done so, were relieved. Again, in 1216–17, setting fire to the town of Oswestry.

Henry III. invaded Wales, in 1220, to assist Reginald de Bruce against Llewelyn; again, in 1223, but without performing any military exploit worthy of notice. Again, in 1228, to relieve the Castle of Montgomery. Again, in 1229; again, in 1231; and afterwards, in 1241; also, in 1245, when he rebuilt the Castle of Diganwy, and returned to England, with his army much shattered and reduced.

In 1257, Prince Edward, afterwards the King of England, and Conqueror of Wales, assumed his father's duty in conducting the war against Wales, and exacted heavily on the territory between Chester and Conway; so that this young prince soon became intimately acquainted with the soil and country, which were afterwards to form so important a portion of his dominions. Henry III. again resolved to invade Wales in person, during the year 1257; but in a fruitless effort, at the head of a powerful army, was compelled to retreat ingloriously to Chester, with its shattered remains. He also advanced a second time in this year against Llewelyn, but without success. Prince Edward, in 1263, again undertook his father's duty; but without any important advantage.

Edward I. in 1274, for the first time as King of England, commenced that series of events, which terminated in the Conquest of Wales, and which we have already described so minutely in the progress of this Essay, as to make it unnecessary that we should again recur to particulars.

Edward II., as already stated, was the first English Prince who bore the title of Prince of Wales, being born at Carnarvon; but although descended from a prince of the highest reputation for military ardour and political sagacity, yet proved himself the most incapable and unfortunate monarch, probably, that ever filled the throne of England. He rapidly passed into Wales, in 1308, to meet his favorite Gaveston at Carnarvon, on his return from Ireland; and again, in 1326, when he took refuge from the pursuit of his enemies in the mountains of Snowdon; but being discovered, he was made prisoner in the country of his birth, and delivered over to the Earl of Leicester; from which captivity he never escaped, and was most cruelly murdered at Berkeley Castle, in 1327.

Edward III. was engaged, during a great part of his glorious reign, in foreign warfare; and although frequently embroiled with Scotland, and embarrassed by contentions with his English subjects, yet suffered no inconvenience sufficiently great to call for his presence in Wales, during his long and triumphant reign.

Richard II. in the progress of a short but inglorious reign, landed in Wales from Ireland, anno 1399, at the head of twenty thousand men, for the purpose of quelling the rebellion of the Duke of Lancaster, formed against him in his absence; but the unpopularity of his cause, and the weakness of his character, soon reduced the number to six thousand; and thus deserted, he was compelled even-

tually, as we have already stated, to surrender himself a prisoner at Flint Castle, into the hands of Lancaster; from whose custody he was never after released, being finally deposed, and subsequently murdered at Pomfret Castle.

Henry IV. shortly after his accession, was disturbed in his government, and possession of Wales, by the revolt of Owain Glyndwr, anno 1400, and entered the country at the head of a formidable army, for the purpose of suppressing it. Again, in 1401; and was compelled to do so a second time during this year, from the vigorous and successful progress of this celebrated chieftain. In 1405, it became necessary to collect all his resources, and at the head of thirty-five thousand men to march into Wales; from which period, although affected by no decisive conflict, the affairs of Glyndwr began to decline, and progressively gave way, until his subjugation was finally accomplished; he died in 1415, having survived his conqueror three years. It will be recollected, that one of Glyndwr's first exploits was to burn the Cathedral of St. Asaph; yet, as Pennant observes, "notwithstanding the ostentation of regal power, which this and other great successes gave to his proceedings, the garrisons, placed in the principal fortresses of North Wales, kept the maritime parts from raising in any great numbers;" hence we may conclude, that the Castles, of which we have been treating, at least such of them as were in a state to shelter garrisons at this period, were all unmolested, and remained loyal to the king's cause.

It is a curious historical fact, recorded by Pennant and other writers, that Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph at the time his Cathedral was burnt, afterwards joined the standard of Glyndwr; and exchanging the crosier for the sword, assisted the latter in the military duties of the field, at the head of his troops.

The suppression of Glyndwr's insurrection seems to have terminated the hostile visits of royalty to the Principality,* and we hear no more of the movement of formidable armies arrayed for that purpeso, until the period of the civil war; during which calamitous event, Charles I. first sought military aid from his Weslh subjects; and was afterwards compelled to fly before his more fortunate competitors, and throw himself on the fidelity of the former, taking refuge among them in Denbigh Castle for one night, during his rapid flight towards Newark, after the defeat of his army on Rowton Heath, near Chester, in 1645. This monarch, like the two former, was eventually put to death by his subjects, under circumstances which his conduct, however arbitrary, could not have justified in more enlightened times.

Another long interval follows this melancholy event in the history of our country, and we now approach the last and most auspicious visit of royalty which the annals of Wales have to record, that of our present august monarch, George IV., who landed at Holyhead, on the 8th of August, 1821, on his way to Ireland. His reception,

* We have before shown, from Pennant, that Henry VIII. had, in 1495, paid a visit to Hawarden Castle, for a purpose very different from his predecessors.

though the opportunity was nothing more than a transitory, and even a casual visit to his own Principality, must have afforded him the highest triumph which a Prince could enjoy; the gratifying consolation of knowing, that notwithstanding the popular force of recent events, (the Queen's trial,) he truly reigned in the hearts of his Welsh subjects, that they duly appreciated the blessings which the nation had derived under his dynasty, and that, in conferring these benefits upon his people, he had also conferred imperishable lustre and glory upon his own character. With a combination of such means for human government, for national prosperity, and individual happiness, we cannot do less than anticipate a continuance of that splendid career of political supremacy, which has marked the reign of our present sovereign, whether as Prince of Wales, or King of England; nor can we do less, in the ardour of of this hope, than exclaim, "Esto perpetua." And so we take leave of our indulgent readers, to whom these pages are most respectfully dedicated.

Ap Sitsyllt.

APPENDIX.

In collecting matter for the foregoing Essay, we had the curiosity to refer to the British Museum, in hopes of finding, among the manuscript records there deposited, some valuable information; but although it contains several unpublished tracts, a list of which we subjoin, yet we were unable to discover any passage so intimately connected with the subject of this Essay, as to be worthy of extracting. It would appear indeed, that but few additions of that description have been made to this repository since the time of Pennant, as he has quoted from many of the authorities here referred to. It is true that, exclusive of the zeal and patriotism with which other repositories of Welsh literature may have been since formed, the government of the country have also laudably established an official department, for the particular purpose of collecting the historical records of Wales, and afterwards reporting them in a consolidated form, for the benefit of the nation at large; nor can it be uninteresting to notice here, that they have selected a native of the county of Denbigh, for the principal director of this duty, a gentleman who appears to inherit from his distinguished parent, Dr. Owen Pughe, so many of the necessary qualifications, as to leave no doubt of the abilities, talent, and devotion, with which the work will be conducted.*

* "The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales," were most elaborately and ably edited, and translated into English, by Aneurin Owen, Esq. and published under the direction of the Commissioners of the Public Records of the Kingdom, in 1841. The historical work relating to Wales, alluded to, is expected to be published in the "Corpus Historicum," by the said Commissioners, when it appears.—Ed. Tr.

List of Manuscripts in the British Museum, connected with the History of Wales.

Harleian MS. 2262 has the docket of warrant for making Sir John Trevor, Knight, Constable of Flint Castle, and keeper of the Gaol, in 1705, with a fee of £10. per annum for the former, and £6. 1s. 8d. for the latter office, payable from the revenue of North Wales. These offices and premises were formerly granted to Sir Roger Mostyn, Baronet.—MS. Sloan, 3479, A History of the Principality, which contains writs, fees, &c. of Flint and Rhuddlan Castles.—MS. Harleian, 1968, Randle Holmes' Abstract of Deeds, relating to Manors, Castles, &c. in Flintshire.—Harleian MS. 699, Liber Fedorum Militum, Com. Flint, temp. Philip and Mary, relating to lands and tenements holden of the Kynge's and Queene's Highnesses, &c.—MS. Harleian 2099, p. 440–446, eight Charters relating to the Town and Castle of Flint.—Harleian 1826, is a Description of Wales, by Humphrey Llwyd, Gentleman, the celebrated antiquary.—The Harleian MS. 2073, has an unfinished drawing of Lion, alias Holt Castle, by Randle Holmes.

Mr. Pennant calculates the number of Castles originally in Wales at a hundred and forty three, nor need we doubt the accuracy of this estimate from so high an authority; of these, by far the greater number have at this day but few vestiges remaining, and of those which still preserve any features of their ancient grandeur, Harlech may be considered the most perfect, while Conway and Carnarvon must always be regarded as the most imposing and magnificent.

Having incidentally omitted, at the proper place, a literal copy of the inscription placed by the late Dean of St. Asaph, on the remains of the building in Rhuddlan, supposed to have been used by Edward I. as a Parliament, we insert it here.

"This Fragment
Is the remains of the building
Where King Edward I.
Held his Parliament,
A. D. 1283,
In which was passed the Statute of Rhuddlan,
Securing
To the Principality of Wales
its judicial rights
and independence."

It may be observed of the above date, that there is a considerable variance between it, and the extract already given from the Archæologia, which states the Statute of Rhuddlan to have passed in the 10th year of Edward I. anno 1281, that king having commenced his reign on the 16th of November, 1272; to which may be added another discrepancy in the chronology of this period, arising out of the birth of Edward II. in Carnarvon Castle, on the 25th of April, 1284; when, as Pennant states it, "the well known deceit" was practised on the Welsh nobility from this very building, by giving them a native prince for their future king, knowing, as he did, that

his birth had just then taken place at Carnarvon. These difficulties however may be easily reconciled, by presuming that this Parliament House was nothing more than a kind of Council room, in which the civil affairs of his new kingdom were discussed, between himself and certain of his leading barons on the one side, and the most influential of the Welsh nobility on the other; and thus, from time to time, such contracts were entered into, as derived all the force of laws from the sanction of these high authorities. Parliaments had not, in fact, at this period, received any actual existence, which entitled them to that distinction; being nothing more than arbitrary Councils, controlled by the king's authority; nor until the time of Edward III. did these assemblages of the nobility acquire that importance, from which Parliaments have progressively grown into their present representative and constitutional form.

From the period of the conquest by Edward, we have already shewn that the only precaution, which appeared necessary for preserving the dominion of England over Wales, was chiefly confined to keeping the principal fortresses sufficiently garrisoned, to overawe the Welsh, and prevent any revolt against the new government; and the best proof that this policy was vigilantly adopted, for many subsequent reigns at least, is to be found in the number of troops which was frequently drafted from these Castles, in aid of the various military expeditions undertaken against Scotland and France.

These drafts are extracted from Rymer's Fœdera, in the time of Edward II. anno 1309.

Rhuddlan . .	400	Harlech . . .	300
Mold . . .	100	Carnarvon . .	200
Denbigh . .	200	Beaumaris . .	400
Ruthin . .	200	Holt	300

From this return, it appears that the only Castles in Flintshire, called upon at that period, were Rhuddlan and Mold; omitting Flint and Harwarden, for what reason, we cannot offer a conjecture.

In the same reign, anno 1322, another call was made upon the garrisons, for the army against Aquitain.

Denbigh,	1 man at arms,	horsemen, and 60 foot.
Ruthin,	1 horseman,	and 30 foot.
Flint,	1 ditto	50 ditto
Holt,	1 ditto	50 ditto
Mold,	1 ditto	10 ditto

To the French war, anno 1338, tempore Edward III. Denbigh, 40 men, Ruthin, 60 men, and Holt, 100 men.

Subsequently in the same reign, for Edward's triumph in France required all the resources England could supply, there was a further call for men to recruit the army "greatly weakened;" when all the fortresses in Wales were required to supply what men they could conveniently spare, observing that the inland Castles were expected to furnish a greater number, in proportion, than those upon the

coast, which were more exposed; in this manner, the aggregate number referred to by Pennant will be readily accounted for.

Passing from this period to that of the restoration of Charles II. after the civil war, we find, from a letter inserted by Pennant in the Appendix to his second Volume, ample evidence to prove that the dismantling of all the Welsh fortresses had been continued, even after that event, and in all probability rendered complete, as a measure of national policy on the part of government, although in this case their representatives appear to have remonstrated against it.

The letter is from the Earl of Conway and Kilulta, addressed to the Honourable Thomas Bulkley, Esquire, and Colonels Wynn and Vaughan, his Majesty's Deputy Lieutenants. It complains that his servant, Milward, had been restrained by them from taking down the lead, timber, and iron from Conway Castle, intending as he did to transport the lead to Ireland for the use of his Majesty, and beseeching them to take off that restraint, that he might proceed with the work, he having suffered a heavy loss by ships waiting to take in the lead for transporting the same.

To this civil application, there is no published reply; but we may reasonably infer, from the subsequent fate of this beautiful structure, that the barbarous act of spoliation was permitted to proceed, and that a monument of ancient magnificence, which would have done equal honour to the age and country in which it was raised, and even to the magnanimous prince who had left it as a trophy worthy of his conquest, was thus consigned to the perishing hand of time, and suffered to moulder into ruin.

It should have been stated, in reference to Speed's Maps of Flintshire, that the Castles of Hawarden, Rhuddlan, Mold (called the Mold,) Hope, and Flint, are all laid down with their towers, embattlements, &c. entire, and given in perspective; in the last, there are buildings at right angles, and in the centre of the quadrangle, between the four towers, at the corners; and beyond the Castle, is a building, like a citadel, communicating with another enclosed and fortified area, apparently the site of the present jail. The view is taken from the water.

Speed was born in 1552, and died in 1629; so that, as already stated, up to the period of the civil war, the principal Castles of Flintshire were evidently kept in a state of repair.

CATALOGUE*

OF

WELSH MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

IN NORTH WALES.

No. II.†

BY ANEURIN OWEN, ESQ.

CONTENTS.

I. Bodysgallen MSS.
II. Dwning ditto
III. Gloddaith ditto
IV. Hengwrt ditto
V. Llansilin MSS.
VI. Llanasa ditto
VII. Pale ditto

I. Bodysgallen MSS.

1. Cywyddau ac Odlau Thomas Prys, 1639. Quarto.
2. Volume of Cywyddau, by various authors, principally Gutto'r Glyn. Folio.
3. Volume of Poetry, entitled, "Llyvyr Mr. Wynne o'r Berthddu, ab Huw, ŵyr Grufydd, ap Sion, ap Maredudd o Wydir, ap Maredudd, ap Evan, ap Robert, ap Maredudd, ab Hywel, ap Davydd, ap Grufydd, ap Caradog, ap Thomas, ap Rhodri, ab Owain Gwynedd. 1622. Thick folio.
4. Dares Phrygius. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Imperfect. Vellum, quarto.
5. Englynion, on various subjects. Quarto.
6. Llyvyr Sion ap William, ap Sion, (John Jones, of Gellilyvdy,) o hen Vrudiau yr Henveirdd. 1607. Thick quarto.

* For this Catalogue, presented at the Eistoddvod held at Welshpool, September 8, 1824, the Cymmrodorion Society in Powys awarded their first Premium.

† For No. I. see p. 36.

7. Rules for the Meetings held by the Welsh Bards, and their Discipline, and the Statute of Grufydd ap Cynan. Quarto.
8. Volume containing Trioedd, Diarebion, and Cywyddau, by various authors. Quarto.
9. Volume of Cywyddau and Odlau, by various authors. Quarto.
10. An extensive Collection of Proverbs; arranged by Thomas Williams, Surgeon, 1620. Octavo.
11. Dyriau. Quarto.
12. Cywyddau and Odlau. Quarto.
13. Volume of Odlau, Cywyddau, and Englynion. Quarto.
14. Original Manuscript of the work published by Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, entitled, "British Antiquities Revived." Quarto.
15. Arms of Welsh Families emblazoned. Folio.
16. Volume of Pedigrees. Folio.
17. Dares Phrygius; Brud y Brenhinoedd; imperfect. Quarto.
18. Some of the Psalms excellently translated into Welsh ar vesur Cywydd, by John Theodore, (Sion Tudur.) Much injured by rats. Quarto.
19. Poetry by William Lleyn, 1560. Quarto.
20. Science of Heraldry and Coat Armour. Quarto.
21. Cywyddau and Dyriau. Quarto.

II. Dwning MSS.

1. Achau Cymru Benbaladyr; by Dr. Thomas Williams, of Trevriw, in his own hand writing; containing also some curious historical facts, relating to North Wales.
2. Life of Grufydd ap Cynan.
3. Genealogical Table; with a short Chronicle from Adam to Cadwaladyr; from Woden to Richard III.
4. Dares Phrygius.
5. Brut y Brenhinoedd; with this note, "Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this part of the Chronicle from Latin into Welsh; and Edward Kyffin copied it for John Trevor, of Trevalun, Esq. A. D. 1577."
6. Brud y Tywysogion.
7. Several Manuscripts of Pedigrees.
8. Survey of Cheshire, by Randle Holmes; with the Arms of all the Families properly quartered, and coloured. Folio, bound in vellum.
9. Volume containing the Arms of all the Families in the Principality, North and South; and also of a great number of the English Nobility; properly emblazoned, by Mr. Price, of Llanvyllin, about the time of Charles II. Large folio, bound in red Morocco.

III. Gloddaith MSS.

1. Volume of Cywyddau, composed at various times, and inscribed to the Family of Mostyn. Folio.

2. Leland's Intinerary of Wales. Folio.

3. A History of England, from William the Conqueror to the 6th of Edward VI. Also the History of Wales, written by Ellis Griffith, a soldier in Calais, in Welsh. "Da i delych di, o veddiant Ellis Grufyth, sawdiwr o Gallis, i veddiant Thomas, vab Tomas, vab Sion, vab Grufydd Vychan, in bwll y llongdy yngwesbur (Westbury,) o vewn plwyf Llanasaph, yn sir y Flint, o vewn Tegangyl."

4. Dares Phrygius. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Brud y Tywysogion, by Caradoc; with a Continuation to A. D. 1140, written A. D. 1487. Arms and Pedigrees of some South Wales gentlemen. List of Sheriffs of Cardigan. Story of St. Sylvester; and a Welsh Calendar. Folio.

5. Sang royal ae cavas, ac ae duc y nev; nyt amgen Galaath vab Lawnslot dy Lac. Peredur vab Evroc, Iarll a Bwrt, vab brenin Bwrt. Y copi cyntav a ysgrivenodd Mastir Phylip Davydd o unic lyvyr y urddedig ewythyr, Trahaearn ab Ieuan ap Meuric, ae ysgrivenodd Siencyn vab John, vab Siencyn, vab Ieuan Vychan, vab Ieuan, vab Einion, vab Rhys, vab Madoc, vab Llewelyn, vab Cadwgan, vab Elystan Glodrydd. Vellum, folio.

6. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Brud y Saeson. Gildas, Nennius. Vita Gildæ. Venerable Bede's Chronicle. Welsh Annals. Welsh Chronicle, (servatur in libro Domesday, penes Rememoratorem Regis, Westm. A. D. 1685.) Laws of Hywel Dda; imperfect. Written in a modern hand. Folio.

7. Ælredi Abbatis Rievallensis Vita St. Ed. Vita pii David, Scotiæ regis. De Miraculis P. V. M. Lotharius, qui postea Pontifex Innocent III. dictus est. De Miseriâ Humanæ Conditionis. Galfridus Abbas de vitâ St. Modvennæ, virginis. Vellum, folio.

8. Robert of Gloucester's History of England, in English verse. Vellum, folio.

9. A long book of Cywyddau; by Thomas Prys, Davydd ap Gwilym, William Cynvel, &c.

10. Dares Phrygius. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Brud y Tywysogion; imperfect. Simonis Thelwalli, Plaswardensis, armigeri, liber; teste Gulielmo Mauricio, Lansiliensi, qui hunc totum ad suum exemplar examinavit, 1660. Vellum, quarto.

11. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Vellum, quarto.

12. Beda de Gestis Anglorum, with his Life, &c. Vellum, folio.

13. A long folio volume of Cywyddau by Davydd ap Gwilym; some of which have not been printed.

14. Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerarium: item, de Laudabilibus et Illaudabilibus Walliæ. Vellum, quarto.

15. Almanack. Life of St. Martin. Genealogies. Vellum, quarto.

16. Letters between the Lord President, Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace of Flintshire, 1640. Folio.

17. Parts of Trioedd Ynys Prydain, and other Triads. Quarto.
18. Dyriau divrivol. Quarto.
19. Arms of the Tribes of Wales. Some Cywyddau. Welsh Chronology.
20. Descriptio Angliæ, et Genealogia Principum ad Henry VIII. Quarto.
21. Volume of Cywyddau. Large quarto.
22. Cywyddau, Englynion, a Dyriau (marked 107.) Quarto.
23. Dares Phrygius. Brud y Brenhinoedd. Small quarto.
24. Volume containing 135 Cywyddau, by William Cynvel. Quarto.
25. Cywyddau by Sion Phylip, and Edmund Prys. Small quarto.
26. Various Cywyddau and Odlau. Octavo.
27. Volume of Poetry. Folio.
28. Dyriau. Octavo.

IV. Hengwrt MSS.*

1. Dares Phrygius, and the Brud y Brenhinoedd, in the Welsh language; written in a very fair and venerable character, each page having two columns in folio. Parchment, an inch and a half thick.

3. The History of Peredur ab Evrawg, and a fragment of the History of Charlemagne and Roland; written columnwise in folio. Parchment, an inch and a half thick.

4. The first part of the Llyvyr gwyn Rhydderch, (the white book of Roderick,) containing two series of the Tales of the Mabinogion. An old book, written columnwise in quarto. Parchment, an inch and a half thick.

5. The second part of the Llyvyr gwyn Rhydderch; containing, in the first two pages, an Account of the Countries of the East and Greece, and of the Planets; in the two next, the Gospel according to Nicodemus; in the next four, the Mass for Good Friday, and the manner in which Elen found the Cross; in the next two, the History of Pilate; in the next, twenty Englynion on the Wonders before the Day of Judgment; in the next, the Prophecies of Sibli Ddoeth; in the next eight, the Life of the Virgin; in the next four, the Story of St. Catharine; in the next four, the Story of St. Margaret; in the next, an Account of the manner in which Mary Magdalen and others came to Marseilles; (many leaves are here lost;) History of Mary's Return from Egypt; Miracles of various Saints, and Stories of Adam and Eve, and of their Children till the time of Noah, in four leaves; in the next nine, an Account of Christ and Pilate, and of the Jews; the Letter of Pilate to Claudius concerning Christ; Stories concerning Tiberius's leprosy; the next four, the Letter of

* A Catalogue of this Collection in the year 1658, consisting of 167 articles, with Notes and Observations, is inserted in the Third Volume of the Cambrian Register, pp. 278—315.—Ed. Tr.

Melitus, bishop of Sardinia; the next five, a Treatise, with the title as follows,—" Gerard Archesgob Sans, Benet esgob, ac eraill, &c. a ysgrifenasant y gwrthiau hyn, i bawb ar a fai osodedig yn Archesgobod Caint." The next five, Athanasius's Creed, and a complimentary Letter from Grufydd y Bwla, the Translator, to Eva, daughter of Maredudd; the Gospel of St. John, with a Commentary, (a number of leaves are here lost.) The next two, the Story of Owain Varchog ac Ystyphan Vrenin going to Purgatory; from the 49th to the 100th, the History of Charlemagne; the next thirty four, the Story of Bown of Hampton; the next fifteen, the Story of Peredur ab Evrawg; the next three, of Maxen Wledig; the next thirty, the beginning of the Story of Llevelys; Stories of Arthur's Warriors; (a number of leaves wanting at the end.) Parchment, quarto, three inches thick.

6. The Laws of Hywel Dda, and the old British Laws. Parchment, large quarto.

7. The Laws of Dyvynwal, Maelgwn, Hywel Dda, and Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; written columnwise. Bound in London, for Mr. Robert Vaughan. Parchment, quarto.

8. A Volume, containing, 1. One leaf and a half of old Laws. 2. Chronology in Latin, beginning,—" Anno ante Christum 1230." 3. The Vision of Paul. 4. Brud y Saeson wedi Cadwaladyr Vendigaid. 5. Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, sev sail cyvriv yr amser. Parchment, quarto.

9. A very old Volume, almost obliterated, of the old British Laws, and some Historical Notices. Parchment, quarto.

11. Y Llyvyr Du o Gaerfyrddin, (the Black Book of Carmarthen,) containing, on fifty four leaves,—I. Ymddiddan rhwng Merddin a Thaliesin. 2. Awdyl. 3. Awdyl, by Cuhelyn. 4. Awdyl, printed page 182 of the Welsh Archaiology. 5. Awdyl, ditto page 184. 6. Awdyl, ditto page 184. 7. Tri Anreith March Ynys Prydain. 8. Awdyl, ditto page 575. 9. Awdyl, ditto page 575. 10. Awdyl, ditto page 576. 11. Awdyl, ditto page 577. 12. Awdyl, ditto page 576. 13. Awdyl, ditto page 578. 14. Awdyl. 15. Avallenau Merddin. 16. Hoianau Merddin. 17. Cygogion, Elaeth ae cant. 18. Awdyl. 19. Geraint filius Erbin, by Llywarch Hen. 20. Awdyl, ditto page 578. 21. Dadolwch yr Arglwydd Rhys, by Cynddelw. 22. I Yscolan, by Merddin Wyllt. 23. Awdyl, ditto page 185. 24. Awdyl, ditto page 580. 25. Awdyl, 26. Tribanau, ditto page 130. 27. Ymddiddan Arthur a Chai a Glewlyd. 28. Ymryson Gwyddneu a Gwyn ap Nudd. 29. Cant Gwyddneu. 30. Ymddiddan rhwng Ugnach a Thaliesin. 31. Marwnad Madawg mab Maredudd, by Cynddelw. 32. Marwnad Madawg mab Maredudd, by Cynddelw. 33. Cant Gwyddneu; Seithenin saw di allan. 34. Enwau meibion Llywarch Hen. On parchment, octavo.

10. Old British Laws; the beginning and end lost. Parchment, quarto, one inch thick.

13. Part of the History of St. Mark, under the title—" Llyma Vabinogi Iesu Grist." Next, the Prophecy of Merddin Emrys. 3,

Vision of St. Paul. 4. Story of Judas Iscariot. 5. Story of Adam. 6. Story of Peredur (the conclusion lost.) Parchment, octavo, one inch thick.

15. Brud y Brenhinoedd (the conclusion wanting.)

16. Brud y Tywysogion, by Caradoc of Llangarvan, (the beginning lost,) written in an old hand. Parchment, quarto, one inch thick.

17. Llyvyr Taliesin, (the commencement and conclusion are wanting.) It begins with, 1. Gan iewyd gan elestron, page 33 of the Welsh Archaiology. 2. Marwnad y vil veib. 3. Buarth Beirdd. 4. Adwyneu Taliesin. 5. Arymes Dydd Brawd. 6. Arymes Prydain Vawr. 7. Angar Cyfyndawd. 8. Cat Godeu. 9. Mabgyfreu Taliesin. 10. Daronwy. 11. Gallawc ap Lleenawc. 12. Glaswawd Taliesin. 13. Cadeir Taliesin. 14. Cerdd am veib Llyr. 15. Cadeir Teyrnon. 16. Cadeir Ceridwen. 17. Canu y Gwynt,—"Dychymyg pwy yw." 18. Canu y Gwynt,—"Chwedl am dothyw." 19. Canu y Medd. 20. Canu y Cwrwv. 21. Mic Dinbych. 22. Plaeu yr Reifft. 23. Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn mab Brochwel. 24. Llath Moessen. 25. Can y Meirch. 26. Y Goweisws Byd. 27. Lluryg Alexander. 28. Anryveddodau Alexander. 29. Llath Moessen. 30. Preideu Annwn. 31. Gwaith Gwenystrad. 32. Canu i Urien Reged. 33. I Urien. 34. I Urien. 35. Gweith Argoed Llwyvein, Canu Urien. 36. I Urien,—"Arddwŷre Reged rysedd rieu." 37. Dadolwch Urien. 38. Marwnad Erof. 39. Marwnad Madawg, &c. 40. Marwnad Corroi mab Dayry. 41. Marwnad Dylan eil Ton. 42. Marwnad Owain. 43. Marwnad Aeddon. 44. Marwnad Cunedda. 45. Armes, page 71 of the Welsh Archaiology. 46. Marwnad Uthyr Pendragon. 47. Arymes, ditto page 73. 48. Cywrysedd Gwynedd a Deheubarth. 49. Gwawd Gwyr Israel. 50. Gwawd Ludd Mawr. 51. Ymarwar Ludd Mawr. 52. Ymarwar Ludd Bychan. 53. Canu y Byd Mawr. 54. Canu y Byd Bychan. 55. Dryll or Darogan Cadwaladyr.—Written in a good hand. Parchment, octavo, one inch thick.

18. The Laws of Hywel Dda, with a Calendar prefixed, (the conclusion wanting.) Parchment, octavo, one inch thick.

19. The Laws of Hywel Dda, (the conclusion wanting.) Vellum, octavo, one inch thick.

21. The Master and Scholar, by Archbishop Anselm, in Welsh. 2. The third book of a Holy Life, and the Pœniteas. 3. The Sinner's Confession, and Questions on the Catholic Faith, and the Ten Commandments, and on Confession. Vellum, octavo, two inches thick.

22. The Calendar of Guttyn Owain. Vellum, octavo, half an inch thick.

23. Fragment of the Laws of Hywel Dda. Octavo.

24. Medical Treatise, collected out of various authors; principally from the Meddygon Myddvai. Octavo, an inch and a half thick.

25. The Dream of Sibli Ddoeth (the beginning wanting.) 2. The Pedigree of the Virgin. 3. Miracles of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. 4. Stanzas to the Host, and many other articles.

26. Two volumes of the Laws of Hywel Dda. Each one inch thick.

30. Fragment of old Laws.

31. Laws of Hywel Dda. Octavo, an inch and a half thick.

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41. Volume of the Laws of Hywel Dda; in which the Privileges of the Men of Arvon, granted them by Rhun ap Maelgwn on account of their accompanying him in his wars in the North, during which expedition their wives slept with their slaves, are inserted. Item, Y Deyrnged (tribute) payable by the King of North Wales to the Crown of England, and the Honey and Flour due from South Wales and Powys to the Kings of North Wales. Item, the Laws of Rhun ap Maelgwn and Dyvynwal. Written in a strong and good hand, by Mr. Robert Vaughan, on parchment.

42. Part of a Collection of Trioedd Ynys Prydain, (the remainder being lost) made by Mr. Robert Vaughan.

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349. Laws of Hywel Dda. Quarto, one inch thick.

350. Part of Liber Landavensis. Saith Doethion Rhuvain. Ebos-

tol y Sul. Ach Cynawg Sant. Ach Catwg Sant. Breninoedd y Prydeiniaid. Llyvyr ancr Llan Dewi brevi. Tales and Religious Treatises, seventeen in number, comprised in 144 pages. Buchedd Beuno. Buchedd Dewi. Cysegyrlan Vuchedd. Meddygon Myddvai. Hanes Grufydd ap Cynan, and of the Gwedir Family. An Answer to the North Wales men, who maintain Anarawd to be the eldest son of Rhodri; at the end commences a Miscellaneous Collection written on the back of the pages, as follows,—Genealogies and Historical Notices of South Wales Families. Hanes Owain ab Urien. Mabinogion. Extent of Wentwood. Folio, three inches thick.

351. Various Papers. Meddygon Myddvai. Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts. Poetry of the early and middle ages. Letters. Ethelstan's Josephus. Folio, three inches thick.

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358. Araeth Gwgan. Miscellaneous Collection of moral verses. Octavo, an inch thick.

359. Genealogies of North Wales Families. Folio, an inch thick.

360. Ditto, part of the same work.

361. Genealogies of North Wales Families. Octavo, an inch and a half thick.

V. Llanasa MSS.

1. Pentarchia, or the History of the Five Royal Tribes, by Powell, of Edenhope, in Latin verse, written about the time of Charles I.

2. Charta de Englefield, granted by Henry III.

3. History of the Ancient Britons, in Latin, from the year 400 to 1000, found at the end of the Domesday book, in the Exchequer, the ground work of the Chronicle of Caradog, of Llangarvan. Cadwaladyr is not mentioned, nor Hywel Dda's journey to Rome to get his Laws confirmed by the Pope.

VI. Llansilin MSS.

1. Volume of Poetry, "Talm o hen gerddi i Voelyrch," and various pieces, by Tudur Aled, 1588; Rhys Cain, 1608; Sion Cain, Sion Tudur, Grufydd Hiraethog, Gutto'r Glyn, Huw Arwystyl, Owain Gwynedd, Lewis Glyn Cothi, &c, Gwelygorddau Powys, Breiniau Powys, Dadolwch yr Arglwydd Rhys, by Cynddelw, Yr Awdyl vraith, List of Sheriffs of Denbighshire, Dyhuddiant Elphin, by Taliesin, Treaty between Charles VI. of France, and Owain Glyndwr. Quarto.
2. Volume of Cywyddau and Englynion, principally by Lewis Glyn Cothi. Quarto.
3. Llyvyr Carolau, Johannes Jones, (John Jones of Gelli-lyvdy.) Quarto.
4. Cywyddau, by various authors. Quarto.
5. Volume, principally of rather modern Poetry, Dyriau and some of the works of Davydd ap Gwilym, Davydd Nanmor, &c.
6. Volume of Poetry, by Sion Tudur, William Lleyn, Rees Lewis o Vallwyd, 1736; Ellis Cadwaladyr, 1735; Huw Llwyd Cynvel, 1685; William Phylip; two pieces in the hand-writing of the Rev. William Wynne of Llanganhaval. Quarto.
7. Cywyddau, by Davydd ab Edmwnd, Gutto'r Glyn, Sion Cent, Owen ap Gwilym, &c. Quarto.
8. Gorchymyn y Sul. Vision of St. Paul. Story of Owain, marchog da. Carol y ddau vrodyr. Quarto.
9. Dyriau, by Huw Jones, Jonathan Hughes, Thomas Edwards, &c. Quarto.
10. Volume of Poetry, by Huw Jones, of Llangwm. Quarto.
11. Interlude of the History of Philip and Mary, by Ellis Cadwaladyr.
12. Interlude on the History of King Lear, and his three Daughters.
13. Volume of Pedigrees. Quarto.
14. Chronology. Quarto.
15. Poetry, by Hywel Tanat. Octavo.
16. Poetry, by Huw Morus; Jonathan Hughes; Huw Jones, of Llangwm; Thomas Edwards, &c. Quarto.
17. Volume of Poetry, principally by Huw Morus. Quarto.
18. Ditto.
19. Interlude of the Prodigal Son, by Huw Morus. Quarto.
20. Volume of Poetry, by Huw Morus. Quarto.
21. Poetry, by Huw Morus. Folio.
22. Poetry by Huw Morus, and Ellis Cadwaladyr. Folio.
23. Poetry, by Huw Morus. Folio.
24. Poetry, by Huw Morus, in his own hand writing. Quarto.
25. Poetry, by Huw Morus. Quarto.
26. Ditto ditto ditto
27. Ditto ditto ditto

28. Carolau, by various authors.
29. Interlude on the History of Castell Dinas Bran and Corwen, and various other places; by Huw Jones, of Llangwm, 1767.
30. Poetry, by various authors. Quarto.
31. Ditto ditto. Octavo.
32. Cyvrinach y Beirdd. Quarto.
33. Edeyrn Davawd Aur. Quarto.
34. Psalmau y brenhinol brophwyd Davydd; wedi eu cynghaneddu mewn mesurau Cymreig, gan Gapten Middleton, 1603. Folio.
35. "Kynniver llith a ban or yscrythur lan, ac a ddarlleir yn Ecclus pryd Cymmun, y Sulieu a'r gwilieu, trwy'r vlwyddyn. O gambriciat William Salisbury."—This is in print, 1551. &c. &c. &c.

VII. Pale MSS.

1. Volume of Poetry. Part of a Poem, by Iorwerth Beli; 1380. Stanzas by Grono Gyrriawg i Esgob Bangor, y gelwid Madawg Min, yr hwn a wnaeth vrad y Tywysawg Llewelyn. Pennillion, Eiry Mynydd. Cywyddau, by Gutto'r Glyn and Tudur Aled. Cywydd, Lewis Glyn Cothi ai cant, i Wenlliant, verch Owain Glyndwr, gwraig Philip ap Rhys, o Geuarth yn y Dean.
2. Volume of Poetry, by various authors; written in a good hand.
3. Volume of Poetry, by Taliesin, Davydd ap Gwilym, Iorwerth Vynglwyd, &c.
4. Volume of Poetry. "Y Cywyddau canlynol a adscrivenwyd allan o Gasgliad un Sion Pritchard, o Breion, yn ymyl trev Dinbych, yr hwn a 'scrivenwyd (medd ev) yn Llandrillo, yn mis Awst, yn y vlwyddyn 1652. Ac a ad'scrivenwyd yn awr, yn y vlwyddyn 1775. G. Griffiths." Containing Poetry, by Sion Tudur and others.
5. Le Sacre College de Jesus, divise en cinq classes, ou l'on enseigne en langue Armorique, les leçons Christiennes, &c. Compose par le R. P. Julien Maunoir. "Y llyvyr ymma a brynes yn rhy dhryd yn y Castelh Pawl yn Lhydaw, yn y vlwydhyn 1700. Nid oedh ar werth yn unlhe; am hynny mi a adewes Eirlyvyr yr Athraw Davies, yr hwn a'i tâl ganwaith, yn i le, ym Mynachlog y Brodyr Lheia. Edw. Lhwyd." (He died A. D. 1709, ætatis 49.) This is the work he used in composing his Armorican Grammar.

*** *The Catalogue of the Welsh MSS. and Welsh Books in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, prepared by the Rev. A. B. Clough, B.D. will appear in the next Volume.*—Ed. Tr.

1397

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